

Diaries of Julia Wilbur, March 1860 to July 1866

Originals at Haverford College, Quaker and Special Collections Transcriptions by volunteers at Alexandria Archaeology

The transcribed pages that follow are from the diaries kept by Julia Wilbur, an abolitionist from Rochester, New York, who lived in Alexandria, Virginia, from October 1862 to February 1865. She moved to Washington, DC, where she lived until her death in 1895.

The diaries are in the form of packets of paper that she assembled and dated as she went along, approximately 4 by 7 inches. The diaries go from 1844 to 1873. (She also kept journals, which were smaller, pre-printed, leather-bound booklets, one per year through 1895.)

In a cooperative effort between Haverford and Alexandria Archaeology, pages of the diaries were scanned in Summer 2013 (March 7, 1860, through the early 1870s). Alexandria Archeology volunteers transcribed from March 7, 1860, through July 3, 1866.

Acknowledgments

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Key

Each diary page is one scanned file and was transcribed in Microsoft Word. In order to avoid having more than one thousand individual Word files, they are compiled as follows:

- A PDF of the entire period
- Seven PDFs by year (1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, and 1866)

For those wishing to consult the originals, the ID numbers given to different sections scanned by Haverford are footnoted in regular intervals throughout the documents.

Some common things that readers will encounter:

- Dates are centered. Note that Wilbur did not consistently date the entries (i.e., month, date, year) and we have recorded them as she did (e.g., Sunday the 19th)
- Many different types of dashes, underlines, and hyphens were used to indicate breaks in thought. For consistency, we have used an em-dash (—) throughout.
- Where she crossed something out or underlined it, we did, too.
- Spellings as written (e.g., “staid” for “stayed”; “ancke” for “ankle”)
- &c. means “etc.” It was a commonly used convention of the time, even appearing in newspaper headlines. “And” is usually represented by an ampersand (&).
- Where multiple transcribers/proofreaders were not able to decipher all or part of a word, we have indicated with [?]. Where Wilbur left a blank space or some other unusual thing, we have inserted an italicized *Transcriber’s note*.

If you use these files and encounter an error, please let us know so we can correct it in the next iteration.

Wilbur also kept parallel, smaller pocket diaries, the originals of which are at Haverford as well. They were separately transcribed, compiled, and annotated by Paula Whitacre for Alexandria Archeology in 2011-2012, using microfilmed versions in the Local History Collection at the Alexandria Public Library.

1860
Rochester, March 7th, 1860,
Wednesday evening,

¹Fine day excepting a shower or two.

Left home about 8 this morning with Henry. Abner came down also with another team. Roads better than we feared, was very tired & had a terrible head ache when I got here; hoped I should not meet any acquaintances, but when I called at C's Store, cousin M.B. was there. She asked after Freda & I burst into tears; I had been calm all day until then & hoped I cd. continue so, but my heart was too full of what happened yesterday to hear my darling's name mentioned with composure. After I composed myself I went to Dr. Whitbeck's. I feared this would be too much for my weak body & still weaker nerves, & when they began to sympathise with me I was entirely overcome.

They knew all about my trouble, so I felt free to talk with Mrs. W. & Carrie. When the Dr. came in I told him my symptoms & asked him to tell me candidly his opinion, for I was prepared for any Thing, however unfavorable.

He thinks there is no organic disease of the heart, but all these bad feelings will leave me if I can stop thinking of my trouble & become reconciled to what I cannot help. He could give me nothing but advice, no medicine would reach my case.

Well, perhaps it is so. If I could see Freda often, I might be reconciled in a measure, but as it is, long weeks may intervene without my seeing her; & to know that she is in the power of a person who has no particular love for her; this I cannot forget for she is just as dear to me as ever, the sweet, the precious one.

A change of scene may divert my attention & I intended to go to Somerset tomorrow, but

I am so nearly sick that I shall wait a day longer & try to hear Grace Greenwood lecture tomorrow evening.—G. Graham Klinck, the Buckeye who is speaking at Republican meetings took supper here. He is an old acquaintance of C's. He went out with us this evening to see "Wilder & Case's new store, wh. was opened for the first this evening, & thousands were there to see. It is very elegant & spacious in Ellwanger & Barry's new block, the finest in the city.—

The noise & bustle of the city worries me. I feel uncomfortable at the sight of so many people. Went to Dr. Morgan's to have the remains of a tooth taken out, but I was not able to have it done. I did not think once I should come to this.

Called with C. at the Industrial School to leave a parcel, & have walked so much. Had one of Freda's pictures copied at Powelson's, but it is not very good. It is for Julia Frances.

¹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26049_001 to HC13-26049_096, in their Folder entitled March 7, 1860 to Aug. 21, 1860.

C. had company this evening & I shall go to bed. The children have gone to bed & it does not pay to sit here alone. But the girls are coming from meeting.

Rochester, Thursday March 8th. 1860

Fine but colder.

Awoke with a terrible headache, tried to get up, but did not do so till 9 o'clock. I grew worse & worse, so I resolved to make an effort & rush into the street, & keep from thinking if possible. Have felt better this P.M. & evening. Had a picture of Freda copied at Hovey's for Sister E. not very good. Made a few purchases including the "Impending Crisis," the most-talked-of book of the day. Rested this P.M.

Spent 2 or 3 hours in the store listening to the frivolous talk of ladies preparing for a party. What a life a shop keeper leads. If I had to hear all that C. does I should be disgusted with womankind.

Saw several things today I would like to buy for my darling; but I think they would not allow me to give anything to her.

Went with Mary Julia to hear the lecture.

C. could not go. It seemed good & natural to be seated in Corinthian Hall again & see so many familiar faces.

And then Grace Greenwood, otherwise Sarah Jane Clarke, otherwise Mrs. Lippencott, wore a familiar face, although some 18 years have passed since I saw her, then a Rochester girl at Miss Clemens school where I spent a winter & succeeded her as Editress of the "Young Ladies' Miscellany." She was a promising writer then & has become famous since as an authoress. Her brow & eyes look the same, but time has made havoc with teeth, mouth & articulation. She is graceful & womanly, but not to be compared as a speaker with many of the women I have seen.

Her subject "The Heroic in Common Life," was a brilliant & finished production, had passages of rare beauty, & much of common sense. There was a large audience & they were apparently delighted.—

Mrs. L. said she had often wished to visit R. since she began her rather wandering career, some years ago, & to see again the scenes of her childhood, speak to her dear old friends & ask pardon for having offended against a dear old prejudice. Having heard that a motion made to invite her to appear here had been voted down, woman-like she resolved to come, & here she was.

In 1720 when the plague visited Marseilles the Chevalier Roe braved the terrors of the pestilence to attend upon the sick & bury the dead, & did much towards restoring the city to health.

Then she told the story of Florence Nightingale's heroic attendance in the Scutari hospitals, &c. Then the un-named dem-gods of Hungary shared in her meed of praise.

Then the self-sacrificing nurses & physicians who went to Norfolk, Va. when the yellow fever in 1855 decimated the population, when even slaves, having no great stake in

life, 'tis true, but not in love with death, entitled themselves to much human honor; when Sisters of Charity had done what they could, then the women of the town, the despised Magdalens, who are nobody's wives or sisters, administered to the sick & dying, showing that the woman was not all lost within them & here occurred one of the most beautiful passages of the lecture.

The achievements of the lamented Kane, & the brave men who with him were mentioned. She spoke of Kane as a "man who at least did no harm," I wondered if she knew his private history & the meanness he was guilty of. The undying fidelity of Lady Franklin, the rare bravery of the Commander of the Central America, the case of the shipwrecked man who gave up a settee to a woman & her two children, & after a mighty struggle threw himself backward & sank, & many of our Firemen are better entitled to praise than he who points

a bombshell at roofs that protect women & children. The case of a British ship on the coast of Africa bound to India which carried a regiment of soldiers, beside other passengers.

The passengers & crew were put into the boats & these were all that could be saved. The soldiers were mustered on deck & never obeyed orders with more coolness & promptitude, then full of life & vigor stood there unflinching & looked death in the face, ready to obey the last command of their officers & fire as the ship went down, & all sank together. A more sublime sight was never witnessed & when the echoes & smoke of that last salute died away nothing remained to mark the spot. This instance gave opportunity for one of the finest passages of the lecture.

The leaders in modern reforms exhibit the highest kind of heroism. The Dress Reform was instanced. She had thought

at times that she could aspire to the heroism of a Joan D'Arc or a Grace Darling, but she shrank from doing that which would subject her to the taunts & jeers of those about here, Young America at the street corners would appal her, she should succumb to the small boys.

The sacrifice of the man who give up the joys of loving & being loved & devotes himself with filial duty to his aged parents, is noble & such an one is a hero. She had known two such.

The woman who waste the bloom of her youth, who cheerfully gives up the joys she is entitled to, & the privilege of having a home of her own, & of loving & being loved in return, to take care of & administer to the comforts of her parents, or to support them & perhaps younger brothers & sisters, such an one is a heroine, every inch of her. She had

known many such. There has been a great degeneracy since the days of the Revolution in blood, muscle, & backbone. She related

very pleasantly an account of the siege of Winesburg. Conrad who besieged the city & took it doomed all the men to death; but the women might go forth & each one might carry what was most valuable with her. They went & each one had on her back a husband, lover or brother, & thus all the doomed men were saved.

Suppose Rochester was placed in a like situation, how few could avail themselves of such a chance. The spirit indeed, might be willing but the flesh wd. be weak. Then again, if they went forth with their choicest treasures, ~~they would~~ how many would take a husband, for instance. Would they not be quite as likely to go forth with a back load of dry goods or something equally as important.

The close of the lecture was sensible & practical, & all was worthy of the reputation of the gifted editress & poetess.

Somerset. Friday March 9th, 1860,

Did not feel well this A.M. Left R. at 11 A.M. Lonely ride on cars to Lockport. The last time I took this trip my darling was with me, & how she would like now to have me tell her a story about it. I had been to The American but a few minutes when Alfred came for me.

Eliza, Phebe &c. were going to S. with him. Think I have not been colder this winter than I was when I reached S. at 5 P.M. I feel so lost without my dear little one.

Saturday March 10th

Very cold & windy, & dreary without.

Ten weeks since my dear one was taken from me. Oh dear, oh, dear. Slept better last night than I have slept in a long time before, & have a better appetite. I was so tired out when I got here. Have read Seward's Speech, on the Origin & Aim of Modern Parties. He does not

take the high & noble ground we hoped he wd. take. Conservatism is too apparent, too many concessions & admissions. Some parts of it I do not understand clearly. I must read it again when I feel better. I think I am dull & stupid of late.

Theodore came from school this evening, has been in Brockport through the winter. Morgan & Elizabeth have been here this evening. Talked with Alfred & Angeline about Freda. Her name has not been mentioned before since I have been here.—

Somerset, Sunday March 11th

Bright & cold & windy. Went to meeting with Theodore, Marshall & Phebe. Heard James Van Wagoner from Kings II-8-13, "What is thy servant a dog, &c".

Young folks all here this evening. Read various things to use up the time, & forget myself.—

Somerset Monday March 12th, 1860

Very boisterous, some snow. Read & visited & worked a little. Towards night came home with Morgan, who has been to L. to take Eliza back to school. These little children here make me think of nothing but Freda. I have cried & cried & feel too miserable for anything, even to talk.—

Tuesday March 13th

The tempest has subsided, & it is quite pleasant. M. has gone to L. again. So lonely without my darling. Dreamed of going to see her; thought I had her in my arms & kissed her, & the wife was pleasant towards me. One week ago I saw her in reality, & her little cheek was pressed to mine again & again. The dear, dear little one. They say I shall not see her again, but I cannot comprehend such words, I must see her if I live. Albert has been here & also Edward & Sarah Jane & baby. Have not felt well today.

Somerset March 14th, 1860.

Bright & milder. Feel some better. Sewed a little. No company, read. It has been a tiresome day. Talked of my darling.

Thursday March 15th.

Bright & warmer. Heard a robin this morning. About 3 P.M. came to Alfred's with Stephen. Alfred & Angeline gone away but returned this evening. Morgan & E. came over this evening. I intend to start for home tomorrow morning. I feel weighed down to the earth. It seems as if still more trouble was coming. I do not feel that I shall not see Freda again. I cannot take in such a thought. It seems yet that God will befriend me & relieve me in some way, that my darling will be restored to me. There is no idea so painful to me as that she must suffer,

& not be comfortable, & be neglected in any way. This deep love, this intense yearning for her happiness & comfort, does it mean nothing? Will it avail nothing? Has God given me such affections to be wasted? I believe he does not willingly afflict me, & that even this sorrow will be removed. For myself I cd. bear almost anything. But I cannot see why that innocent, helpless child must be deprived of her natural right to happiness. I will try to be patient, though my heart is breaking; it looks so dark, so dark sometimes.

Rochester Friday March 16th, 1860

Very bright & fine, warmer. Two victims of the Harper's Ferry tragedy to be hung today. Innocent men too undoubtedly. Left Alfred's about 8 A.M. in Express & reached L. at noon. Waited at Depot till 3 P.M. for train. Quite as pleasant there as any other place where I know no body. The last time I waited here

my darling was with me, & the last time I rode with Mr. Nye she was with me.—Reached R. about 5. Spent the evening with C.—C. is about to marry Mr. G. Oh dear, oh, dear, what will come next? Changes all the while. Mary Julia & Neddy will see different times from what they have seen heretofore. I am anxious for them, for they are my brother's children & have been very near to me. Sis was my idol once, but our separation & some other circumstances have estranged us some what. Will it be ever so? Will all that we love depart from us? My heart forbodes evil for these children, & their mother too. But I will hope for the best.

Saturday March 17th

Very fine & warm. Went out with C. Called on Mrs. Leppetts. Went to J.

Rapalje's & spent a few hours. Took the train at 6 P.M. & did not reach Avon till after dark. Came to Mr. Winans & effected an entrance in spite of the dog. Cordially received by these old friends. Eleven weeks my darling has been gone.

St. Patrick's day, Procession in the city & quantities of drunken Irishmen on the cars going to their homes out of the city.

Sunday evening. At home

March, 18th.

Very fine day. Before breakfast walked over to the burying ground with Mrs. W. The last time I was there Sister E. & my darling were with me, the dear one. Rode to East Avon to church with Mr. & Mrs. W. & children. Heard Mr. Elmore. The last time I was at church my precious one was with me. Called at Mr. H's & heard Mr. Rogers in the P.M. Met Ann Fisher at church, & oh, dear, I could control myself

no longer. The tears would come. She was much attached to Freda when she lived here & Freda liked her.—Abner & Frances came & went this P.M. When I came home something seemed missing, for when have I returned before without my dear little one? It looks so lonely here without her. Seems less & less like home.

Monday 19th.

Windy but pleasant. Rained towards night. Washed this A.M. & regulated some things. Have not sat up much since. Feel tired out & unwell & lonely. How much I miss my dear child, & I cannot help thinking of C. & the children.

Tuesday 20th.

Windy & unpleasant. Ironed a little & cleaned myself in hopes of feeling better, but I feel wretched yet. Henry & Ann gone to John H's this P.M. Abner started for Somerset last evening.

Rush. Wednesday March 21st.

Very cold & tempestuous, some snow, like winter again. No going out. Began my new calico dress that Sister E. sent me, but I do not enjoy having or making anything.

Thursday 22^d.

Still cold & boisterous, as cold as winter, difficult to keep warm in the house when the wind blows so hard. Too many rents & cracks in the old house to keep it warm when the wind blows as it has done today & yesterday. Have sewed some & read some & written some & lounged some: wish Frances would come. Shall look for R. as soon as the weather becomes pleasant. I dread seeing him but I want to hear from Freda. More than two weeks have gone already since I had her in these arms & how I long to see her again.

Friday March 23d.

Not as cold as for a few days past, but squally.

Sewed nearly all day & read this evening. Henry & Ann gone to John Hillman's.

Margaret has been here. She is sick & has sore eyes & is unable to work. Poor girl.

Daffodils & hyacinths are budded. Crown imperials & Pionies are up, but our garden looks very badly. I should like to work in it but the hens pay no respect to my labors.

Dreamed of my darling last night. Thought father, Wm. Penn, Abner & Elma & Angeline were there with me. Freda had bad sores on her face & wrist, & one of her feet was sore & swollen, & looked very badly, & all because she had not been kept clean. But she was just as dear to me as ever, the precious one. What does such a dream mean?

Saturday March 24th, 1860

Cold & snowy. Like winter again. Finished my dress & have it on, a nice clean calico. So cold I fear Fr. will not come,

Twelve weeks ago my "dear darling baby birdie" was here, & I washed & dressed her, oh, she was so sweet & clean; & she stopped to kiss me & hug me while I was dressing her, as she most always did, & said "Aunty, I love you." Is it possible it was for the last time? & that I shall never kiss those clean little baby feet again. If I could only hold her in my arms for a few minutes it would be worth half the world to me. If R. had the least idea what I suffer, & how much I love her, he could not & would not keep her from me.

Wrote this P.M. & read for Father this evening.

Rush. March 25th. Sunday.

Cold & cloudy. No going to meeting, & F. does not come yet. A new kitchen girl has come. Have spent half the day in writing to Mary. She wants to hear from us, but my letters only trouble her. Will the time ever come when I can be cheerful & comfortable again, I wonder, I will try to be patient.

March 26th, Monday.

Cold yet, Worked a little, sewed a little & wrote some. Nobody comes yet. We must go for Fr. tomorrow. It is too lonely.

Rush. Tuesday March 27th.

Bright & cold. This A.M. Ann & I drove to Uncle J's, & Uncle E's, & Leland's & Mr. Hartwells & the P.O. Frances came with us to Mary F's. She will stay there today & intends to come here tomorrow. Abner came from Somerset last night. This P.M. have been sewing & writing. Looked for Revilo, but he has not come.

Thursday 29th.

Fair & warm. About 10 Revilo came with 4 teams & got ready to go about 2 P.M. Did not come to the house until just before he left, & then only into the kitchen for Stove &c. I went & spoke with him. Freda has coughed for 2 weeks & he thinks she has whooping cough. Said she does not cough very hard. But I fear it will go hard with her, & I know she wants Aunty. How I would like to administer to her wants

& make her as comfortable as possible. I can hardly bear to think that I cannot do so. oh, so cruel. The moment I saw R. coming my strength failed me & I felt sick, I had dreaded it so, & yet I wanted to hear from my darling so much. I have not been fit to do anything this P.M. or evening. He was in a great hurry apparently, & did not stop to talk & I am glad ~~to talk~~ he did not do it, for I did not feel able to talk with him. I presume when he comes next time he will say or do something more.—

March, Friday 30th, 1860

Fine & warm. Have sewed some but do not feel like work. Abner & Frances have been here part of the day. Ann went with them to J. H's, & H. has gone for her this evening. It is so lonely here, I wish F. could stay here. Expect R. again tomorrow.

Saturday March 31st, 1860.

The anniversary of our dear Mother's death. Twenty six years ago at 4 P.M. she breathed her last, & oh, what a change was made in all the future, for all her family, 10 children of various ages, from

the infant of six weeks to the grown up girl of 21 years, were to go on the rest of their lives without a mother, the most necessary, the most valuable of earthly friends, & what an experience has been ours! such an experience through all these long years that we never could forget even for a brief space our bitter, bitter loss. And such an experience has it been to me that the three words "a motherless child" have more of sorrow, more of wretchedness attached to them than any other three words that can be put together. Oh, my mother, my mother, how faithfully you have been remembered, but it has been with suffering & bitter tears. I often dream of her yet & she is always in some familiar household scene.

We feel sensibly, I more so with increasing years, that it is an invaluable blessing to have a father, & a great privilege to have a home. We seldom prize these enough until they are gone from us & are beyond our reach.

There were enough sad associations connected with this day to fill all my thoughts. But oh, the keen anguish besides that I have been made to feel. When & where will it end?

I was determined to be as calm as possible if R. did come, & thought I would not speak to him this time. He came about 10 A.M. with three teams & two or three men on horse back to drive sheep & cattle. I understood father to say he cd. not take all this time but would have to come again. So I sewed on & on until about 3 P.M. when I saw them all start off & father came in saying "he had settled everything with Revalo, & he had taken all his things & wd. not have to come again". With these words, all the hopes that I had left of contriving to see Freda, & all the hold that I had upon R. seemed to be cut off, & if father had struck me I sh. not have felt more hurt.

Father had given me to understand that as soon as his business with R. was settled, he sh. tell R. that he must settle with me, & I left him to do so.

But he let him go without saying a word to him about paying me. I know that he does not intend to come here again & that I cannot go to see him. I had intended to talk with him & hoped to get some sort of a promise from him that he wd. bring Freda to see us, & that I might see her at his home. But it was all cut off at once & so unexpectedly! R.'s treatment of me when I was there last has never been resented in the least by father or Henry, & they allow R. to think that they sustain him in his treatment of me, & that they do not consider it of importance enough to speak to him about it, & that I am to blame if any body, & that I have no business to try to see Freda unless it is agreeable to himself & wife. It is just as the wife said to me, "She had never heard that any of the rest had said anything but us two women," meaning Frances & myself.

I wanted father to ask R. "what was his object in treating me in that way, & what he meant by

saying that I must not come there to see Freda & that he should not bring her here." But father would not do it. He only told R. "that we all wanted to see Freda & he must bring her down." R. replied that "he should have the control of the child himself," just as if his bringing her to see us had anything to do with the control of his child.

Father talked with him a little but said nothing probably that R. cared for.—I had supposed that R. would come into the house & settle with father, & I should have a chance to talk with them together before he got all his things away. I feel that I have been deceived by my own folks. Father seems to think more of his own ease & comfort than of anything else. If he is an old man I cannot overlook everything.

I hope I shall never consider my own ease & comfort of more consequence than doing my duty towards others. If I had done so heretofore I should not be here perhaps. If father had the most remote idea of the anxiety I have for

Freda, or could understand in the least what I suffer from this cruel separation, or could know of the intense longing I have to see that little one, he would not, it seems to me, he cd. not scold me for the least & every manifestation of feeling, & act & talk with so much indifference.

It seems to me at times that men have no feelings, & I do not think that all women have sensitiveness enough to ever suffer very keenly. To some natures a harsh word is as bad as a blow, & to some sensitive minds indifference & coldness inflict the keenest pangs. But there are some people who cannot understand that this is so, who do not know but all persons are as obtuse in feeling as themselves, & thus go on inflicting pain upon somebody constantly, & never know the misery they cause.

My darling has the whooping cough & will probably suffer very much for several weeks yet, & there is no way for me to even hear from her.

How can I live so? It seems at times as if I must hold her in my arms; but I stretch out my hands in vain, I grasp the empty air.

I think I never suffered more intensely than I did for several hours today. When father told me what was done, & what was not done, I felt as if there was nobody to look to for help, for I had depended upon him in this case, & he had done nothing & had hindered me from doing anything.

Why, they act & talk as if that child was not in the case, as if they cared nothing for her; while to me she is what makes the case, she it is that makes it worth while to do or say anything. I have not a thought about it separate from her. Oh, they don't know that she is all the world to me. They never can know how dear she is to me.

Charlotte & Neddy & Esther came about half past 6, & since then I have been sitting up. Abner & Frances have been to the city today, & Mary Julia came home with them; but I cannot enjoy it, my head aches intensely & I am so

wretched. Oh, such a day of suffering. At bed time Neddy had an outburst of temper, & in her efforts to conquer him C. was nearly conquered herself. She kept her temper better than she used to, & so of course she succeeded better. But the affair resulted in hard words between Frances & Ann, & altogether it was an incident much to be regretted. It takes much from the pleasure of C's visit here, & it is the first time E. has been here. Hope I shall feel better in a few days, that I may be able to think what is best to be done.

Rush. April 1st, 1860, Sunday.

Colder & snowy. Frances & Grandma have been to meeting. The rest have visited at home. Mary Julia has entertained Esther by showing her all my curiosities. I have been lying down part of the time & feel some better. About 3 P.M. Mr. P. came from the city to dinner. This making such a stir for Sunday visitors I do not like, & hope it will not occur

often. I like to have C. & the children, or any of our own family, here on Sundays, but I do not enjoy the company of strangers on Sundays.

Towards night they all left but Esther, who is to go tomorrow morning, & this evening I have been visiting with her. Had a talk with C. today. She feels confident that she is going to better her situation & also her children's, & I do so hope she will not be disappointed.—

Abner & Frances have gone too.

April 2^d, Monday

Freezing & bright. Esther left about 7. Washed a little, & regulated the house, & since then have been sewing & writing. Read this evening for father, how it hurts my eyes.

April 8th, Sunday

Warm & pleasant. Went to meeting with Henry & Ann. Heard Mr. Elmore & Mr. Brady. Was not interested in either. What a treat it would be to hear a first rate sermon once more. But going to church in this way

does me no particular good. It helps use up the day it is true, but Sunday is no longer to me than any other day. Have been talking with Mrs. Ward about my darling. She is a kind good woman. It was 14 wks. yesterday since she was here, my dearest one; how the time flies; & yet the days are long & the weeks are oh, so long.—Have worked in the garden much of the time during the week, & how I have missed my little one. She was so fond of being in the garden, she liked to help “work” & she liked to see the flowers & she knew the names of many of them. She always picked the first dandelions. On Tuesday I went to the Falls, & it was so lonesome. Freda had always been with me there, & she was always delighted to go there. When she first began to walk out, she wd. most always ask to go to the falls, & when she first began to talk it was “less go falls, aunty.” She thought she must go in the garden every day & sometimes several times a day, until

the snow covered the ground. The house has been so lonesome that I welcome any kind of weather that it will answer to go out in. The severe labor of the past few days has almost tired me out; yet it has absorbed my thoughts to a certain degree, & I am thankful that I can work. Dream of her almost every night; Oh! that I cd. hear from her.

Yesterday P.M. Abner & Frances went with me to the burying ground. We set out some plants on those precious mounds of earth & left them to be nurtured by the rains & tears of heaven. There is a sad pleasure in doing this. Oh, my mother! oh, my sister! How little we know whose beloved form the next mound will cover, or which of us will enter first the portals of another world.

It may matter but little which goes first, for in a few years we shall all be gone, the young as well as the old; but I trust we may all dwell together on the other side of the river, where five of our loved ones have already gone.

Rush. Sunday, April 15th, 1860.

A bright day. Yesterday snow fell to the depth of several inches, but it has nearly all gone now. Last night it froze hard & seemed like winter again.

Have written to Aunt Mary W. for the first since my darling went away. Have told her all about it, & to call up those circumstances makes me more wretched than ever. I have nearly cried my eyes out, for I want to see that little one so badly. It is almost 6 weeks since I have seen her; & no way seems open to see her again, & no way to even hear from her.

R. was at Harvey's last Tuesday, & in that way we heard that Freda has got nearly over the whooping cough. I know she wants to see me, & I cannot go to her.

I have thought of her all the week, & dreamed of her almost every night.

I have worked some in the garden & yard, but it has been windy & cold most of the time. I find relief in working hard. I get tired out at times, & can do nothing for awhile.

When I sit down to rest, if she were here she would be on my lap in a moment. When I lie on the settee, if she were here she would be instantly by my side to share it with me. When out to work she wd. be with me every moment. I miss her when I go to bed & when I get up. I want her here to dress & undress. Fifteen weeks since my little one went from Grandpa's.

Fifteen weeks of weariness, of anxious longings have been mine. I never missed her more than I did yesterday. I collected notes from my journal, & wrote nearly all day about her. She has been such a precious treasure to me from the first. I loved her very much before "dear Mamma" was taken away; & Mary Julia wd. ask a dozen times in the

course of an hour perhaps, "if she was not a nice baby?" or "isnt she pretty?" I never knew Mary J. to think so much of any other baby.—Frances came on Thursday she walked from Avon, & Friday A.M. I took her back & called at Uncle Ephraim's & Leland's.—"James & Sarah," the Irish help, have been home; & now H. & Ann have rode away. Sunday makes no difference to some of our family.

Rush Tuesday Apr. 17th.

Thunder shower last night. Cold today. Six weeks since I have held my darling in these arms & kissed her dear cheek. And what shall I do? I want to see her so much.

Have been arranging trunks & boxes & baskets, & find so many things to remind me of Freda & "dear Mamma." Some remains of my darling's first playthings are in various places; a headless doll, the first she ever had, & other things I cannot bear to throw away.

Then I found some dear little worn out Shoes, or congress gaiters rather, which she wore a year & a half ago, but they are precious to me. I can kiss these & cry over them, but will I ever kiss again those dear little feet they once contained? Oh, dear, oh dear.

This P.M. went with Ann to see Sarah Kilpatrick, a young girl dying of consumption. It is a sad sight, but She does not know that she must die.

Thursday April 19th, evening.

Anniversary of Sister Sarah's Death. Two years have already gone since that sad day, since the sunshine was taken from my whole future, & oh! the misery, the anguish I have known within those two years. Oh! My sister, why was it so? I cannot yet be reconciled to your departure. I cannot yet think it was God's will to remove a Mother from her helpless innocent children, & so suddenly too. It is so hard, so hard!

Twenty years of a comfortable, uneventful life would have done less, probably, to impair the system & destroy the powers of life, than the two past years crowded with misery such as I have endured have done for me. And could I see a hope even of happiness in my future life, I might bear up yet & struggle on, but it is so very, very dark.

This P.M. Rev. Elmore & daughter called. I told him "R. would not allow me to see Freda," I asked "if he could not tell me how I might reach him." Mr. E. replied "that he had said all he could to him". & offered me not a single word of comfort, he evidently wished to wave the subject. I did expect a little sympathy from him.—

I intend to see Mr. M.—R's minister, but I may get no satisfaction from him.

Been to see S.K. again & took her some flowers. There is no change for the better.

Rochester Apr. 21st, 1860, Saturday

Rainy A.M. About 10 o'clock left home with Abner & Frances, & reached the city at 1 P.M. Mary Julia & Neddy have the whooping-cough very badly, & look quite sick.

Found Angeline & Theodore here. Have been to Mt. Hope with Angeline & Charlotte. First time I have visited brother T's grave. More than a year & a half has already past since we laid him here & the grass has grown green above him. It is in a pleasant part of the grounds, & C. goes there often.

Since we returned I have done some shopping & called on Mrs. Coleman & Miss Martin. Have been talking about Freda & I feel badly. Spent the evening with C. Have met several persons that I know. No Unitarian minister here now. Church has been burned, & society is poor, wish I knew what has become of Mr. Richardson. 16 weeks since my darling went away.

Sunday April 22^d, 1860

Rained again last night.

Two years today since Sarah was buried, since we saw her dear remains committed to the earth, & we returned to this sad, this lonesome home, to live on in wretchedness. Well that I knew so little then of the sore trials in store for me. I sh. have given up the struggle at once.

Went to Christ Church this A.M. with Charlotte & heard Mr. Neely preach a good sermon. But the services were so long before he commenced preaching, that I became very tired. Two persons were "baptized" & it was quite tedious for me. C. did not think so however.

But it seems so much better to see her go to Church on Sunday morning than it used to to see her go to work. If she will only hold out it will be well. Visited awhile with C. & Children & talked of brother T. It seemed so pleasant.

St. Peters chimes awoke me this morning, very sweet.

About 3 P.M. left for home with Angeline & Theodore, who came from B. Wing's to day. Abner & Fr. went to Henry B's last night & came home this evening, but they have gone to Mr. H's now.

The day has been unpleasant & the ride home was not very comfortable, & I am tired & have the headache now.

Monday Apr. 23^d.

Cold & blustering. Worked about house till 10 & then went with Angeline & Frances, first to Uncle J's, & then to Uncle E's to dinner, then to Wm. J. Harris's, then a short call at Mr. Winans & then to the burying ground & set out some shrubbery, & then to Leland's on our way home. Met Revilo & talked with him a few minutes. Agreed to see me at Harry B's this evening, says Freda has got over the whooping cough, & has not coughed very hard. Oh, the dear child. Met Henry, Ann, & Theodore going to J. Hillman's—

Tuesday, April 25th, 1860.

Freezing cold. About 7 Angeline & Theodore left for home. It hardly seems as if they had been here, their stay has been so short.

Abner & Fr. staid here last night, but they left his morning.

Grandma left this morning for Mt. Morris, & it is so lonely here again.

I have done but little, am almost sick, went to bed this P.M. Went to Harry B's last evening to see Revilo & it was 12 when we got back. Abner & Frances went with me. I talked with R. an hour or more & no satisfaction could I get from him. Tried to make some arrangement to see Freda, but he seems unable to act for himself & to have no control of her. I told him if he would satisfy me in respect to Freda, I would satisfy him in respect to the claim I have against him. Said "It would make trouble to see Freda". I asked him "if he would try to have me see

her & not have it make trouble"? But I could get no reply from him. I told him it was seven weeks since I had seen Freda, & every day was a day of suffering that kept me from her. I told him I wanted to settle with him peaceably & make him no trouble. I

wished him to be satisfied as well as myself, & begged him to propose some terms, or say what would suit him, but I could get nothing out of him.

April 28th, Saturday.

Seventeen weeks has my darling been gone, & only twice have I seen her. Had I known this when she went away, what wd I have done!

Thursday Aunt Elisa went with me to see Rev. E. Moore, who preaches in Lakeville, but now lives in Avon. I wanted to talk with him about Freda. He knows R. & wife well, & as he is their minister I think he might influence them to do better, if he is disposed to do so. I told him how they

treated me, & will not allow me to see Freda, & asked him if he wd. use his influence with them, the wife in particular, & persuade her to let me see the child. He said "he wd. like to make peace," but did not promise that he wd. say much, or do much. But as he is their pastor I think he ought to know how they talk, & what they do. He "thinks the best way wd. be to say nothing about the affair but let it die away, & perhaps the time will come when they will feel better." Cold prudence may counsel such a course but how little they know that in the meantime my heart is breaking.—

Abner & Frances started for Somerset on Thursday to be gone about a week. Cousin Eliza came home with me & staid until Friday evening when Cyrus came for her. I tryed my best to entertain Cousin E. & she seemed to enjoy the visit. Has not been here in several

years before. Today been hard at work, cleaned bedrooms & carpets &c, &c.

Sunday Apr. 29th, 1860.

Fine & warm. It is so lonesome in the house that I can hardly stay here. Ann has been with me to what was once our burying ground. Oh, dear! My mother, my mother, why was it so? For more than 20 years this was a loved, a sacred spot; but now it seems as if she was buried neither here nor in W. Avon. It is dreadful to have to disturb the remains of the dead. It is better to let them moulder to dust where they are first laid; but I did not know it until it was done.

We took a walk in the woods & then came home. Hardly any flowers yet. The grass is a little green. How my darling would have enjoyed this walk. It seems as if I cannot do without her today. Kitty has been in the house awhile, & Freda loved pussy cat so much,

Rush. Sunday, May 6th 1860.

Fine, but no rain yet, roads very dusty. Trees in blossom, air is loaded with fragrance & all without is so beautiful. Freda dear wd. enjoy being out with me so much, she would work in the garden with me, & watch the flowers with as much interest as I do. In cleaning & arranging things during the week there has been so much to remind me of my darling. This makes it all sad work for me. I find a little pair of worn-out gloves, or

stockings, or some other trifle, & a sense of utter misery comes over me. I feel all the wrong & the injustice towards my dear one anew, & wonder how long it must be thus. Yesterday P.M. I put on a dress that I had not worn since last fall, & in the pocket I found some acorns that she had put there when we had been walking out, & also her little ring, a “wed wing”, as she called it that Aunt Fanny brought from Plymouth.

We had looked for it & supposed it was lost; but she had probably put it in my pocket when she came into the kitchen to “wash dishes” or do some other ‘work’. I never saw a diamond ring that wd. be worth as much as this to me, a little beaded, horsehair thing that cost a few cents; but it has been worn on one of those dear little fingers, that I can no longer hold in my own, & she thought it very pretty.

Frances intends to try to see her before long, but what shall I do? I dream almost every night of seeing her, & once she said, “What for do I stay here so long, Aunty? I want to go & stay with you”.

Frances came back from S. Thursday A.M. & Abner on Friday. Cleaned parlor & bedroom & that part of the house is all settled now. Have worked hard every day; but there is but little encouragement to do any thing of the kind. I can enjoy nothing, but I like to see things tidy.

It was 8 wks. on Tuesday since I have seen my darling, & 18 wks. yesterday since they so cruelly took her away. For four months has she been withheld from her birthright, has she been cheated of that love & affection which are her due: how long oh! Lord, how long must it be thus!

Rush. May 13th Sunday.

Delightful weather, it has rained during the week & things look green & fresh & beautiful. The apple trees are in blossom & the air is full of fragrance. My flowers look finely in the garden. I have worked more or less in the garden every day. Yesterday I went out at 5 in the morning & worked till 10, & was then so tired that I went to bed for two or 3 hours.

I am so lonely only when I am hard at work. It wd. be so nice here for my dear little one, & she would be so happy here.

On Friday Charlotte & Mr. Parsons from Michigan came about noon & left at 5 P.M.

Had a letter from Sister Mary. Frances intends to go & see her in June, how I wd. like to go too, & if I could afford the expense I wd. do so. Next to Freda I want to see Mary & her baby more than any one else in the world.

It was 19 weeks yesterday since my darling was taken away, & she looked so sweet & pretty, & said “Aunty, you sorry I going away,” & when I said ‘yes’ she took my handkerchief & wiped my eyes & looked so concerned. I know she has wanted to see me many times, & she wants to see me now. It is several wks. since we have heard from her,

oh, dear! oh, dear! If that child could be with me here today what wd. I not give! I dream of seeing her almost every night. To think that all this time she is where they do not feel it a privilege to have her; & to any body but her father she is but a stranger or an intruder. It is too bad. When here she might have so much love.

Rush. Tuesday May 15th 1860.

Fine, cool. This A.M. ironed & then walked up to Harvey B's, called at Mrs. Arner's, & took dinner at Mr. Daley's, & then with Mrs. D. called at Mr. Flamburg's, & came home about 3 P.M.

It is now 10 weeks since I have seen my dear little lambkin, my darling Freda. It seems as if something must happen to interrupt this dreadful state of things; but oh, dear, it may not be dreadful to any body but myself.

Rush Thursday May 17th, 1860.

Fine. Rose early & worked hard till 10 A.M., in order to have everything ready for Charlotte & her new husband. She was married this morning about 7 o'clock to L. V. Griffin. They rode directly here & staid about an hour, took dinner & went on to Genesee. So it is; how soon the places of those who leave us are filled again, & how soon they seem to be forgotten. I do hope this is all for the best, & that C. will take comfort & they will all get along nicely.

It seems so much better than if she had married an entire stranger to us. I hope he will make her a good husband, & act the part of a good father towards her children. They need so much care & watching now.

Oh, such a long day as this has been! Frances was here this A.M. but Abner was too busy to come. This P.M. F. & I took "little gay" & went to Mr. Hartwell's, & Alvira went with us to call at Mrs. Morehouse's, & Mrs. Cookingham's & Aunt Eliza's. Found them all cleaning house. We took tea at Mr. H's & then rode to W. Avon. Went to the burying ground & watered all the plants. They look quite fresh considering how dry the weather has been.

Rush Saturday, May 19—1860.

Rainy & cool, fire in stove. Have cleaned closets & done small chores all day. Necessary things, but trifling too, & seems almost like a waste of time. It is only when very busy that I can forget myself & my troubles.

It is a hard thing to say that it is 20 weeks since my dear, my precious one was torn from me so cruelly: Yes, 20 weeks of wretchedness have been mine, & 20 weeks have they been trying to estrange my darling from those who love her so well. It is so wicked to try to make her forget us; it is so unjust to her & to the memory of her mother. Oh! she is but a child, & they will succeed in all they wish.

Abner & Frances were here a little while this evening.

Rush Sunday May 20, 1860

Fine but cold; fear we shall have frost, went to meeting this A.M. & Heard El. Nisbet. A very fine discourse, the best I ever heard him preach. Have written to Aunt M. this P.M. Have thought of my darling so much today.

May 23^d.

Went to city with Abner & Frances & Alvira. Reached there about 11 A.M. Had two of Sarah's pictures copied for Revilo. Bought little else but Shakers.

After 9 when we got home. Mary Julia came with us to stay a week or so. She does not attend school this summer.

It seems odd to see Mr. G in brother T's place. Could not help thinking of Theodore much of the time. Yet I hope it may be best for C. & the children & all concerned. Mr. G. & C. are very friendly, tried to make it pleasant for us to day, & succeeded too.

Rush. May 25th, 1860.

This morning Sis & I rode to W. Avon to the Burying Ground. It is a dear & pleasant spot where our loved ones are laid, & on this bright morning it was all so beautiful. We lingered there awhile, & then called at Mr. Winans. Went to J. Hillman's & took dinner. Called at Mr. Hartwell's for Frances & then went to Aunt Harriet's & spent the P.M. On our return called at Uncle Jephtha's.

It seems good to have Mary Julia here again & enjoy herself as she used to. She is very dear to me yet. She is good company & we talk of Freda too.

Rush. Sunday, May 27th, 1860.

Fine day.—Yesterday did various chores & helped Mary Julia label her specimens. She is beginning to collect curiosities, & I have given her all I could spare, & an Ancient Trunk to keep them in. Find myself unable to walk but little. Think I sprained my ankle in jumping from the buggy on Friday. Hope I shall not be laid up entirely.

It was 21 weeks yesterday since my darling was torn from these arms; 21 weeks since she, that I love better than all the world beside was removed from my love & care. Oh! for one look on that dear little face! Oh! that I cd. hold her in my arms for one short moment! It was 11 weeks last Tuesday since I have seen her, my darling, my 'duck', my precious one.—Abner & F. here this evening. To-morrow Frances & Mary Julia & Lily B. intend to go & see her. I shall feel so anxious until they come back, for fear something unpleasant will happen; & I do so want to hear from her.

Rush. May 28th, 1860, Monday.

They have come back, & have seen my darling, & had a good visit with her. All but the Grandmother the little boy & Freda had gone to a funeral. Frances got there at half past 10 & staid till 3 P.M. The brother & sister of R's wife came home between 12 & 1. The sister invited them to take off their things & stay to dinner. F. said she would, as she

wanted to see R. They waiting till 3 P.M. started for home & met R. & wife & the two older children. F. stopped & R. just spoke & drove on. R. was white with rage & surprise. Their being away seems to me providential. The sister was pleasant as any body cd. be & did not hinder their visit with Freda at all. When they first asked her if she wanted to see "Aunty," she said "no," but very soon she did not seem afraid as at first & talked about me, said "I must come & stay all night, she wanted to see me." & asked "if Aunty was sick, & what made her sick," & sent me some flowers, a columbine, a violet & a buttercup, to "member her by," the dear little darling.

I sent a new dress & sunbonnet for Mabel, & Frances had for her a painted picture of a girl & kitten, a little red riding hood, a roll of calicoes, & some candies. She was very much pleased with them, & the little boy was happy & pleased & seemed kind to her, & the candies were shared with him of course. Fr. talked to her about me & our folks & about herself & her own mamma, for she seemed to be forgetting somethings. Then F. asked her if she would come to Grandpa's with papa? She said yes & we'll take the little white horse & go to the burying ground." She used to say "little gay". She has got over the whooping cough, but does not look very well. The wife's sister has taught her the letters & is teaching her to read. The little boy goes to school, but Freda does not. I was afraid they wd. send her to school this summer. If I had only gone too, how glad I wd. have been, but it has done me so much good to hear from her; & this will help her so much to remember us. Oh, it happened so nice for us!

Rush. May 29th, 1860

I have felt so much better, for I have heard from my little one, & she has talked about me. It is 12 weeks since I have seen her, & they are trying to have her forget me. She will not forget me entirely, but I have reason to believe that they try to set her against me & the little boy too. The wife has heard that I blame her more than I do him & she is mad about it. I certainly do, but I think R. is very much to blame too.

Mrs. Cookingham & Emma C. have visited here this P.M. & Leland & Mary have called.

Wednesday May 30th, 1860.

About 2 P.M. Frances came to tell us that R. & wife & Freda were at Harvey B's & father & I had better go up & see Freda. Abner harnessed his horses as soon as he could & went with us. Father walked & we got there first. As I went in I had a glimpse of Freda in another room the door being open, & I went towards her, but

the wife saw me & shut the door & locked it before I cd. get in, & said "you can't see her, you can't see her." Said I, "I want to see Freda a few minutes that is all I want. R. & Harvey were at the shop. Maria B. was at work in the pantry.—I sat down & waited for father; he & Abner soon came in. But before they came R. came in & sent straight into

that room. I said "how do you do? Revilo, don't you see me? But he would neither speak nor look at me. Father went to the door & knocked & said "he wanted to see R. & Freda." They made no answer. Pretty soon Harvey came in & father told him "he wanted to see R., he had business with him." Harvey went around to the window & spoke with R. & he sent word that "he wd. see father but not in the presence of Julia." So Harvey went to go in the room with father; & as Abner was sitting near the door I told him to go in. There was an open door, & my darling was in that room, cd. I sit still? No, I went too. Revilo & H. both tried to close the door so that Abner & I cd not go in.

But we got in. The wife had put Freda in a corner & stood before her & covered her all up with her dress, so that I had not a glimpse of her, & R. stood by the wife trembling & as white as a ghost. I said "Freda, Aunty is here & she wants to see you very much, Aunty loves her darling." In the mean time Harvey had tried to get Abner out of the room, & gone into the kitchen & got the tongs & attempted to strike A. & told him he wd knock his brains out. A. held H's hands & defended himself. Father & I begged him, A. to stop, & they struggled till both got out of doors, & H. told A. never to come into his house again. I had just time to say to R. that "I had nothing to say to them, I just wanted to see Freda a few minutes," when Harvey came in & walked me out. Father talked with them nearly half an hour & I sat on the doorstep most of the time & waited for him. R. was plausible about the business affairs; & father talked to them both very

plainly, told them what he & others thought of their conduct, but they said "I should not see Freda." When father opened the door I asked him "if Freda was not coming out." "No,; he said" They wont let her come." Said I "tell her Aunty wants to see her very much," & he did tell her.

I had thought I wd. stay near them & see her when they started for home, but then it occurred to me that they wd. cover her up & hide her so that she cd. not see me, nor I her, & I concluded to come home with A. & father. I now think R. is as much to blame as the wife. Father cd. not believe before that they were so bad & would talk so; he believes it now. I had not thought that Harvey had such a bad temper, & R's shows a worse disposition than I could ever think of his having.

Frances has just come home without, & is to stop at H's for her umbrella. It is a terrible state of things; but I think R. means to do his worst. He seems so unreasonable & inhuman.

Rush. Thursday May 31st.

Cloudy, but no rain yet, showers all about us yesterday. Sis & I did not get up till about 8 o'clock. At 9 Mr. & Mrs. Winans & Julia came. They left about 3 P.M. We had a very

good visit with them. Frances came this P.M. She is helping Mrs. B today. They feel very much ashamed of what Harvey did yesterday.

On her way home with Abner yesterday, she called at Harvey's for her umbrella. They were drinking tea & she saw them all, & spoke to Freda. R. said "don't you lay your hands on her." Fr. told him she did not wish to. She spoke to him about the pictures she left up to R.s on Monday. He said "he never ordered them". Before he left here he said he wanted Sarah's picture. I told him "I had two that I had had a long time & could not give them away, but I wd. have them copied for him as soon as I could," he said "he wanted them in gilt frames just like mine" & I told him I wd. have it done, & I told him what they wd. probably

cost & it was well understood by him. "But," said I, "as you have none at all, here is a little one that I had copied from one that Abner has, & I will give it to Freda & you can keep it for her."

When I saw him at Harvey B.s about a month since & he spoke about the pictures then, & it was talked over again, I told him it had not been convenient to get them yet, but I wd. get them as soon as I cd. & send them to him. I had just got them done & sent them to him by Fr. on Monday, & intended to ask him yesterday "if he was pleased with them?" but I had no chance, & now he says "he never ordered them." I can make nothing of it but lie. He told Fr. "she slyed[?] up there when they were gone & interfered with the children." He talked very unreasonable.

The wife told Maria B. yesterday that "R. told her to do as she did & she was afraid to do otherwise." But I do not believe he has told her to do all that she has done, & I now think he is as much to blame as she is.

They went home last night, & Mr. & Mrs. B, the old folks, are at Harvey's today.

Rush June 2d, 1860

This morning went to city with Abner, Frances & Mary Julia. Pleasant ride there & back.

Called on Judge P. & at J. Rapalje's, did but little else. Dinner at Cs. Saw Maria B. & Helen &c. Charlotte & Mr. Griffin came up this evening. Did not get here until about 10 o'clock.

22 weeks has my dear little one been gone from Grandpa's. Five months have gone; & it was hard to be away from her even a week. In one sense it has been an age. Oh! the weary days & nights! In another sense it has been but as a day, for she is the same dear child to me, as when she said "good bye, Aunty," & "I going to Grandpa Bigelow's to stay two nights," & she, all innocent of the designs of her father, was as happy as a bird; & did not know that "Aunty's" heart was breaking in the mean time. If I could have seen her even five minutes the other day & kissed her & talked with her a little I cd. have lived on it a month.

Sunday June 3d.

Very pleasant this morning. Father & wife gone to church. C. & Mr. G. & Henry & Ann gone to ride. It is so quiet here.

In the P.M. Abner & Frances came & Mr. & Mrs. Hillman were here also. It seems good to have so many of our folks here, & they have all seemed to enjoy it. C. says it was just 14 yrs. last night since she came here for the first time. I came home with herself & Theodore & did not get here until they had all gone to bed.—In 1849.

Eleven years ago last night Theodore had an attack of cholera, & it was an anxious night for us. One of the most terrible storms was in progress that I ever knew. For two or three hours there was a constant lightning & many houses were struck. Theodore's sickness was probably caused by a sudden change of the atmosphere. He then lived on Mortimer St.

I am glad C. likes to talk of Theodore, that she continues to respect his relatives; for I should feel so bad were it otherwise, & Mr. G. seems very kind & friendly. He brought a nice fresh shad wh. we had for breakfast & some Pineapples. Both rarities for us.—

Rush. June 10th, 1860.

Cloudy & rainy nearly all the week. Things look much better now for they needed rain very much. I have worked in the garden & it looks very clean & nice. The flowers look fine.

Wednesday helped clean cellar, & now the house cleaning is about done. Aunt Caty & Emmeline visited here on Tuesday.

Have read "The Pillar of Fire" & found it deeply interesting. Have read all the Speeches made at the Anniversary of the A. A. Slavery Society, & they were all worth reading too, some were very able. They were from Garrison, Phillips, Dr. Cheever, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Rev. A. Bradford, Elizabeth Jones, Mary Grew, Wm. Wells Brown, Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. Sam. Longfellow, Rev. Geo. F. Noyes, Rev. J.R.W. Sloane, Giles Stebbins &c., an unusual number of reverends. read them all for father, & he has enjoyed it.— Frances here yesterday. 23 weeks yesterday since my darling was taken from us. It is dreadful to write it so. How little we thought she wd. be kept from us thus. so long, oh! so long!

Rush. June 17th, 1860.

A week of pleasant weather. Strawberries & cherries are ripening, some are ripe. On Tuesday P.M. went with Frances & Alvira to Mr. Cutler's to S. Society. Did not enjoy it much. Have never been to a Society before without Freda & I miss her so much when I go out. That day it was 14 weeks since I went to see my dear little one.

On Wednesday P.M. went with Ann to the funeral of Louisa Shardlow. Mr. Nott preached, but there was nothing very striking in his discourse. Went to Mr. Hillman's & took tea.

Yesterday Henry & Ann went to K. to come back to-morrow.

Friday Abner & Fr. went to city to come back tomorrow.

It was 24 weeks yesterday since my darling was taken from her happy home at Grandpa's, from her dear & loving friends. I have dreamed of her every night lately, & I do want her here so much. I miss her all this pleasant weather. For it is lonely out of doors as well as in the house.

Yesterday P.M. I went out alone where we used to walk. It seemed as if I could almost hear her talk, "Less go sit on a log, Aunty; Less go to the hill Aunty; Less go to the brook, Aunty." Everything around & above was so very, very beautiful & quiet that I was affected even to tears. My darling would have said "See, Aunty, what a glorious sunset." & it was indeed glorious.

This Sunday has been one of those glorious, perfect June days, when it is a luxury to live; & were my darling with me & no fears of losing her, I might be really happy. I have been alone in the house a large part of the day; have written some & read some.

Charles Sumner has just made a Speech in Congress on the "Barbarism of Slavery." It is very able, & will make a sensation. No man could denounce Slavery morally, socially, politically, in stronger terms than he has done. I am so glad & thankful. Four years since he has spoken before.

Rush June 24th Sunday, 1860.

Pretty lonely week. But a plenty of good reading has enabled me to get through it very well. There are speeches on the death of Theodore Parker by Rev. S. J. May, W. Phillips, Mr. L. Garrison, Rev J. F. Clarke, &c.

Everything is interesting now that relates to him. Theo. Tilton says "Envious men, following him with unfriendly eyes across the sea, saw him walking under the sunshine of Italy, & recognized no halo about his head; yet, before many coming months or years, these same critical eyes may yet marvel to see that the tardy crown has fallen & blossomed upon his grave". T. Tilton has just preached a sermon at Music Hall, Boston, on Man & the Future." I have read it this P.M. It is said he bids fair to be as popular & effective a preacher as his mentor H. W. Beecher. He belongs to Beecher's church & is one of The Editors of the Independent. He will make a noise in the world yet.

Have read this week "Alone on a wide, wide Sea," quite good, something better than mere pastime, & with my lame ankle it was my

acceptable reading. I cannot walk out, have not been in the garden today.

Read twice, & shall probably read again Charles Sumner's Speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery." Many pronounce it the greatest speech that has ever been made in Congress. It is called "not only the event of the season but a National event." "He has left little to be said on the moral, social, political & economical phases of the subject, little to be said & nothing to be answered. It is so thorough, so compact, so readable, so complete in evidence, so perfect in logic, so excellent in rhetoric, so elevated in moral tone, as to be a

Manual from which answers to all ordinary objections can be drawn." It is to me as fascinating as a romance. Attempts to assassinate him have been made on account of it already. Several years ago when listening to Chas. Sumner in speaking before the Rochester Ladies A. S. Society, there was such grandeur

in his utterances, such magnificent thoughts, & such a majesty in his bearing; that I could think of no one but Edmund Burke. It seemed to me his noble words for freedom cd. only be compared to Burke's.

Shortly after he went to England, & competent judges said at once that more than any other living statesman, he resembled Edmund Burke. This gratified me, of course, that my opinion sh. correspond with that of the learned & great of England, for I did not know until then that I was not alone in my opinion.—

25 weeks yesterday since the dearest object I have on earth was taken from me, & I have seen her but twice in all those weary weeks. But I love her as much as ever. I cannot give her up. I have thought of her so much through the week, & dreamed of her nearly every night, my dear, my precious one. On Thursday the 21st. it was five years since Sister Sarah was married; & more than two years has she been in her grave. I cannot realize this last; for it is as an occurrence of yesterday, fresh in my mind.

Rush July 1st Sunday, 1860.

A very busy week, had a fine shower Thursday night & rain on Friday. Lame ankle all the week. Ann been sick since Tuesday.

On Monday Frances was here & Maria B. & baby called, & Mary & Jane Winegar came from Mt. Morris. Henry went to city & Neddy came back with him. Parlor partition finished & parlor regulated.

On Tuesday evening Emmeline & Ezra called. I thought of my darling so much for it was 16 weeks since I had held her in my arms & kissed her dear cheek. Did not feel like visiting.

On Wednesday P.M. went to Uncle J's with other company. Aunt Harriet & a dozen others there.

On Thursday P.M. about a dozen here to tea. Had a pretty good time.

On Friday it was showery. Went in A.M. with Abner to W. A. to paint our iron fence, but it was so rainy we did not do it.

In P.M. went to Uncle Ephraim's.

On Saturday, yesterday, worked nearly all day. In P.M. Julia Winans, Susan Baldwin, Cousin Isaac, James Hillman & E. Price took tea here. In evening called with Henry & Ann & Winegar girls at J. Hillman's. Neddy went too & rode little gray. Did not get home till eleven.

Am tired of visiting now.

This A.M. went to church & heard Mr. Elmore preach a dull sermon, & sat there this P.M. through their 'communion'. Saw Mary Roach who inquired after Freda, & then I must have a crying spell. She did not know of course that I could not bear it. It was 26 weeks yesterday since my darling went away, & I have lived on through ~~on through~~ all those weary weeks. It is terrible to think of— Six months— half a year, has she been forgetting us. My dear, my precious one, that I think of by day & dream of by night. I have dreamed several times lately that she came to see us. Will it ever be so? I am not hopeless even yet.

Rush July 4th, Wednesday 1860.

Showery day & rainy evening.

This A.M. worked about house. Spent the P.M. very pleasantly at Mr. Winans. Met my old friend Mrs. E. Baldwin there, & also several others there.

One year ago I spent most of the day entirely alone. Even Freda had gone to her grandpa B's, & I was full of apprehension on her account.—

Yesterday Alvira H. was here, & she & Frances went with me in the A.M. to the burying ground where Amanda Hartwell was buried in 1842, & which I do not remember visiting since that occasion.

Day before yesterday Mary & Jane Winegar left for their homes in Mt. Morris. Neddy went home on Monday morning too, he went alone on the cars.

17 weeks yesterday since I went to see my dear, my precious one. Oh! That I could see her again, even but for a moment.

Rush Sunday July 8th, 1860.

Keeping as quiet as possible today on account of my lame ankle. Henry & A gone to J. H's. Abner & Frances staid here last night, but went away this morning, rather a quiet day. I feel depressed & lonely.

Yesterday Frances & I went to city, drove "little gay." It was a perfect day, neither too cool nor too warm & no dust. I walked but little on account of my lame ankle. Saw Judge P. Prospect of settling with R. but, oh! dear, it seems as if every thing removes me farther from that dear child. 27 weeks! it is dreadful to write it, oh. I fear she will forget us, or be taught to dislike us. When I go to the city I always think so much about her. She has been there with me so many times, & it was so pleasant to have her with me, she enjoyed it so much, & required so much care which it was such a pleasure to give. I do miss her so much. How she

would like to have gone yesterday with "Aunty & Aunt Franny." The dear child!

C. & children are well & sis wanted to come with us, but they cd. not spare her.

We came home by the way of E. Rush & called at F. Douglass'. Saw none of the family but Rosa.

Frances intends to go to Michigan in a day or two. I am so sorry to have her go. I shall miss her so much. It is so lonely, very lonely here at times, & when I have no sister near me, I hardly know what to do.

July 9th, Monday

Worked about house this A.M. Frances came this P.M. & we put up roots for Sister Mary. She does so much want some plants & shrubbery from her old home, & she was always fond of flowers. F. intends to start for Michigan to-morrow. oh, dear. Rode to Mr. Hartwell's this P.M. & took tea, & called at F. Piersons & L. Thompson's.—

July 9 10th, Tuesday

Frances started for Michigan. Abner took her to the city. Neddy came back with him to stay awhile. I have been so wretched today. F. is so much company when she is here although I see her but little. & I shall miss her so much. And it is 18 weeks since I have seen my darling. R. was at Harvey's last night & Frances met him this morning. He tried not to speak to her. She asked him if he had any word to send to Michigan & he said 'No'. that was all. He was down a few days since to see his wheat, & we hear through Maria B. that Freda is well & that she goes to school. I hope this is a mistake, for R. said he would not send her to school until she was a few years older, but she will probably be sent with the little boy. Oh! dear. We talked about my darling this morning & it has upset me for the day, for we can hope for nothing from R. & we think he does not mean to bring her when he comes to harvest his wheat, as we have been hoping he would do.

Rush. July 12th. Thursday, 1860

Went with Abner & Neddy this morning to W. Avon to paint the iron fence that encloses our burial lot & did not return till 4 P.M. We worked there yesterday P.M. & it has taken us longer than we supposed it would.

It is a beautiful spot where our loved ones sleep & there is a sad satisfaction in adorning their last resting place. The weather is so pleasant now & the sun shines so lovingly there, & the winds breathe their soft music through the trees that are near, & it is just such spot. I am sure, as Sarah would have loved, I wish we could visit it oftener, for I love to linger there & think of the loved ones that are waiting for us, that have only gone a little while before.

Went to Mr. Winans & took dinner; these are dear good friends. I have their love & their sympathy I know, & I highly prize such friends.—

July 13th. 1860

Lovely day. Yes, a perfect day. Little gray was at my service this morning. & I called for Aunt Eliza who went with me to Aunt Harriet's. We took dinner there & went to Mrs. Landon's & took tea. These are good visits; 20 years or more have made great changes in the circumstances of these friends, but they seem to have many kindly recollections of the past.

July 15th. Sunday

Worked in the garden yesterday all that I could. Had a letter from Frances last night, She is in Detroit with Joseph & Ella, & will go to see Mary next Tuesday.

Today have been reading the proceedings of the Free Convention held in Rutland, Vt. two years ago., some fine things were said, yes, & sensible thing too, & some objectionable ones also. But the papers misrepresented them also. I think the Tribune did them injustice. This has been for me an

uncomfortable day. Those that I love do things that I cannot approve & it disturbs me. I try not to think of it, but I am not blind, nor exactly deaf, & I cannot be indifferent when I am sure they do not act for their own highest good.

About 4 P.M. Mr. Griffin, Charlotte, Sis & Mary Reynolds came. They left at 7 & took Neddy with them. We were glad to see them, but these & some other calls have made it quite a stirring busy day.

It was 28 weeks yesterday since my precious one was taken from us, my darling. The joy & comfort of my life.

July, Wednesday 18th.

On Monday R. & his men came to harvest his wheat; but he has not been near the house. Father offered to board his hands. Harvey cd. not have them, nor Mr. Fredenis, nor Mr. Daly. So they brought provisions & went home nights, about 9 miles.

It is dreadful to know that R. feels so hard towards us. I thought of Freda until I resolved to make an effort to see her, & yesterday A.M. I called for Cousin Emmaline who went with me to the school house near R's where I hoped to find Freda, Miss Sinclair, a sister of R's wife, teaches the school. She would not let us come in. She stood in the outside door & told a scholar to fasten the inside door Said she "I have control here, I am mistress here, I tell you to leave. I have orders not to let you see Freda."

I tried to persuade, I begged to see her if only for five minutes, told her I had not seen her in 4 months, She said "she didn't care if I had not seen her in 6 years, I should not see her." Said I "let me just look at her a few minutes, I'll not speak to her." "No, I should not see her."

We talked about R. & his wife. Said Miss. S. "I'm with them in every thing, I'm one of them, & I think they do right." I told her I hoped they would see their mistake & be sorry for it. I did

not hurry away even when she sent for a trustee, but I waited until two women & two men came, & I now wish I had waited for longer to see how many she would have sent for, But I spoke to none of them & wanted no disturbance.

Had I supposed she would hinder my seeing Freda, I would have gone in at once & cd. have seen her a few minutes at least, But I did not expect such a reception. She was very

imprudent & insulting. E. was not well, & she could stand no longer, so she took a seat in the buggy, & I sat on the doorstep a few minutes, I told E. I was sorry to have her sit there in the sun, I was not quite ready to go, Miss S. told her "she could go into the woods & ~~stay~~ there was a shade."

So near my darling & could not see her, it was dreadful; E. caught a glimpse of her. It was 19 weeks since I had seen that little one, the dear, dear child. my precious one.

Disappointed I drove away, another hope destroyed. —Stopped at the Hotel in Lakeville & fed our horse & rested awhile. I told Mrs. K. where we had been & how we were treated. She is a cousin of Miss. S. & R.'s wife but she thinks they do wrong & wicked & gave her opinion very freely. She says there are but few persons about there, who take their part.

We then drove to Clark Sanford's & stayed till till 10 this morning. Emmaline was tired out & I was tired, & wretched & discouraged. Eclipse of the Sun this morning.

I watched it till I thought it had a baleful effect on me, for I felt so depressed.

We reached home at 1 P.M. It was very warm. I went to bed & rested till 3 when Aunt Harriet & Landon's wife came, Then I had to exert myself again & felt some better.

It has rained some since 4 o'clock, R. & men got the wheat ready to stack & went home for a day or two.

Rush July 22, 1860 Sunday,

Went to meeting this A.M but cd. not feel interested in Mr. Nott's preaching. Wished I could hear a sermon once more that I could enjoy, This has been a tedious day, I know not what to do. I am lonely, lonely, lonely. I want the company of my dear, my precious one.

Yesterday it was 29 weeks since my darling saw her home at Grandpa Wilbur's, I am sure she is forgetting us, If I could only have seen her the other day, it would have helped her so much to remember us. It is so cruel, so wicked to keep her from us.

July 25th.

Did housework this A.M. We are our own Bridgets now & it is quite a relief not to have an Irish girl around. She had become so impudent & hateful that Ann cd. endure her no longer. I went yesterday to Stony Arabia to take her to the cabin where the "ould folks" live. She is the most eccentric, the

least trained, the wildest, the queerest specimen that ever left the Green Isle to alight in Amerriky; that is, as far as my observation extends. We are so glad to be rid of her. Her brother was altogether better than she.

Rev. Mr. Brown & wife called the P.M.

Revilo is finishing harvesting his wheat this P.M. A boy came for a jug of water this morning & I asked him if he came with Mr. B. He said "he did", I asked "is Freda well?"

he said "yes". R. has taken the precaution since to send one of our neighbors who is helping him to do the errands. R has not been near the house & will speak only to father, & to him very briefly. I have not seen him, to think he was once Sarah's husband! It is very trying to have it so. He seems to be so angry with us all, The poor misguided man. I do hope he will do better & feel better before his good angel entirely forsakes him.

It ~~was~~ is 30 weeks, yesterday nearly since the sunshine of our house departed & the dark cloud closed around us. And it seems to be no cloud with a 'silver lining' to bid us hope on. No, my fears have all been realized, & my hopes all destroyed. A dark prospect for me.

July 28th, Saturday evening.

Oh! dear. I intend to go to Lakeville to church tomorrow, hoping to see Freda there. & I feel so anxious about it, I want to look at her again & if possible speak to her.—

It is 30 weeks since she was taken from us, & 20 weeks, yes, five months since I have seen her, my precious one. It is so hard to bear it.

Did house work most all day & am very tired to night. It has been a sad day for me.

This P.M. Mrs. Hillman & Mrs. Beevs came for cherries & took tea. Abner & Ann have gone to the city for a girl.

Yesterday Ann & I went to see Margaret, & called at Mr. Frederics, Mr. Bigelow & uncle

Jeptha's. Cousin J. has just come home so I have heard from the Dutchess Co. folks.

On Thursday P.M. Ann & I called at Mr. Winans, went to the Springs, I took tea at J. Hillman's. Had a pleasant ride, Hoped to get a letter from Frances to day but none has come.

Sunday July 29th.

Rained hard most of the day, & I have been so disappointed. We could not go, & now it may be two or three weeks before I shall see her," Hope deferred makes the heart sick". If tears of agony would avail, I sh. see my dear little one. Oh, such a wretched day I have spent most of it alone & cryed myself nearly sick. What can I do?

Saturday Aug. 4th.

Another week has nearly gone. I mean to go to Lakeville, to meeting tomorrow if I can, hoping to see my darling. Ann intends to go with me.

I may be disappointed again as I was last Sunday oh! dear, oh! dear. I dreamed of her last night & night before, that she came here & I held her in my arms I kissed her dear cheek again & again. & I was so happy with her, but it was nothing but a dream. 31 weeks, it is dreadful to write it so, since she was really here. & 21 weeks last Tuesday since we saw

each other & I have lived & suffered, how much, no one knows but myself & the All Father.

Have had another letter from Frances, she is in Pine Run with Mary & all well. A letter from Angeline too, well as usual. A new girl came on Thursday & since then I have done less housework but the days have been tedious & lonely. Have not felt well, cannot relieve my mind by talking, for there is no one to sympathize with me. How little they seem to think of Freda,

Aug. 6th. Monday. 1860

Very warm. Helped wash & cleaned all the A.M. & ironed some this P.M. About 4 Mary Thompson came & I am rested a little.

Yesterday was a day of intense suffering for me. Did not go to Lakeville. Saturday evening Benjamin & Eliza & [?] & Gulielma S. came & went away about 10 o'clock Sunday morning & of course we could not leave home, words cannot tell how disappointed I was. Saturday P.M. I was full of anxiety about going for fear something would happen to prevent, or I should not see her when I got there & when the company came, I could keep up no longer, I cd. not visit with them but went to bed.

Ann did all she could to help me & I am obliged to her & the few kind words she offered were all that I received.

After they left I was entirely alone most of the day & such a day. In the P.M. father noticed that I felt bad. He says he will go to see Revilo's father & perhaps something can be done. He wd. have done this long ago did he suffer a tenths part of what I do.

The day was bright & pleasant & all that were here seemed to be happy & cheerful & if I cd., keep entirely out of their sight, there might be nothing to make them uncomfortable. If I could conceal all my unhappiness & be as gay as the rest, I wonder how many there are that wd. care whether I suffered or not.

Letters this morning from Uncle C. & cousin C.L. Post. These have done be good.

Yesterday heard from Frances. She is at Mary's, Aunt Phebe & Cousin Kate not coming this summer. Too bad.—Intend to go to R. on Wednesday & stay a few days.

Rush, Saturday, August 11th 1860

It is 32 weeks since by little darling was taken from her home at Grandpa Wilbur's, my dear, my precious one. Intend to go to Lakeville tomorrow hoping to see her to church. Ann & Mrs. Hillman & James are to go with me. Came from Rochester this P.M. with Abner. Wednesday the 8th was my 46th birthday. Ann went to city with me. Called at the 'Home' for a girl but did not get any. In P.M. sis went with me to Mrs. A's to stay all night, Thursday. Charlotte came about noon & we went home with her.

In P.M. went to Irondequoit with Cousin B. Did not feel like going or visiting. Saw Aunt Elizabeth there.

Friday, same to city. Dined with Miss M. Went out with Charlotte, went to Cousin John's to spend the night. Had head ache.

This morning Mrs. Coleman went with me to Douglass' office. Saw him says he is coming to see us. Called on Dr. Whitbeck. Have seen C & the children but little & mean to go again as soon as I can.

August 12th 1860

Have been to the church in Lakeville but have not seen my darling. Freda was not at meeting. We stopped at the hotel & thought we saw her pass & was so sure that she was in meeting, we went but she was not there.

Mr. & Mrs. Kimbark went with us to the church & helped us all they could. They seemed very kindly disposed & gave us some information upon the state of things about there. They assert that but a very few sympathize with or uphold R. & wife in the course they take.

I cannot give it up so, but I fear this will hinder my seeing her there, that they

Will not take her to meeting perhaps It seems as if every chance was destroyed almost. Mrs. K. says she wd. like to go with me to the schoolhouse & try to see her. There is to be a School celebration at Long Point on the 24th of this month. I shall try to be there.

Monday Aug. 13th

Rainy all day. Helped wash. Abner helped me paper the parlor partition. Have done various chores & written some. Cannot account for my present state of feeling. Although I did not see Freda I feel relieved. I know not why. For three weeks I have been looking forward to the time when I sh. go there & see her. Have thought of it & her almost incessantly & suffered so much. Yet now there is a sense of relief. Last night I dreamed of seeing her a long time. She was here & I kissed her many, many times. She was so sweet, but she looked pale

Aug. 18th Saturday 1860

Thirty three weeks since my dear little one went away. Yes, nearly 8 months since the sunshine of our house was taken from us, and what a long dark time it has been ever since. It is enough to drive me mad. How long, oh Lord, how long must it be thus?— Went to Rochester yesterday with Abner. Mary Julia came home with us & this evening we are expecting Neddy to come with Cousin John R. & his children. If my darling Freda was here how much she would enjoy it & how happy I might be. Oh, it is a cruel wrong. Worked hard till about 2. Sis has gone to Mr. Hillman's with Ann & Abner. I wish she was here. I am tired & lonely this P.M.

Called on Mrs. Coleman yesterday. Met Andrew Foss there. He is to speak in Irondequoit tomorrow. I am discouraged, so many people disappoint me. What a world it is!

I called at Dr. Whitbeck yesterday. Concluded not to have anything done for my ear at present. Called to see Mrs. Angle & met several friends in the street. It would be so pleasant to see my friends again were I in any sort of spirits.

Rush. Aug. 20th 1860

Oh! how tired I am. I have worked so hard for a few days past.

John & family came about dusk on Saturday. I had given up looking for them. They were here until this morning about 9 & I have enjoyed it although we have had so much to do & Mary J. our kitchen girl left Saturday night. I went to church yesterday with father, Aby Rapalje, Eugenia & Mary Julia. In the P.M. Henry & Abner & Ann were away; towards evening Cyrus & Eliza called. So I was busy most of the day.

Today in order to get things straitened up

I ~~have~~ worked hard until about 4 P.M. It has been very warm. Eugenia, Aby, Mary Julia & Neddy are spending the day at Uncle Ephraim's & are coming back tonight.— Evening. Rode over to Uncle E.'s with Abner & brought the young folks home. They have had a nice time fishing & Aunt Eliza made it pleasant for them.

Thursday Aug, 21st,

Very warm. This A.M. washed & then worked hard till 2. I was oh! so tired. About 3 went with the children to Uncle Jephtha's. I was too tired to take any comfort. Left Eugenia & Aby there & Sis & Ned came home with me. We met Revilo. I said "how do you do, Revilo? He did not stop, but said as he passed on "I want you to have nothing to do with Freda, do you understand?" I said "No, I don't understand". This was all. I did not think he would speak to me, & when he began I thought he was about

to say something civil. But what a bad spirit must move him today what he does & do as he does. He has been down here today to thresh his wheat, & has taken it away & this is the last occasion he will have to come here. I do hope & pray that he will be led to repent of his wrong doing. Neddy went out & spoke to him, but R. did not notice him. Father asked after my dear little one. R. said she was well, that was all that was said about her. I think I never have known a person that showed a worse spirit than he does, It is dreadful to think that my darling must live with such persons as R. & his wife & be influenced by them.

It is 24 weeks since I have seen my darling On the 6th of March, 6 months ago, I went to see her. Oh, dear, it is dreadful to live so. & when will it be any better. Will not the Lord have pity, & restore to me again my precious one? August 21st, 1860— Anniversary of Brother Theodore's death.

1860
Aug. 22^d. Wednesday

²Fine. Worked hard nearly day, I am nearly tired out. Mary Julia went to city this morning with Abner & Ann. I like to have Sis here when she is good; but she shows so much selfishness, & is so unamiable at times that there is not much comfort to be taken with her. I did not think once that I should ever see her thus. It is very trying to my patience for it always seems easy for her to behave well, & when she is naughty she has to make an effort to be so. She needs careful training but as it is, she is acquiring bad habits, & I fear she will never be a good, sensible useful woman, Neddy is here now, oh! how much he needs a wise father & a good judicious mother. He is getting into bad ways. & his mother's fondness for him makes her blind to his faults. What a pity! He is a bright boy, but he is in a fair way to be ruined, & to become a worse than useless man.

Thursday Aug. 23^d. 1860

So tired this morning, did not rise until 7. Have a little kitchen girl now, so I can have a little resting spell. There is to be a picnic tomorrow at Long Point. The schools of Geneseo & Lavonia are to meet here. I shall try to go hoping to see Freda there. Last night I dreamed that my darling was here, & I kissed her so many times, oh! dear.

Saturday, Aug. 25th.

Yesterday was rainy & of course there was no picnic. & now I may not know when it will be. I seemed destined to disappointment. In the A.M. ironed & tried not to think of it. In the P.M. felt wretched enough. Had a letter from Frances & this opened the fountain afresh. She thinks of Freda & is worried. Perhaps I should not write any thing about her. Yesterday it was two years since brother Theodore was buried. He died on the 21st

I mentioned it to Neddy, but he hardly seemed to think or care about it.

This A.M. worked in garden & yard till 10. Since then have had 2 or 3 heavy showers. This P.M. I have written to Mary & cried the rest of the time, so it is. If I cd. see her a little while it wd. do me so much good. It seems as if I cd. not wait any longer. It is 34 weeks since she was taken from us, the dear, the precious one.

August 28th Tuesday

This A.M. did some papering. Eugenia & Aby came back from Uncle E's.

Thrashers left after dinner. Father too unwell to go to Mr. B's. I am almost discouraged, I have to wait so long.

This P.M. father & wife have been to Mrs. M's & Uncle Jephtha's & Abner & Ann have been away. Aby & Neddy have been fishing. I wanted to ride out too. for I have felt so badly lately. Fresh troubles have come to me

² Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26050_001 to HC13-26050_054, in their Folder entitled Aug. 22nd, 1860 to Mar. 11th, 1861.

wh. I have to bear in silence or make a bad matter worse. I have tried to entertain Eugenia this P.M. We took a walk to the burying ground & into the woods. Then we came back & rested & looked over old things. Then we walked to the falls & examined the stone wall for specimens & so I have whiled away the P.M.

This is the first walk I have taken into the woods this summer. I am tired, but my ankle feels no worse.

Think I shall go to Rochester tomorrow.

Yesterday I wrote for father.

Today it is 25 weeks since I have seen my precious one.

August 29th, Wednesday

Came to city with Abner & Neddy & Aby & Eugenia. A "full load" as my darling used to say. Saw Charlotte & Sis a few minutes & then went to John's to dinner.

Rode with Abner as far as Mr. Cook's.

Rode with Mr. & Mrs C. to Mr. Foggs. Aunt Maria came, took tea there. Good visit. Mrs. F. took myself with Aunt M. to her home on Ambrose St. Uncle Esek came home about 8.

Thursday Aug 30th.

Staid all night at Uncle E's. This morning walked to Mrs. Robinson's on the corner of Bloss st. & Backus Avenue. Had a good visit. Called on Miss Burleigh who went with me to the House of Refuge.

Found two of my No. 11 scholars there, James Smith & Albert Dresser, sent there for burglary. Both said they would not have been there had they not run away from school. I went through the work shops & saw some of the other rooms. It was all interesting, but a sad sight too. Some of these boys look as if they cd. not help doing wrong. More sinned against

than sinning. victims of the wrong doing of others. Many of them live more comfortably now than ever before & to such it is no punishment. They all learn to work & attend school, so much will do them good, but this coming in contact with so many bad boys makes them worse when they leave than when they enter.

Mr. R. took me to C's store.

Friday.

Staid at C's. this A.M. & rested. Aunt Maria came & took dinner, then we called at John's & went to Mrs Cook's. Other company there & I was so tired & felt so badly that I could not visit. Aunt M. left at evening.

Saturday ~~Aug.~~ Sept. 1st.

Summer has gone, & where has it gone? This morning went with Mrs. C. to a house near, the abode of suffering & poverty. one child had just died, & another

was dying.—Rode with Mr. C. to C's. store. Took dinner at Mrs. Hall's & called on Miss Walker & Miss Martin & Mrs. Hobbie. Miss W. quite ill.

Night finds me at C's. tired & dispirited. I wish every body would do right-myself included. Alone this evening with Sis. Neddy is out, but he ought to be in the house all this time.

Sunday Sept. 2^d 1860

Went to First Baptist with Esther & Sis. Heard Mr. Nott from "he that findeth his life" &c. good discourse, but he is not an attractive nor animated speaker.—In the P.M. visited with C. & the rest. In the evening E. & I went to hear Mr. Boardman from "Every man must give an account of himself to God." Good discourse for those who believe as he does. I believe in the text, but not in his deductions.

Rochester Sunday Sept. 3^d. 1860

Wrote to Frances, called on Miss Kellogg. At noon went to Henry B's in Express. Felt tired & dispirited.

Freda dear was with me when I was last here. That is about two years since. Oh the darling one.

Tuesday Sept. 4th

Came from Henry's this morning. A weight is on my spirits & I cannot shake it off. This P.M. spent about two hours at the Institute where Mary J. & Neddy attend school. Saw several of my scholars there.

About 5 I left the city with Charlotte & Neddy. We drove little Buff, a horse that brother T. used to come up home with. Oh, dear such times as there is here. Why can't folks behave themselves better?

Father went to see Mr. B. last Saturday. He says he will go to see Revilo as soon

as he can & then he will come & see me. I wish he would do so. I think I could enlighten him in some respects for things have been misrepresented to him.

He & Mrs. B. both wish for a reconciliation & I think it can be so arranged that I can see Freda. But as it is Revilo who is to be dealt with I hardly dare hope for anything good. It is 26 weeks since I have seen her, & all this time she is forgetting us. When she forgets us entirely, R. will be willing for her to see us probably.

Rush. Wednesday Sept. 5th.

C. & Neddy left this morning, & the girl Maggie Middleton went too. Father says "I must go to work". So we must be our own Bridget again. Worked hard all day. Had a letter from Frances, Ella is very ill. & F. is with her in Detroit. E. has hard times in more senses than one.

Have written to Frances. I do not mean to worry about it. I shall try not to think of it. My hands are full & my heart too with troubles at home.

Friday, Sept. 7th.

The weather is very warm.

I have worked till I can hardly go. Yesterday I washed & in the P.M. rode to Avon on a load of barley, went to Mr. Hartwell's but was so tired. Ann has been away today since 9. Besides the other work I have made pickles & put up peaches. I wonder how long they expect me to do so. Shall I humor them, or shall I rebel?

Sunday Sept. 9th, 1860

Yesterday it rained all day. I put up peaches, ironed & did various other work. Fine today, work about half the time. I have no courage nor heart to do any thing more. Do not enjoy reading.

So many things go wrong. There is so much hard feeling shown by those who sh. only love each other & I am obliged to see it too. There is an accumulation of troubles now. & the Lord only knows when it will end.

This morning C. Whaley & Isabelle Austin called. Also "wild Sarah Archbold. I must write to Wm. Penn this evening.

Monday 10th.

Hard work nearly all day, Talked with father about Freda & his visit at Mr. Bigelows. Mr. B seemed disposed to do what he could to bring R. to terms; but he has been imposed upon & has a wrong impression of many things. I would like very much to see him, But I cannot see that I have much to hope for. If there was anything generous, or forgiving, or Christian in R's. nature I might hope. but even humanity seems to have dried out of him. & his good genius[?], if he ever had any, has left him.

Rush Sept. 11th. 1860

Tired & have headache, Father & Laura have gone to city. rainy afternoon, I am so lonely. It is 27 weeks since I have seen my darling, & she is forgetting us all this time. Two years today since baby died & was taken from the evil to come. it was all well, I am thankful for that, that God saw fit to take her.

Thursday 13th

I am tired of working so hard. Mr. & Mrs. Hillman & George & Isabelle Austin here tp dinner & tea. Ann is going to Kendall tomorrow. She does not seem to care for the work or feel any responsibility about any thing here. I told her I did not wish to work any harder than I have done, but I was willing to help. but I think she does not care at all for any of us. If she would only do better & do right; but as it is

she makes trouble for us all, & does not seem to wish to do otherwise. There is an unpleasant state of affairs at present in our home. & the Lord only knows when it will be better, or when it will end. Trouble seems to be heaped upon me.

Friday Sept. 14th, 1860

Fine & warm. Abner started for Somerset & Ann went with him to K. I tried to prevent this arrangement but did not succeed. I am tried almost beyond endurance. Housework till 1 P.M. Called at Harry B's. They have been to his father's & to Revilo's & have seen Freda, my darling. Mrs. B. was afraid to speak to Freda of me & said nothing to any of them about what has happened. Revilo has seen his father since father was up there, but refuses to listen to anything. Mr. B. told R. he wanted to see his wife about it. but R. told

his father "it was of no use to see her" & Mr. B. says he shall try no farther. So this hope is gone too: what shall I do. Mrs. B. says Freda is well. Looks some taller, & is tanned some, wore the same clothes she wore here & seems happy. She does not go to school now. She spoke to Lily once of her "dear mamma," said "that was her pocket book, & she should keep it."

Saturday, Sept. 15th.

Fine & quite warm, Worked this A.M. Have felt lonely & wretched all day. This P.M. took little gray & the new buggy & called for Alvira who went with me to the Burying ground at W. Avon. The dead rest well. But oh! the strife, the wickedness, the discontent, the wretchedness of the living. The hillsides are gay with the goldenrod & the aster. I brought some away. Freda always gathered flowers when she went there.

We called at Mr. Winans, then took Alvira home. I called at Wm. J. Harris's & Leland's & Uncle Ephraim's & Uncle Jephtha's.

I wish Frances would come back, I am so lonely here. Last night all my dreams were of my darling. I was with her, at her home & they were all pleasant to me.

Sunday Sept. 16th, 1860

Rainy day. Have felt tired & dispirited. Lounged some, worked & read but little. Henry went away yesterday & came back this evening. Father & Mother & myself have been alone. It has been a lonely day for me.

Sept. 18th. Tuesday

Yesterday worked as hard as I could to get ready to go to city today. This forenoon put every thing in order & after dinner Father took me to W. Avon & took the train a little after 2 P.M. (Henry has gone to K. today.) The weather is fine. Stephen A. Douglass was to be in R. today & speak on

Washington Square. I thought I might as well be there to see, so I hastened to the Store & left my luggage, & then sped to the meeting. I feared it would be over for people were coming away, but I soon found they were going too as well as I. Thousands were there. Men, women, children & babies & baby wagons, & Irish men & women to such an extent that one might have thought it St. Patrick's day.

For is not "Mrs. Douglas" a Catholic? I got near enough to hear one sentence, "I have other duties for the future as well as for today", & "I am overwhelmed with kindness," & "sectional strife & union" &c., &c. He is rough & coarse looking. A gray suit & gray hair in disorder, & a jerking of the head at the close of each sentence were his peculiar characteristics. Nothing agreeable in his appearance. Probably as many republicans as democrats were present, curious to see the

Little Giant. I have not seen such a crowd in several years, It amused me, I enjoyed the sight, & the excitement. The Little Giants wear orange colored caps & capes, & look rather fantastic. Well, I got safely back to C's store & met various friends all out to see Dooglass. In the evening went back to store again & saw the torchlight procession, but it was soon broken up by an alarm of fire, & such a commotion as there was for awhile! & this ended the Douglass demonstration. Neddy came in saying he had shaken hands with Mr. Douglas at Mt. Hope Garden. Mr. Griffin went to Mr. D's room to ask him to sit for a picture, but he was repulsed & came away in disgust.

To me, how silly today's performance has seemed. Many are disappointed in D. as a speaker & in his appearance. We are all very tired tonight.

Rochester Sept. 19th, 1860

Fine weather. Went to No. 12 & spent an hour or two in Mr. Adams School. Saw quite a number of my former scholars. It seemed like old times. Spent the P.M. with Mrs. Adams, had a pleasant visit, Called at Mr. Howell's & this evening finds me at Cousin John's.

Thursday 20th

This A.M. went to S. Cornell's, & have passed the time very pleasantly since with Mrs. Barnes & her mother. They are intelligent & agreeable & the visit has done me good. Called at E. Willis's also. Rainy afternoon.

Friday 21st.

This morning went from S. Cornell's to 59 Alexander St. & dined with Misses Keyes & Mary & Sarah Wolcott. Called at John's & went to Col. Institute but school was nearly out & Sis & Ned were through with their parts when C. & I got there

After School Sis & I went to Mrs. Foggs, I think I have walked 4 or 5 miles today I am really very tired tonight. Fair closed today, but I have not been to see it.

Saturday 22^d.

Went from C's to Miss Walkers, & at 10 went to Teachers Institute. About 90 teachers present, saw many familiar faces & it hardly seemed as if I had been away at all, although more than two years have elapsed since I met with them.

Went to C's. to dinner & then called on Miss Kellogg, Mrs. Clarkson, Mrs. Belden, Mrs. Watkies & Mrs. Curtis. It has been windy & cloudy & this evening it rains. I enjoyed the evening with Sis & Ned until Charlotte came from store, & it has seemed some like old times. If I could think it all right at home I might take some comfort now, still I cannot forget that it is 38 weeks since my darling went from us,

Rochester Sunday Sept. 23^d.

Fine. This A.M. went with C. & Sis to hear Mr. Neely, from Eccl. 5-1. "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the House of God." He insisted upon the necessity of observing all the forms of worship, & the discourse was not particularly edifying to me.

This P.M. Charlotte, Esther & I went to Mt. Hope. It is all so beautiful there. Twice already has the grass been green on Brother Theodore's grave. It seems hardly possible that two years have gone since he died, but it is so—

This evening spent mostly with sis & Ned.

Monday 24th,

Fixed for home. Called at No. 11 Saw Mrs. Hall. At 11 C. went with me to depot, & I reached Avon about 1. Dined at Mrs. Winans. Julia went with me to the burying ground, then she came home with me. Find them well & things about as usual. Henry & Ann returned Saturday.

Rush. Wednesday. Sept. 26th 1860

Fine, cool, I was quite ill last night & have not felt well today. This a.m. cut peaches to dry. This P.M. did various things. About 10 Abner & Frances came. They got to Mr. Hartwell's last night. I am so glad F. has come. She has been gone nearly 3 months. Left Wm. Penn sick, but the rest are quite well. It is so nice to hear the particulars about them all, about Minnie & Florence in particular.

A. & F. have gone back to Avon.

Friday 28th,

Housework nearly all day. More trouble has come. Oh, that folks would do right. Domestic broils are so much to be deplored. How true it is that one person can make a whole family miserable. It is well that there is an hereafter, that people may be rewarded according to their deeds. For there seems to be so much injustice here. "The mills of the Gods grind slowly."

Rush. Saturday. Sept. 29th.

Froze last night. Abner & Frances were here this A.M. —

Oh, the lonely hours that I pass. 39 weeks since that very dark cloud settled down upon me, & no silver lining has yet appeared. My waking thoughts are like dreams, & my dreams are like realities. Last night I thought she was with me, my precious one.

Sunday, 30th.

This A.M. went with father & mother to church. Heard Mr. Nott, I came back with Abner & Frances. Mr. Austin & John Hillman have been here. Henry & Ann are away.

Monday October 1st. 1860

Oh, what a trial I have had today. Could all that I have seem & heard be blotted out I should be glad, If H. & Ann had staid in Michigan instead

of coming here, we might have had some small chance of comfort left even yet, but they have involved us in still deeper trouble. It is too bad that a whole family must suffer for the wrong doing of one or two members of it I think Ann has done that which a long life of good deeds can never atone for. It is a sad, sad thing to have it thus, I fear that my father's gray hairs will be brought with sorrow to the grave.

Tuesday Oct. 2^d.

Housework all the A.M. My head aches & I cannot do much this P.M. If I could only read it would not be so lonely, for I am all alone this P.M. I have slept but little for 2 or 3 nights & I do not feel well, If I cannot sleep better to night I fear I shall be sick. Father & Mother started for Somerset this morning. Abner & Frances went with

them to the city. Henry & Ann have been away this P.M. It is dark & foggy & Sam seems, lonely as well as myself.

Wednesday Oct. 3^d.

Cleared away this P.M. & it is warmer. I have washed & cleaned & cut peaches to dry, hoping I shall have a chance to send them to Ella & Mary. I am very tired but it is better than to do nothing. It is dreadful to have nothing to do but think. Henry & Ann have been away this P.M. & she has been very spiteful towards me since she came back.

I have had no one to speak to me until about 5 when Abner & Frances came. They staid but a few minutes, & have now gone to Avon. They met Alfred & Angeline & Theodore & Eliza in Rochester. They were returning from the East, & father & mother went on to Somerset with them. Abner & Frances were at H. Babcock's last night. Letter from Mary Julia.

Rush, Friday, Oct. 5th. 1860

Cleared off about 10. & the sunshine is very welcome once more. This A.M. I did housework & this P.M. I went to Mr. Hartwell's. Frances brought Minnie's picture for me, She is a funny looking little thing. Frances says the picture looks just like her, but she does not look as I was thinking she did, How much I would like to see herself & sister Mary. But I must go to Mich. I suppose if I see them, for Mary thinks she can't come here. On my return called at Harvey's & got home at 5.—Henry & Ann are away this evening & I am entirely alone.

Nobody but the dog Sam for company, but he is a good old dog & barks bravely on most occasions.

This is the Anniversary of Cousin E.R.'s death, & three years ago today was the last time Sister Sarah ever went to the city. Freda was with her & I was returning to Rochester with them.

Rush, Saturday Oct. 6th. 1860

Fine. cool day. Worked till 10 A.M. Then with "little gay" called at Uncle Jepha's. Took dinner at Uncle Ephraims; then Cousin Eliza went with me to Aunt Harriet's & took tea. Called at Mrs. Hartwell's & Mrs. Landon's. I reached my lonely home about 7 P.M. Henry & Ann have retired to their room, & I am alone in the lower part of the house; but I am reading, "Life of Charlotte Bronte" & the evening has passed quickly away. A blessing on books! Have had no company during the week, & for certain reasons I am glad of that.

Sunday Oct. 7th, 1860

Fine & warm, Hard frost last night. Everything looks white this morning. Worked about house till nearly 11, & since then I have been reading & writing alone. I enjoy the quietness that reigns around & feel that I am resting

Am reading "Life of Charlotte Bronte". It is painfully interesting to me. There is si much that answers to my own experience. In many things I have suffered just like her. I can understand her & appreciate her I think.

Henry & Ann have been away this evening & could I not read the loneliness would be intolerable. I have no human companionship at present. H. & Ann have not spoken to me for several days. This is a wrong state of things. I pity them sincerely, & wish they would realize how unjust they are. & how they wrong me, oh, that they were disposed to do right! I wish father would come back.

Tuesday Oct. 9th.

Cold & raw, but still I have been riding out. I must come in contact with cheerful faces & hear kindly words if I have to go abroad for the purpose. I have met several dear friends today & it has done me good. I called at Mr. Winan's saw my old friend Mrs. Baldwin, who walked

over to the burying ground with me. I painted the letters & hope soon to finish painting the fence.—Saw Frances a while & took dinner at Mr. Hartwell's. Called at Leland's & Uncle Jephtha's.

Reached home at 4. It was a cold & lonely place. I saw no one for an hour or so. I made a fire. then gathered some apples, grapes etc. but I do not relish them when I am alone, This evening I read & write. Last night I had a long dream of my little dear one. I thought she was at Harvey's & I undertook to bring her home, no one opposed me, her father was not with her. I brought her in my arms a weary walk of two miles, eager to know what she would say when she first got to Grandpa's. I brought her in & set her down when I awoke; I was so disappointed! & my arms ached for a long while after I woke. How can this be accounted for?

If I had in reality to carry her two miles I should not have been more Tired. She was the same dear, sweet, pretty child as ever. Little Anna W. showed me her new doll today saying "it was like Freda's." It was like Freda's Caroline that opens its eyes when it sits up & closes them when it lies down, & the sight of it affected me to tears. Her playthings I loved, every thing that belonged to her was dear to me. It is 31 long, weary weeks since I have seen her, if I could know that she thinks of me, that she does not forget me, it would be worth a world to me.

Rush Oct. 14. 1860 - Sunday

One half of the Autumn gone so soon & soon winter will be upon us, one year ago Frances & Julia Frances & Freda were with me & we had several pleasant noting excursions. Nobody to go with me now. These are all away & it is so lonely,

I have been busy through the week & been away several times. It did me good to see cheerful, kindly faces, for I saw none such at home, & pleasant words were refreshing for I received none here,

On Wednesday I washed, scoured & cleaned in the A.M. In the P.M. H. & Ann were away, Mr. Elmore called & we discussed theology for an hour or more.

On Thursday I sewed part of the day. Henry & Ann were away & I was entirely alone in the P.M. at least nobody but Sam was with me, He seems quite human lately, I am left alone so much, & I love him for Freda's sake too, the good old dog. He seems lonely at times.

On Friday the morning promised a fine day, but it proved cloudy & cold. I called to see Frances, then spent an

hour at Mary Harris's, then to Uncle Ephraim's to dinner. In the P.M. Eliza went with me to W. Avon, we visited the burying ground & called at Mr. Winan's, Mrs. Bly's etc. Aunt Harriet & Mary came while I was away.

On Saturday I picked & sorted grapes from early morn till night & I was tired enough, & have a lame arm today.—Ann was away in the P.M. About 4 father & mother came home, & I am glad they have come, I have been alone enough. They have had a good visit & left them all well, Alfred, Angeline. Theodore & Elisa Van Wagoner have been to Dutchess & Columbia on a visit & had a good time.

Yesterday it was 41 weeks since my little darling was taken from me, & how much a little child can forget in that length of time, oh! dear .oh! dear

To day is pleasant but cold. I havescarcely been out. father & mother have been to meeting, Henry & Ann have been away this P.M. Since 10 A.M., I have been writing letters & now it is nearly bed time.

Sunday Oct. 21st. 1860

Rainy during the week. It is very muddy. Last Monday I went to Linna[?] with the grapes, & sold them to J. Chappel. There were only 3 bushels & he paid 12/ a bushel. & I felt as if I had earned the money. Aunt Harriet went with me to L.

Called on Frances. She is very unhappy.

On Tuesday I picked grapes nearly all day, hoping I cd. sell them. I wanted a little 'change.'

On that day it was 32 weeks since I had seen my darling Freda. Were I sure she thinks of me & does not forget 'Aunty' but I cannot know even this of my precious one.

Wednesday & Thursday I worked hard. Nobody comes here & it seems very lonely.

On Friday I went to Linna[?] with the rest of my grapes but I cd. not sell them. Mr. C. said they were not ripe enough. I was vexed enough to lose all my labor, for he had given me to understand that he wd. buy them.

So I brought them back & threw them away,

Frances went with me, she is in deep trouble. I wish father could understand how much she suffers, for there is a way for him to help her if he only would.

Yesterday I whitewashed my bedroom & the entry & stairway & cleaned them too. I put down my carpet & arranged my room & by night I was very tired.

It was 42 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from me. Our new trouble has crowded my mind with new thoughts; but my dear one has a large place there yet.

Rained this A.M. so that our folks did not go to church. Henry & Ann have been away since 11 A.M. James is gone & it has been very quiet here. I have been writing of my darling.

Rush. Oct. 28th. Sunday

During the week worked hard at house cleaning. Have had two or three pleasant days. Have been to W. Avon twice. Nobody has been here, & it is quite lonesome. Ann has been away 4 or 5 times. Perhaps folks think they will not find us at home if they come, & perhaps they have heard that Ann does not like to have company come here. I wish she was a different & a better person. How much she has caused us to suffer, oh! the misery she has brought upon us.—Today I have heard Mr. N. & Mr. Elmore, but I am too much troubled to listen to, or appreciate a sermon—

43 weeks yesterday since Freda dear was taken from those who loved her so dearly.

Last night I dreamed a long time of my darling, that Frances & I went to see her & staid all night. She was so glad to see us, but she said at first that “Aunty was bad, Aunty did not love her” but when I told her Aunty loved her so much she seemed happy.

Rush Oct. 29th. 1860

Washed & cleaned front stoop. Sewed some & tryed to rest. Dismal weather, foggy & wet.

Tuesday 30th

Ironed & sewed. Abner came for a load of straw, but did not come in. 34 weeks since I saw my precious one.

Wednesday 31st,

Early this morning I called for Frances. She has been with me to W. Avon & we have painted our iron fence, We worked till 4 this P.M. & it is finished nicely. The day has been fine & warm. Called Mr. Winan's & at Uncle Ephraim's & came home very tired.

Thursday Nov. 1st,

Fine. Rose early. Have plastered & painted & cleaned, making a very hard day's work. I am oh, so tired, getting ready to go to Somerset tomorrow. Cousin Eliza Wilbur is to go with me. I go as a matter of duty, not that I anticipate much enjoyment.

Rush Nov. 2^d. 1860 Friday

Fine Day. This morning father took me to Uncle Jeptha's where I met Cyrus & Eliza who went with me to W. Avon to take the train for R.

Eliza & I stopped in city about an hour. Saw Charlotte a little while. Left for L. at 11. warm, dusty ride. Went to Somerset in Express. reached Alfred's after dark. A. had gone to Middleport & Theodore to Johnson's Creek to a political meeting.

Have had head ache all day & am very tired,

Saturday Nov. 3^d.

At Alfred's rained all day. Have not felt well & feel so tired.

Towards night William Van Wagoner, the Poughkeepsie Blacksmith, & C. Mack of Lockport came. The former to speak at Somerset Corners this evening. Four years ago I heard him speak for Fremont, & now he is speaking for the Democrats. especially the Belleverett party who call themselves Union men. I wanted to go &

[Transcriber's note: the two pages of the diary that correspond to HC13-26050_037 and HC13-26050_038 in the pages scanned by Haverford are torn except for a small slip of paper in the corners. From the context of following page, seems to recount the evening and speakers.]

for intelligent men & they were courteous too, & I was so glad that Alfred has to listen, & see that these gentlemen enjoyed it, & that they did not seem to think it beneath them to talk with a woman, or even to talk about slavery.

As we separated for the night I said "The conversation had been pleasant although we differed in our views". They assented to this very cordially, & I told Wm. that Angelina had said in the morning that "I must keep still, I should not say one word, & I told her she wd. have to hear it all the while. This amused him, Wm. van W. once professed anti-slavery opinions & was once a powerful Temperance Lecturer. But alas! how are the mighty fallen!

Sunday, Nov. 4th

This morning Mr. Mack alluded very pleasantly to our talk last evening. Wm. did not rise till 9 & then we fixed for church. We heard William's brother James, who is his opposite in politics, & reform, & very

earnest & fearless too in the expression of his opinions. He James is much tried with his brother's course. & much concerned for him. His text this morning is "Who's on the Lord's side"? It was a very good sermon. & meant for William & others like him, but he was not there to hear it.

Alfred & Mack were very uneasy, but most of the audience enjoyed it. The "nigger" came into the sermon nicely too,

The P.M. text, "a good man is better than great wishes" was the subject of a good discourse. It was in his peculiar style, close, practical & searching, he drives right at the heart. There is no difficulty in knowing what James believes.—I went home with Morgan's folks, & this evening M & Elizabeth came over to Alfred's with me.—Talked with Alfred this evening. When he cannot answer me he gets mad & I felt badly about it, once he left the room

but soon returned & went at it again. He says "the Republican party is a church & State party & ministers should have nothing to do with politics & religion."

Almost sorry I have said anything to him.
Wm. & Mr. Mack left this P.M.

Monday, Nov. 5th.

Eliza & Mary Van W. came this A.M., & this P.M. Sarah E, B, A clash into politics occasionally through the day, for to-morrow is Election. Even Theodore is excited on the subject. This evening went to Corners with Alfred to a Republican meeting. The speakers were Dr. Brown, Prof. Clarke & Rev. James Van W. The audience was very orderly & attentive. It seemed like a good old fashioned anti-slavery meeting & Alfred had to sit through it all. I was so glad, I enjoyed the meeting very much, a hopeful sign, slavery is in every discussion. & I was glad to hear a minister talk as if he had something to do with it.

November 6th, Election day.

Somerset, Tuesday

Alfred & Theodore have been & returned. I ask A. what is the aspect of things? He said "all black", Indeed he has no hopes for his party, This P.M. Angeline, Eliza & I went to Jephtha's. I thought of Freda & of her going with me the last time I was here, until I felt as if I could not go into the house, A rush of feeling swept over me, my spirits were gone & I felt crushed[?] to earth, The mood of last summer was upon me; to speak was an effort, I have had a crying spell, & such a sense of bereavement, of utter hopelessness has come over me that all around looks changed, I have been reckless for several days, I have laughed & talked as if I did not carry a breaking heart, I had begun to think I had conquered myself.—The day has been fine. We have been on the house top & had a fine view of the Lake cold & green & blue

Wednesday 7th

This A.M. Eliza came back from Jephthas. Last night I talked with Alfred & Angeline about our troubles at home. I did not sleep much & feel miserable today, Alfred brought us to Morgan's I could not talk this P.M. & this evening I gave up, & went to sleep in spite of the noise, I am tired out for want of sleep or something else. No election news yet.

Thursday 8th,

Fine, This A.M. the two Elizas & I went to Lake. The last time I was here, Freda my darling was with me, & she was so happy about ag[?]
This P.M. Elizabeth, the two Eliza's & I went to Albert's, made a doll's dress, returned about dark. It is thought Lincoln is elected,

Friday 9th,

Rainy P.M. Company we expected did not come. We have been talking of Freda, Feel dull & stupid.

Saturday, Rainy day,

Could not go to Sarah Janes. Washed doll's clothes & sewed some.

Sunday 10th

Cloudy, cold. Went with Morgan to church. Heard James preach two sermons, from "Lord, what will thou have me to do?" & "The expectations of the wicked shall perish," Two good discourses. Have not felt comfortable

Monday 12th.

This A.M. sewed. Frank and Albert came. This P.M. James Van W. & wife came, Had a pleasant visit with them, interesting conversation.— Lincoln is surely elected. South threatens secession,

Tuesday 13th.

Two Elizas & I went to Alfred's. Called at Sarah Jane's. Took tea at Jephtha's.

Wednesday 14th.

This P.M. went to Solomon's. Have not felt like visiting. Heard from Frances.

Thursday 15th.

Went with Elizabeth to James Van W. After dark when we returned. Read Beecher's sermon.

Friday 16th,

Company at Morgan's this A.M. This P.M. went to Sarah Janes

Saturday 17th.

Staid at Edward's last night. Have been to D. Wing's with Eliza & Libbie B— It will be one year to morrow since I was here with Freda, & she enjoyed it so, I think of her so much, there is so much to remind me of her wherever I go. 46 weeks since I dressed that little one, & saw her go from us; the dear, dear one,

Sunday 18th,

Went with Angeline & Theodore to meeting, heard two sermons by James from "Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward," & "I will be thou clean. In evening alone, read Jane Eyre,

Monday 19th. At Alfred's.

Finished Jane Eyre, wrote a letter, sewed & read "Times." Eyes feel so bad this evening I can do nothing.

Letter from Charlotte, no good news. Thrashers here.

Tuesday 20th, At Alfred's

Did a little work this morning, since then have been lounging. Ally here, expected James & wife, but they did not come,

Wednesday 21st.

Dull day, did nothing, Libbie called. This evening Eliza, Stephen & Julia Frances here, Elizabeth not well to day, would like to see her again. but we intend to start for home tomorrow,

Thursday 22^d.

Alfred & Angeline went with us to Lockport.

Cold ride, took dinner at Stevenson House, Left L. at 3 & reached Rochester at 6.

On the whole have had a good visit in Somerset.

Friday Nov. 23d.

Went shopping with Eliza, called on Mrs. Hall & Mrs. Fogg, Took dinner at Cousin J. Rapalje's

This evening went to Lillie Greenough's concert, was entertained so much at, but did not appreciate the singing. She was assisted by Julia Hill, Mr. J.R. Munson, & Mr. Ellis, The evening has been rainy & warm.

Saturday 24th,

Weather changed last night. very cold & freezing & windy & squalls of snow.

Henry & Ann are in the city, Saw Henry a few minutes in C.s store but he said that there was no room for me to go home with them. Have concluded to stay over Sunday.

It is so windy & cold, have called on Mrs. Cowles. Cousin Eliza has gone to Chili.

Sunday 25th,

Not quite so tedious as yesterday. This A.M. went to Mrs. Colman's, Cousin Isaac dined with us. This P.M. went to 1st. Baptist Church

"The drunkards will never be dead;
Do you know the reason why?"

The young ones have grown up.
Before the old ones die."

to hear Peter Sinclair speak to the children on Temperance. He is from Scotland. He amused the children very much. I wish Mary Julia & Neddy had been there.

Sunday evening, went with C. & Mr. Griffin to hear Mr. Boardman, from John 8-28 I think.

The most able & powerful discourse I ever heard him preach, He seems to have had a fresh anointing from on high.

Monday 26th

Started for home. C. went with me to depot at 11 but the train did not go, I concluded to make the most of the day. I have been to S. Cornells & to Maria Porter's & Miss Walker's Talked of troubles to Miss P. & had a crying spell. She has suffered too.

Tuesday 27th,

Last evening at 6 went to Depot with Mr. G. Went to Mr. Winans for the night, This A.M. walked over to the burying ground & this P.M.

Julia W. brought me home. Called at Mr. Hartwell's, Abner & Frances started for S. last Thursday, & got to Alfred's the day I left there. A letter was waiting for me here, I am disappointed in not seeing her before she went.

Find things at home about as usual, no encouragement for the better.

Papers & letters have accumulated during my absence. There are "lots" of things to do, work, & reading, & letters to write; besides the books I borrowed & brought home. They are 'Villette,' 'Adam Bede,' 'Mill on the Floss' & Beulah & Bittersweet.' With poor eyes it will take me some time to get through all these, & then the work must be done & the letters written. Sister Ella is ill with typhoid fever, Poor girl. if I could afford it I would go to her.

Wednesday 28th.

This morning cleaned myself & this P.M. arranged my things. This evening read & wrote to Ella. Letter from Joseph A. Ella is no better,

Letter from Cornelia Post. Aunt Eve Lapham died the 12 of October. Thus they are passing away. Friend after friend departs.

Thursday Nov. 29, 1860

Thanksgiving'

Bright & pleasant. not very cold. This A.M. washed, This P.M. sewed & this evening read to father. For "Labor is worship" too. Did not care much about going to meeting for have I not heard 8 discourses within the last 4 weeks? & these are more than I can remember. Father & Mother have been to church. Henry & Ann have been to Uncle Jephtha's.— One year ago Sister E. was here & she went with Freda & I to W.A. to the burying ground. The last time Freda went there.

Friday 30th.

This A.M. cleaned the yard, ironed &c. This P.M. sewed. This evening read to father, but my eyes ache. Have finished "Bittersweet." by J.G. Holland

Rush. Saturday Dec. 1st. 1860

Windy & sunny. But I walked to Harvey B.'s, I hoped they had been to his father's to hold Thanksgiving & had seen Freda. But Harvey only went & the family did not meet as usual. When they heard from Freda a few weeks since, she was well. But oh! dear. I hoped Maria had seen her & could tell me how she looked & what she said. I am so disappointed. I have cried & cried but it does no good, it only makes my head & my eyes ache & unfits me for work.

48 wks. since I washed & dressed my little one & kissed those dear feet, & fixed her so prettily, & carried her out of our house & saw her depart taking the sunshine 'all' with her. That was a terrible day, no one know how terrible but myself. My darling, darling child,

Sunday Dec. 2^d.

Finished "Alone" & like it pretty well. It has absorbed me & answered a purpose. This P.M. & evening I have been writing. My journal was getting behind, & now it is filled up.

Rush. Thursday, Dec. 6th. 1860

I was lonely, I wanted to see other faces, so I have been out alone with the buggy & little Gray. There is some sleighing, but we have no cutter at present to use. I called at Leland's he is sick & Mary not very well. Went to Avon with letters & then on to Uncle Ephrain's. Took dinner & spent a few hours pleasantly. Aunt E. is a good motherly woman. Cousin E. got home safely from Chili, the day I came from Mr. Winans. She thinks she had a good time. Then I called at Uncle Jephtha's & got home about dark. Found a letter from Joseph which Henry had brought from the Office. Ella is no better. She has been ill six weeks, & is very weak & low. Joseph says her lungs are diseased & have probably been so for some time. She has been troubled with a cough for several years & it has caused me heretofore some anxiety. He says if it was spring she might be made comfortable through the summer, but.

he seems to think she will not get well this winter if ever. He says she has thought for sometime that she will not get well & has been uneasy; but she feels contented & happy now & whether she lives or dies thinks it will all be for the best. She wants to see me, but under the circumstances does not think it advisable for me to come. I wish I could go to her for I know she would like to have a sister with here. Joseph is a good nurse & will be kind to her. I have no doubt; for this reason I feel better about her; but oh, I do wish we had a pleasant home & she could be here with us. But I will hope for the best. I have written to her this evening & to Joseph also.

Since Sunday I have been sewing & reading. Finished my merino dress & read "Beulah by Augusta J. Evans. It is one of the higher order of novels. It is original, & contains many good ideas. It is not the less interesting because it is religious. Its aim is ~~lefty~~ practical elevated & pure & well carried out,

Saturday, Dec. 8th. 1860

Yesterday I wrote letters & sewed. Feel anxious about Ella. A bad head ache last evening. Mr. Whaley & Miss Austin came last night.

This morning Ann went with them to R. & left the work for mother & me to do.— An unpleasant affair today with Henry. Father is much troubled. it makes him sick. I don't know what will become of us. Trouble upon trouble. 49 weeks since my dear little one was taken from us. I think of her so much lately. One year ago today she went with Uncle "Labner" & myself to the city for Aunt Fanny who

was ill & on her return from Somerset. We came back next day & Sister F. was sick several weeks.

I wonder if my darling thinks of us now! "Oh! the wrong & outrage with which earth is filled." I hope I shall not live to doubt that God is just & that he doth all things well. I know man is unjust, & "the mills of the gods grind slowly." ____

Rush. Sunday Dec. 9th.³

I wish I was not superstitious at all; but I can't help it. Last night "Sam" howled a long time, & in a very unusual manner. Joseph brought the dog here & he had been in their family a long time. I went to sleep thinking of Ella, & I had singular dreams & uneasy sleep.

Father was quite unwell this morning, but this P.M. he & mother went to church. I have been writing & reading a little, but I do not enjoy it. I feel depressed in spirits & my heart forbodes evil.

I hoped C. & the children wd. come last night or to day. It is so lonely here.

Dec. 15th. Sunday.

Oh! What a week. It seems as if I had had an ugly dream. My body is weak, my mind is confused & I have done little to day. Yesterday I had a letter from Ella. It is written with a pencil & she was 4 days writing it. She says "perhaps it is the last she will ever write for she is growing weaker & wasting

away slowly but surely." She is resigned to whatever may happen. She says Joseph thinks sometimes she will live till spring, but she does not think so. She wd. like to see us all, father in particular, & says it is hard to leave her friends, but she does not complain. She writes in a beautiful spirit, & it is very consoling to us to know that she is reconciled to death & can say so calmly "not my will but thine oh! God be done".

Last evening I thought I must go to her, & I wd. start as soon as I cd. get ready; but father thinks I had better not go. & I have concluded to wait at least a few days longer. If I had sufficient means at my command I wd. not hesitate a moment about going. I know she wants a sister with her, but father of course, does not feel as I do about it.

Frances does not come yet. I do wish she wd. come, or that I cd. hear from Somerset. I have sent Josephs & Ella's letter to Angeline

but she has not written yet. If she only knew what a relief it wd. be to answer a letter promptly, I am sure she wd. do it.

Yesterday had letters from Mary & Henrietta & Helen McCobb. all well.

Since Monday it has been stormy & very cold. There is good sleighing now, but I have not been out. Nobody comes here, & it is lonely enough. This tempestuous weather I

³ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26050_055 to HC13-26050_096 in their Folder entitled August 22, 1860 to March 11, 1861.

think so much of my darling, whether she is comfortable & happy. One year ago she was with me & we were in an agony of suspense & fear. It was 50 wks. yesterday since she was torn from these arms, & oh! such weary, weary weeks. How can I wait so long? my darling my precious one. Soon "Aunty" will be no more to her than any body else. If I cd. know that she thinks of me & does not forget me! It is so cruel. To think that Sister Sarah's child is kept from her mother's friends so long. Will not God visit for these things! "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

Since I came from Somerset the time has seemed so long. & yet it seems like a dream. I have read all the papers for father. Have read "Adam Bede" & "Beulah." The latter a second time. The former is deeply interesting as well as the latter; but I cannot afford the time to read it again. Then I had so many letters to write, & I can only think of Ella now.

Saturday Dec. 22^d 1860

Cold, windy. I have spent most of the day in writing. so that it has passed away & not seemed very long.

One year ago today I went to see R's wife, & then I trembled for my darling Freda. It was dreadful to think that she must live with such an unfeeling woman. I almost wished I had not seen her, as she impressed me so unfavorably. & one year ago to day Freda went with her papa to Rochester & got two pictures. And 'tis not all a dream either.

At night my precious one came back to Aunty & she slept by my side. But 51 weeks have gone since she was taken from the home where she was so happy. No music has been heard here since so sweet as her dear childish voice. A fountain of joy has been sealed, a great happiness has been destroyed, & only bitter water & misery have been mine instead. Oh! what a change. Sister F. was ill; & Abner was here on friendly terms with us all. "One year, one little year, And so much gone!"

Another week has gone. I have sewed some & read some & wrote some. Had some tempestuous weather & the sleighing is gone.

On Monday evening Abner & Frances returned from Somerset having been absent 4 wks. On Tuesday I called to see Margaret, who is very feeble, & will probably not live long. Called at Leland's too. He is nearly well.

Then went to Mr. H's & saw Frances awhile. Abner has bought a farm in Hartland & they will probably go on in the spring. Then I will have no sister near me. But I will not anticipate trouble. it will come fast enough no doubt.

Have heard nothing from Ella this week. I have written to tell her that I will come to her if she says so.

Disunion troubles do not disturb me. Home affairs are all that I can care about now.

On Thursday father & Mother went to Mrs. Mott's to a Donation party, but I had no desire to go. I care not for company.

This evening Wells & Effie called.

Sunday Dec. 23^d

Spent most of the day in looking over papers, letters &c. Levi & Edebon[?] Avner[?] have spent the evening here. Have heard that South Carolina has seceded. & that Buchanan has

ordered Fort Moultrie to be surrendered to the State. He is nothing less than a traitor.

Monday Dec 24th

Christmas Eve & many people are making merry no doubt. But the days and nights are mostly alike with me.

This A.M. I washed. This P.M. I walked to Harvey B's. They have not heard from my darling in several weeks.—

A letter from Alfred saying if I go to D. he will go to the Bridge & perhaps to D. with me. Hoping to hear from Ella tomorrow. This morning read Wendell Phillips's speech at Music Hall on the Boston Mob of Dec. 3^d. He is a wonderful man.

Tuesday. Dec. 25th.

Letter from Joseph. Ella is no worse. He thinks she may possibly continue without much change till spring. But if she sh. grow worse rapidly he will let me know and I shall hold myself in readiness to go at once. But I shall

not go at present. I shall hope that she may get better & be well enough to come home in the Spring, so that her last hours may be spent here. If she must die, I want her to be in her old home if possible.

I have been to Uncle Ephraim's & to see Frances.—wheeling pretty good. Uncle Jephtha & Aunt Caty have been here. Written to Charlotte this evening.

This has been my Christmas.

Friday Dec. 28th.

Father & Mother have been to Mr. Hartwell's & seen Frances. Too bad that she cannot come home to see us. Oh! the mischief that Ann has done. Not one of my sisters will come here on A's account. & I must be deprived of their company, & lose all this comfort. Too bad! If Frances cd. be here part of the time & help me in my loneliness! but this cannot be because Ann is here. Well, this state of things cannot always last, but whether the change will be for better or worse remains to be seen. Much, yes, nearly all depends upon father, upon the arrangements he makes.

Rush. Sunday. Dec. 30th. 1860.

No more snow yet. Wheeling very good. Cloudy all the week & not very cold. Last evening cousins Richard & Cyrus W. called. Had little to vary the monotony of the past

few days. Have read "Mill on the Floss" & "Villette", & forgot my sorrows for a time. Father & Mother have been to church this P.M. Henry and Ann have been away every day lately If I could only see somebody to talk with occasionally! but as it is I shall become more misanthropic & be more weary of the world than ever if things go on so much longer. I hoped C. & the children wd. come yesterday. I want to see them very much.

This P.M. my feelings have been cruelly hurt. Father told me they have killed Sam, the good old dog that Freda loved & that I loved for Freda's sake. Sometimes when I have been so lonely he has been company for me, & wd. look so human that he was a comfort to me.

They tell me it was feared that he wd. kill sheep, but I think this was a mere pretext. Father does not like a dog at all & has long wished to get rid of Sam. Sam & Kitty used to walk out so much with Grandpa & Freda, & she thought so much of them both, but Henry drove kitty away, & now Sam is gone. I have cried about it & I cannot help it, & father thinks me weak & childish & scolds me. There seems to be no comfort nor sympathy for me from any quarter.

It was fifty two weeks yesterday since my darling Freda was taken from us. Oh. These last days of the year have been so sad. I am living over again that sad time, with no one to speak to or sympathize with me. If I could talk to some one that cared about her I should feel better. I have no reason to think that father takes any interest in the child, I believe he scarcely thinks of her, & probably supposes that I have given her up. I presume he wd. be vexed should I say anything about her now. Perhaps when I am as old as he is I shall be like him. I am certainly

unlike him now. I don't mean to blame him. It is his way, as much as my way is my way From his wife I expect nothing so she does not disappoint me. But if I could see my sisters oftener!

Rush. Monday. Dec. 31st. 1860.

Oh! dear. The few hopes I cherished one year since are well nigh gone. When I dressed my darling & took her out & put her in the sleigh & said with streaming eyes "goodbye my darling," & she said "good bye Aunty", & I saw them drive away with my precious one, even then I had some hope. I thought she would soon come to see us again, & I should go to see her, & find her perhaps happy & contented in her new home. & I did try oh. so hard to be patient. But twelve months have gone & she has not been brought to see us; & only twice have I seen her in all that time, & when I did see her it was under such unpleasant circumstances, that the remem-

brance must ever be painful, now when 43 weeks are about gone since I have seen her at all, & I know that all this time she is not allowed to speak of us at all, & they try to make

her forget us, & when I think of the unforgiving & revengeful spirit that R. & his wife have manifested,—when I think of all these things, hope seems well nigh dead. Still, I feel that I shall make an effort to see that dear child again. I shall appeal to them again in the name of humanity & christianity; as little as they have recognized either heretofore.

People tell me “I will sometime have the child again,” but those people do not know Revilo Bigelow. I wonder if anything to day reminds him of the last day of the year 1859, of the misery he then caused me to endure. I should think so if he was like any other human being. Shall I write him today? Shall I ask him to bring Freda to see us? Shall I do so?

3. P.M.

I have written to ask him to bring Freda soon, & as he hopes to have God to deal kindly with him, so he must deal kindly with my request. I have a sense of relief since doing this. & may God help him to do his duty, as well as myself.

This day shall ever be sacred to the memory of my darling Freda, & as far as possible I will abstain from labor & pleasure on this day; & may God bless & do what is right with the Motherless child, my dear, my dearest Freda!

Rush. Tuesday. Jan. 1st. 1861.

A New Year has commenced[?] once more. A day of rejoicing to many I suppose. This morning I did not feel well. This A.M. I wrote some, & this P.M. I rode out & it has done me good. I went to Mr. Hartwell's & saw Frances, I took dinner & towards night Alvira came home with me.

Frances is acting with reference to leaving Avon, & is comforted with the thought that she will once more have a home of their own. & we do hope that Abner will be contented & do well & that they may have a pleasant home once more.—Frances will try to see Freda before she goes to Hartland. I do so hope she will succeed. If I could only go too! but I suppose it would be useless for me to attempt it.—

Did not get a letter from Ella as I hoped. Poor girl, she may be gone from us before another year comes round.—

This evening have written to Angeline & Mary. This A.M. there was a high wind; this P.M. it has been quite pleasant, & not very cold. The wheeling is very good.

Wednesday Jan. 2^d. 1861.

A bright pleasant day, the first for a long time. It has thawed some. A nice day to ride out. This A.M. did various things. This P.M. I took Alvira home & called at Harvey B's, & to see Margaret, who is failing fast. & I think she has but a few days to live. Poor uncared for, friendless girl. She had better have stayed in Ireland & died among her kindred.

Called at Uncle Jephthas & spent an hour or two. This evening read to father. he has been quite unwell to day. Mr. & Mrs. Batchelor have visited here this P.M.

am tired to night & shall go to bed early.

Jan. 3^d. 1861.

Foggy. I have been to Harvey B's. Enjoyed the walk. Every thing is covered with crystallized ice. Every tree, & shrub, & weed by the roadside, is perfectly beautiful. I never saw anything like it before. not merely ice, but crystals white as snow—like an enchanted scene, a fairy world!

Saturday Jan. 5th.

Housework nearly all day. Henry & A. gone to city. D. Buck & wife have been here. Expect Charlotte & the children. It is 53 weeks since my darling was taken from us. Yesterday was appointed by Pres. Buchanan for a National Fast.

Monday Jan. 7th. 1861

About 1 O'clock yesterday Charlotte & Mr. Griffin came. I was very glad to see them. After dinner I went with them to Mr. H's & saw Abner & Frances awhile. Then went to Uncle Ephraim's & staid all night. A. & Fr. spent the evening there.

Had letter from Ella. She is a little better. Came from Uncle E's this morning. Mr G. & C. staid here but a few minutes & then left for home. Since then I have washed & worked in the cellar and done various other things. am now very tired. Read this eve a sermon by Mr. Bellows & one by Beecher, both preached last Friday. Capital ones too.—

Sunday Jan 13th. 1861

A bright day, but the coldest we have had this winter. no one goes to meeting. On Friday night it snowed a little so that there is sleighing. Yesterday it was excessively cold. but H. went to city with poultry.

We have not been to the P. Office in 3 or 4 days. & have had no news for a week, & New York may be out of the Union for aught I know. Nobody been here during the week. The country may all go to ruin & we know nothing about it in this out-of-the-way place. To morrow we must try to get the news anyhow.

Have been reading Dr. Livingston's Travels in Africa. & have worked a little & wrote several letters during the week. Have not heard from Ella in two weeks. It was 54 weeks yesterday since my darling was taken from us. & it was so dreadful once to have her away even one week!

Rush. Jan. 14th. Monday

Washed & ironed & cleaned & read news, & am ready to go to city tomorrow, Henry has brought over so much from the office. Cousin Kate sends me Uncle Cornelius's picture. It is very like him, & I prize it very much, for he is a dear old Uncle.

Tuesday Jan. 15th

Mother took me to W. Avon in the cutter. Called to see Frances on the way. Have spent the day at Mr. Winans. This morning walked over to the burying ground. Towards evening Mr. & Mrs. Barnard came. I have read the news & visited.

Wednesday Jan. 16th.

Rained all night & some to day & I thought I had rather stay here than go to the city. Read Seward's speech, made a doll's dress & visited very pleasantly. I slept none last night, still I feel better for seeing company & reading the news &c.

Rochester Jan 17th. 1861

Very stormy. Left Avon at 10 this morning. Called at the Industrial School & saw their arrangements & learned their operations. Think they need help more than the Home. Left baggage at John's store. Saw Uncle Esek awhile, & spent rest of day at Silas Cornell's. I enjoy the company of Sarah Cornell & Anna Barnes as much as any other acquaintances I have. Refined & intelligent as they are I always feel better for being with them.

Took tea at Charlotte's & saw the children. This evening have been with Mr. G. & C. to Cor. Hall. I never admired Doesticks, & this lecture did not please me very much. Yet many were suited exactly, & expressed their pleasure, but at times a part of the audience seemed wondering what the rest were laughing at. The subject was "Pluck or Paddle your own Canoe". It showed no originality.

Friday Jan. 18th. Rochester

Last night staid at C's, slept with sis. This morning called on Mrs. C. to return her books. Called at Savings Bank to deposit $\$104.13 + \$0.87 = \$105$.—

Spent rest of day at Mrs. Fogg's. & had a very good visit with herself & daughters. Borrowed "T. Parker's Experience" & "Marble Faun."

Saturday Jan. 19th.

Very cold & windy. Staid at C's last night. Went to Mrs. Knickerbocker this A.M., a long slippery walk; rode back & run over an old man. I cd. not stop although I wished to do so. I think he must have been considerably hurt. The man who was with me showed no concern for the accident.

This P.M. went to Irondequoit with Benjamin.—Find Aunt Elizabeth quite lame but glad to see me. They all feel badly about Benjamin's failure. It is bad it is true, but not the worst trouble that cd. happen.

Irondequoit Jan. 21st.

Yesterday & to day have been very cold. Have done little but visit, & read "Mary Barton" & the news.

Tuesday Jan. 22^d.

Came to city with Benjamin. Visited at Dr. Kendrick's. Enjoyed it much. The sleighing is fine although there is hardly any snow. The streets are very icy. I have taken a long walk & this evening finds me at Uncle Eseck's at No. 9 Ambrose st. & quite tired too.

Wednesday Jan. 23^d.

This A.M. went from Uncle E's to Dr. Lewis Heard's, where I spent most of the day with my old friends Mrs. H. & Mrs. Winans. To night finds me at C's with the children. C. has a letter from Frances.

Thursday Jan 24th.

Rainy. Called on Mrs. C. to return books. Spent the day at John R's. This evening

have been to Uncle E's with John & wife, Charlotte & Mr. G & Mary Julia. & to night finds me at John's. I am yet tired of visiting & wish I was at home.

Rush Saturday Jan. 26th

Yesterday was cold & slippery. In the P.M. I went with C. to school. but sis and Ned had nothing to do. Dinner at C's. At 6 P.M. left on the train for Avon & staid at Mr[s?] W's all night. This morning Mother came for me in the buggy. & we called to see Frances. She is pleased with the prospect of going to housekeeping. but she is worried & annoyed so much that I fear she will be down sick.—

Things at home have not improved. It is lonely & any thing but pleasant here.

I am nearly discouraged.

Letters from Joseph, Angeline & Mary. Mary has been to see Elma & I am glad that she has done so.

Rush. Jan 27th. Sunday.

Mother & I have been to E.A. to Mrs. Warren's funeral, & heard Mr. Nott preach a very stupid sermon. It did me no good. Since then have been writing. John Hillman here to dinner.

Rush Jan. 31st.

Oh! dear! The prospect now is that I shall be turned away from my home. If my father was not old & childish I could hardly forgive him.

Went to Avon this A.M. with father, saw Frances a little while. It is has been very cold to day

Feb. 2^d. 1861. Saturday

Rainy, much of the ice has melted off. Think we shall have no more sleighing. Henry & Ann gone with I. Austin.

Have been reading 'Marble Faun' & 'Love me Little Love me Long'. Perhaps it is a waste of time, but what else shall I do?

Oh, such a week. What I have

been dreading will all be done. If we live we are to continue in this miserable way. I think my father is very unwise to think of going on so any longer, but I find I can't help it. I must submit yet longer to insult & arrogance. My sisters will not come here while Ann lives here, & I can enjoy no society here for those I care most about will keep away, Oh! such a deplorable state of things, yet I intend to stay here yet awhile, I feel that this is my place, & if it were not, where should I go? What should I do? I cannot give up my home & what belongs here to a person who has no claim to my respect, at least until I am forced to do so. My own dear mother lived & died here. My dear sister Sarah lived & died here. My darling Freda once lived here a happy child. My brothers & sisters have all lived here & it was once a pleasant

home. Suffering as well as pleasure has made it dear & almost sacred to me. I am nearer Freda here than I wd. be elsewhere. I am nearer too to that spot which is designed for our last resting. & where some of our loved ones already sleep. I do not think father shares in these feelings. He never seemed attached to any place. & cannot understand why others should be. He sees no reason why I should not be as comfortable in any other place as in this. He does not know that to leave it would be like tearing up the roots of my life. I forgive him for he cannot understand me. It is nevertheless hard to bear. I must make up my mind to do without sympathy at home, although I need it so much. I must do without society too, & I must endure the presence of those who apparently hate me. But in spite of all this I think I shall stay at home.

It is 57 weeks since my darling was taken from me. Oh! dear. oh! dear. A few nights since I dreamed I heard the patter of her little feet in the sitting room. & her little voice saying pleasant words to Grandpa & I had a glimpse of her as she was when she left us. But how is this? I heard the sound of her feet so plainly? Was it all a dream? Could I know that she thinks of me still!

Sunday Feb. 3^d.

Quite cold. I have walked to Avon & back. for the first time I think. I have enjoyed the walk. It is icy, in some places & smooth & hard most of the way. The air is refreshing, & it is better than to remain in the house all day, although I am some tired. I heard Mr. Nott this A.M. & Mr. Elmore this P.M. but my mind was preoccupied; so the preaching did me no good. Saw Frances. She & Abner came

from Rochester last night.

I learn that Revilo & his wife have been to Harvey's, staid only a short time. & my darling was not with them. Harvey told Frances that they do not take Freda to church this winter. & that "the wife is ten times worse than Revilo." Of course I have had no reply to the letter I wrote R. on the 31st of Dec. 1860. Indeed I hardly expect it.

This P.M. called at Leland's & took dinner, & came home at dusk, some tired, but none the worse for it.

Rush. Feb 5th. Tuesday.

Oh. what a pleasant day! I have been to Harvey B's, & Mrs. Arner's[?], & Mrs. Daileys. Met Gertrude Boughton & old scholar of mine, now a very pleasant & sensible young woman. Revilo & wife have been to Harvey's. Made but a short call. Freda was not with them. They said she was well, does not go to school this winter.

Harvey says "it is of no use for Frances to try to see her. R. & wife do not relent at all, & the wife is worse than Revilo."—

It is 48 weeks since I have seen my darling. If some one of us could go to her! but I can only dream of her now.

Sunday Feb. 10th.

Last Wednesday Henry & Ann started for Kendall, to be gone a week or more.

Thursday was a tempestuous day, very cold, snowed & blew terribly.

Friday was the coldest day of the season. Mercury 10 or 12 deg. below zero.

Towards night Henry came with the mail. They have been staying at J. Hillman's & will start for Kendall tomorrow on the cars. All the snow is in drifts so that there was neither wheeling nor sleighing.

Saturday, weather quite moderate. With little gray & the cutter I went to Avon for Frances. H & Ann are away now,

& Frances has come home, she thinks for the last time while they live here. I can't blame her for this, as much as I would like to have her here. She cannot endure the sight of Ann, & I cannot blame her for this either. Ann has destroyed Frances's happiness for life, & has well nigh ruined her husband. It is dreadful to think she must live here in our house after doing all this. No prospect of comfort here.

Today it is bright & warm & the snow is melting very fast.

I have been to take Frances back, but the sleighing is gone. I called at Uncle J's & took tea. Have had headache all day, & to night it aches very badly.

Tuesday Feb. 12th.

The morning was so beautiful, warm & bright. I went to the Falls. The rapid thaw has swollen the stream & there is quite a fine cascade. But I was alone, I could

not enjoy it, for

How oft I've stood here
With friends that were dear;
For oh! 'tis not merely a dream!
But of loved ones bereft,
Alone I am left,

And I weep as I gaze on the stream.
The scenes of the past
Come gathering fast
O'er memory's swift-rushing tide:
And though nature is gay,
I turn sadly away,
For my loved ones are not by my side.
It is 49 weeks since I have seen
My darling, my loved Freda, my precious one.
But now while I write,
The skies lately so bright
Are threatening a deluge of rain;
Like the joys that are past
They were too bright to last
And cold blasts are blowing again.—
This evening I have been writing to Mary Julia

Rush Feb. 17th. 1861. Sunday.

Last night snow fell to the depth of several inches, & it now looks very wintry again. but today is bright & not very cold.

During the week housework has occupied a large share of my time. I have read 'Nemesis' by Marion Harland. Like it pretty well, but the close is quite too tragical & some of the events improbable.—

Thursday was cold & rough, but I went for Aunt Eliza & she went with me to Mr. Hartwell's & made a visit.—

Yesterday had a letter from Ella. She is no better probably. Her cough grows worse, She can sit up about two hours during the day, but cannot bear her weight on her feet.—

It was 59 wks, yesterday since my darling was taken from me. It is dreadful to think of it & feel that it is so. I had a long dream of her last night. She was so sweet & pretty & good.

Rush. Feb. 24th. 1861.

Tempestuous weather. No going to church. It has been quiet & pleasant within because our Irishman has gone. I have written considerable & read some for father. Through the week I have done housework & have written several letters, & read the papers. Nobody has been here, & it is a dull way of living.

Tuesday I went to Avon with father in a sleigh. poor sleighing—

Friday. I called at Mary T's then went to Avon. Frances came back with me & staid about two hours. We than called at Harvey B's, & I took her part way home. Sleighing better than it was the other day. Abner & Frances intend to leave next Tuesday for their place in Hartland.—

Yesterday father & mother went to Avon. The snow was melting very fast.—It was 60 wks. yesterday since my darling was taken from me. I dream of her often lately. oh! dear.

Tuesday Feb. 26th. 1861.

Yesterday washed & worked hard & wrote some. Today I feel almost sick, have a bad headache. My sleep last night did not refresh or rest me. I dreamed so much of Freda. I was trying to carry her through difficult places. & once she called so earnestly for me to take her. Then I went to R's & saw her & dressed her, & dressed Mabel too. & I thought sister Sarah was with me there, & she was not well, & they sat down to dinner & did not ask us, & the wife was very disagreeable, & R. was hard & cold.—Freda was the same dear, sweet little thing as ever.

Since she went it seems almost a age,
For so much I've suffered since then,-
The past comes back so vividly
That I live it o'er again.
I never can forget the anguish
I suffered both night & day,
When I saw all my hopes departing,
Ere my darling was taken away.

And when my little dear one
Was taken from my sight,
And torn from me so cruelly,
My day seemed turned to night.

Sad and gloomy and lonesome
Has been the time since then;
The sunshine has all departed,
I ne'er can be happy again.

Since I held in these arms my darling,
A year has almost fled;
I've begged but in vain to see her,
And my hopes are well nigh dead.

Could I know that she thinks of "Aunty,"
Could I know that she loves me yet!
Oh! the thought is very hard to bear
That she will her friends forget.

When friends make kind inquiries,
I've nothing hopeful to tell,
For very seldom a word I hear
From her that I love so well.

Oh! this sad & weary waiting!
How long. oh! Lord how long?
Must our darling, little motherless one
Endure this cruel wrong?

The clouds that closed around me—
They are dark & gloomy yet!
Have they no silver lining?
Has hope's star forever set?

—
The 31st. of December
Shall ever most sacred be
To the memory of my little one,
My darling Freda B.—

Rush. March 4th. 1861. Monday

Windy. real March weather.

Washed, & ironed, & washed dishes, & did various other things. Am very tired tonight. Mary & Leland here to tea. Henry & A. have been away nearly all day.

Frances & Abner went last Tuesday. They had two pleasant days to ride, since then the weather has been very bad.

On Wednesday I went to Mr. Hartwell's They were feeling very bad about Abner's leaving. I then went to Wm. J. Harris's & spent the rest of the day. Alvira came in the P.M. & I brought her back. quite muddly. Yesterday morning it was very fine, but in the P.M. it rained. I went to the falls. They are very pretty now, but it is lonely there. I have read 'Theodore Parker's Experience' again. There is something very fascinating in his writings, although I am not learned enough to understand them fully.

This has been an anxious day for thousands. Lincoln is to be inaugurated, & fears are entertained that he will be assassinated. oh. what a state of things. What slavery has reduced us to! Well, the end must come some time.

March 5th. Tuesday. 1861.

It is 52 weeks since I have seen my darling Freda. oh dear! oh dear!

How have I lived through it all?

March 6th. Wednesday.

Very cold & stormy. I have been upstairs quilting alone all day, & now I am tired & sad & dispirited.

One year ago to day is the last time I have seen my darling. & what a day of suffering that was. I could not believe then that I should be so long without seeing her. It is well that we cannot see the future. I have lived hoping for better times. but they have not come yet.

Friday March 8th. 1861.

High wind. Yesterday morning at zero. warmer to day—

To night finds me at Mr. Winans. The first time I ever walked to W. Avon. I got my feet wet & called at Mr. Barber's & changed my shoes & put on rubbers. It has thawed so much that in some places it is quite muddy. It is a long walk, but father thought the roads were so rough that it wd. not do to go in a buggy. Instead of that the roads are not very bad. I stopped in the burying ground awhile, & a terrible sense of loneliness came over me; it seemed not a hard thing then to lie down with those pale sleepers & leave the world to others who choose to struggle & live on.—The snowdrops on baby's grave are budded in spite of the snow & the cold. I cannot realize that 3 years have almost gone since sister Sarah was laid there, but so it is. My little darling is nearly five years old.

Saturday March 9th. 1861. Rochester.

Today my father is 74 years old. Of course we cannot expect him to remain with us many years longer.

It snowed last night, but it thaws & it is very sloppy now. I left Avon at 10 & got here about 11. I called on Mrs. Fogg & Mrs. Cowles to return their borrowed books. Then went to C's store & home with her to dinner. Find them all pretty well. Seems good to see sis again. Took tea with Miss Sargent.

Sunday March 10th.

Cold & bright. Staid at C's last night. To day have visited with C. & the children We have looked over the Daguerreotypes, & Mary J's papers & read her letters from her father & Aunt Sarah & Aunt Fanny & others. It has been very pleasant to sit down together & talk of the past & have this quiet, social interview with Charlotte & sis & Neddy—

This alone has paid me for coming here. Mr. Griffin has been out most of the day.

Towards night I went to Mrs. Coleman's, & this evening I have been with her to hear Parker Pillsbury at Zion's Church. I liked his lecture exceedingly. Douglass spoke & Susan B. Anthony also, & Mrs. Coleman too. It is so long since I have attended an Anti Slavery meeting that I have enjoyed this very much. The colored church is the only place they could get to hold a meeting. It was quiet & well attended for so short a notice. P.P. spoke of the Republican Party, of Seward, of the Bible, of the church, of the North, of the

South. He said Lincoln was elected by the votes of 1,100,000 able bodied men, not women or children, & yet in Washington he has to have a body guard to protect his life. He could not go openly & by day light to the capital of the country; but sneaked through on the underground R. road between the going down of the sun & the rising of the same. Thinks we had better lay a double track to prevent collisions.

Douglass thought all that Pillsbury said was true, but could not give the South credit for as much bravery as P. did.

Discussion followed about attending proslavery churches. Miss Anthony blames D. for attending Plymouth Church.—Mr. D. gave his reasons &c. Mrs. Coleman brought Susan up standing. Some think she was a little malicious. I saw many familiar faces & it seemed like old times, & I enjoyed it much.

Monday 11th.

Came home with Mrs. Coleman last night. She told me of Miss Assing, the German lady Frances & I saw at F.D.'s last summer. She translated "My Bondage & my Freedom" into German. Her Uncle Van Ense was the intimate friend of Humboldt. Their private correspondence has lately been published by Ludmilla Assing, a sister of her that I saw at D's last summer.

Mrs. C. says "Miss A. is an Atheist, but a talented woman; her love of adventure brought her to America. Her Uncle Hagen Van Ense died 2 yrs. ago & left her \$10,000. so that she is independent now.—

Mrs. C. is a thoroughgoing, uncompromising, double dyed, genuine Abolitionist. I can't go with her in every thing.

This A.M. spent an hour in No 11. Then went to Fanny Dyer's—Called on Miss Walker; & then to Mrs. Hall's & took tea & spent the evening.

Mrs. H. is the antipodes of Mrs. Coleman. She is no abolitionist, despises 'niggers' & Douglass in particular.

She thinks "women are inferior to men. Boys know more than girls. Women are not capable of understanding the sciences, their judgement is inferior to man's" &c. &c. I told her that there is not one man in a hundred who would get along as well as she does if left alone like her. She teaches, keeps house, takes care of three children & keeps several boarders. & yet she asserts woman is inferior to man.—

March 11th. 1861.—

Diary.⁴

Rochester.

March. Teusday[*sic*]. 12th. 1861.

⁴ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26051_001 to HC13-26051_033 in their Folder entitled March 12, 1861 to September 20, 1861.

Cloudy, comfortable day. very stormy evening. This P.M. Mrs. Coleman went with me to Frederick Douglass' & we took tea with all his family & spent the evening. It was a very pleasant & interesting visit. Mrs. Watkies & Mrs. Blackhall & Gerty C. were there. There was sensible and lively conversation & music. Mrs. D. although an uneducated black woman appeared as well, & did the part of hostess as efficiently as the generality of white women.

The daughter Rosa is as pleasant & well informed & well behaved as girls in general who have only ordinary advantages of education. The sons Lewis, Freddy, & Charles, aged 21, 19 & 17 respectively, are uncommonly dignified & gentlemanly young men.

They are sober & industrious & are engaged in the grocery business. F. Douglass is away from home much of the time engaged in lecturing. He continues a Monthly Paper & of course it takes a part of his time. It will be one year tomorrow since his little daughter Annie died under such painful circumstances, & they all feel her loss very much. Apprehensions for her father's safety, & grief for his absence caused her death. She was a promising child. She was 11 years of age.

Captain John Brown seized the Arsenal of Harper's Ferry Oct. 16. 1859 He was hung Dec. 2^d. 1859 at Charlestown a few miles from Harper's Ferry.—The spring before before I was at an Anti Slavery in Corinthian Hall. Douglass gave the audience to understand that some thing in behalf of the slave wd. be attempted at some time not very distant. He spoke of Mason & Dixon's line, said

help would be needed, & when Anti Slavery folks were asked for money, he hoped they wd. give it & ask no questions. I had almost forgotten this when the astounding news came of J. Brown's invasion of Virginia.

I read all the conflicting opinions about Brown, & felt that I knew but little about him or his motives, or who was implicated with him.

To day's visit has enlightened me. I have heard all about it from one who knows & participated in all previous to the seizure of the Arsenal. This D. as well as others considered unwise, imprudent and dangerous. but they cd. not convince Brown of this.— John Brown was at F. Douglass' 7 weeks at one time. & was there again just before the taking of Harper's Ferry. D's family knew him well. Brown impressed every one with a sense of his superiority, of his stern sense of duty.

Shields Green, was a fugitive. he had passed through Rochester & been helped to Canada. But he came back to Douglass & wanted to stay there & work. D's family all liked him & he was there several weeks. His bearing was so noble & majestic that he was always called Emperor. He was kind & gentle & little Annie liked him. D. told him it was a great risk & he wd. probably lose his life if he joined John

Brown. But Emperor was willing to run the risk & was ready to meet death.—& he did meet it nobly on the Gallows. His only words on his trial were “I was born in Carolina & I came from New York.” He did not betray his friends, but was true to the last.

In the western part of Virginia are innumerable fortresses among the mountains, a thousand Sevastopols made by God himself, where men

could conceal themselves in safety and defy an army.

John Brown intended to occupy these natural fortresses, & make forays up on the surrounding country, take horses, cattle & food for their subsistence; & slaves would join them, & these they wd. send to Canada. To help slaves to escape was his only object. By seizing Harper’s Ferry, he thought slaves would at once flock to his standard in sufficient numbers to overcome the surrounding country, & he cd. keep it long enough to dictate terms to his enemies, & then march out of the country with a great multitude on their way to freedom. His previous successes inspired him with a false confidence. This was his great mistake. His good judgement seemed to forsake him. & in a few hours lost all the advantage he had gained.

Chambersburg is 10 miles from Harper’s Ferry. D. had his last interview with him here in an old stone quarry. He told Brown “he would go into a steel trap”, but could not persuade him to give it up. D. related other interesting incidents, of a meeting in a garret. Kagi armed was present & ready. That day their arms & stores were removed to Harper’s Ferry. When it was taken D. was in Philadelphia. He telegraphed to Rochester to have certain papers in this house secured. The Operator in R. was his friend very fortunately. D. succeeded in getting to N. York. By Miss Assing’s help he was got through the city. disguised & taken twenty miles in a close carriage. & got to Canada & soon embarked for England. In the March following on the news of Annie’s death he returned immediately. & was at home two weeks. before people knew it.

It is hardly likely he will be disturbed now. but if it was generally known that he was implicated, or that John Brown was at D’s house so long, it would create a prejudice against him, & there are those in Rochester who wd. like to annoy him if they could.

D’s family suffered very much from excitement & apprehension while the Country was so aroused. But his sons behaved with great prudence & caution,—& now only a few of D’s intimate friends in R. know all about it.—D. thinks John Brown was one of the noblest of men; he loved him & reveres his memory.

It was very interesting to me to hear this from D’s own lips. He has promised me an autograph of John Brown. John Brown Jun. has been in R. lately. Mrs. C. gave me some of his hair. He is a man of much character.

John Brown,
[Transcriber's note: Blank spaces left in original]

Other arrests were made. Douglass, Gerrett Smith, Giddings &c. were threatened. All at once the proceedings stopped.

John Brown had invaded a state with an armed force, & seized public property. Prominent men, yes, those men who were engaged in trying these cases, were intending to do the same thing whenever a Republican President should be elected. They perceived that all their arguments wd. be used against themselves when their turn came. So they thought it wisest to desist, & all was dropped. And in less than one year their designs have been carried out; they have taken possession of public property, plotted against the government, & deserve hanging if any body does (which I deny) If Brown had succeeded he would have had the world's applause. Those who know

him now think him a hero & a martyr. Posterity will do him justice.

Rochester March 13th. 1861.

About 10 Charlotte & I went to Mr. Angle's. Mr. Griffin came to dinner & tea & spent the evening.

I enjoyed the day, but cannot say as much for the evening. The whole evening was spent with cards. & as I was the only one that did not play, it was not pleasant. I am ashamed of my kind. To see rational, accountable beings spend hours in this way, instead of trying to improve each other by intelligent conversation & social intercourse, is to me a sad sight,

Champaigne & whiskey were the accompaniments, almost of course. Oh, dear, why will people do so?

I have a great regard for Mr. & Mrs. A., but I should like them much better if they would

be guided by their own good sense, & not encourage those foolish & pernicious customs of society.

I think I have seen those sipping Champaigne this evening who are destined to be sorry that they ever gave their countenance to the practice.

I trembled at what I saw.

Thursday March 14th.

This A.M. called on Amy Post. had a pleasant little visit.

Called on Mrs. Watkeys. Received a fine parcel of reform tracts from Amy Post & Susan B. Anthony.

Called on Mrs. Howell.

Spent the evening with the Miss Allgoods. To night finds me at John R's.

Friday March 15th.

This P.M. called at Mr. Mount's.

Rest of the day at John's. sewed. This evening read W. Phillips' speech "Lessons of the Hour". Quite tired tonight.

Rochester March 16th.

At C's store nearly all day. Read "Miss Gilbert's Career" by J.G. Holland. I like it very much but do not accept it quite all.

Towards night went to Irondequoit with David & Lillie. All well but Aunt E. she is quite lame.

D. read for us this evening W. Phillips' speech on 'Progress'.

Irondequoit March 17th.

Very cold & windy.

read some & visited more. Aunt Elizabeth is old & infirm & thinks she has not long to live. She is pleasant & cheerful & I think it a privilege to visit her occasionally. She will soon pass away probably.

Irondequoit Mar. 18th.

Very cold. Read, sewed, & visited.

Benjamin Bowerman & wife came this P.M..

Rochester Mar. 19th. Tuesday.

Mercury at zero this morning.

Came up to city with David & Lillie. Have had a good visit at Benjamin's. This P.M. called on Cousin Isaac & saw his paintings.

Then C. went with me to Miss Porter's to the Anti Slavery Society. 8 or 10 present. It was pleasant to meet the society again. & listen to Anti Slavery talk. It has done C. good as well as myself.

It is a long walk to Miss P's. & I feel tired to night. Sis has been skating & hurt her ancles.

Think I shall get up early to take the morning train for Rush.

Rush. Wednesday. Mar. 20th.

Rose before 6, none of the family were stirring when I left. I kissed Sis goodbye. Walked to the Depot with my basket & parcel. A bright cold mornin

On leaving the train at Rush, to walk home, I found a young man coming the same way. I soon learned he was bound to Uncle Jephtha's, & was a 5th. or 6th cousin, name, Henry Wilbur Brown. I invited him to go home with me, which he did & carried my heavy parcel of books & tracts. This was a rough walk of 2½ miles, & to-night I am tired. This P.M. I have taken a bath. put away my things & helped mother quilt.

I have been gone about 11 days, & father was about going to Avon to see if he could hear from me. I did not suppose any body would be uneasy about me if I did stay longer than I intended. Find things here about as usual. Henry & A. have been away to day. She looks at me as spiteful as ever.—

Rush. Sunday. March 24th. 1861.

A cold, blustering day, very much like last Sunday. I have been in my own room writing most of the time. H. & Ann are gone away.

Since Wednesday I have helped mother quilt. & have written some & read. It has been cold & I have not been out. Had letters from Frances, Elma[?] & Mary.

Rush. Sunday. March 31st. 1861.

The Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. 27 years have gone since she was taken from us & laid low in the grave. Oh! my mother, my mother. How much I miss her even now, & how much I need her still, & have needed her through all these weary years. Were she with us, had her life been spared until now, how different & how much better it probably wd. have been for us. But in the prime of life, only 43, she was taken from her family. from her little children. & they have all learned how hard

it is to live without a Mother.

Today is cold but fine & bright. Last Wednesday I walked over to Uncle Jephtha's & from there to Mrs. Morehouse's & spent the P.M. very pleasantly. At evening Ezra B. took me to Uncle Ephraim's, where I staid until last night, when Cyrus took me to Uncle Jephtha's, & this morning Ezra D. brought me home. Friday P.M. was warm & fine & I went to Mr. Cookingham's & had a pleasant visit. I have been sewing for Aunt Eliza & have had a good time all around.

Aunt E. is agreeable company & I always like to stay there, whether visiting or working or both.

No particular news through the week, There seems to be a "masterly inactivity" on the part of our government. I very much fear concessions on the part of the North, Fort Sumpter is still held by Anderson, & people are anxious for the result.

Rush. Sunday. April 7th. 1861.

During the past week we have had a snow storm, but the snow has gone now. It has been very muddy & the travelling bad. Nobody has been here. I have sewed nearly every day, & do not feel well when I sew so steadily. It is lonesome here. We have the papers & this is a great privilege. No encouraging news yet.

The do-nothing policy of the Administration is exhausting our patience. Lincoln has made some good appointments & does not ignore the Abolitionists by any means. Seward favors a peace policy & favors concession also. & there are too many that agree with him. Chase believes in an active policy at once. "The revenues should be collected, & if necessary call congress together. Or if the people are unwilling to make a war for the Union, then recognize the Slave Republic at once & draw the line between

Slavery & freedom, between loyalty & disunion. We are on the eve of stirring events.

Senator Wade is reported to have said to the President, "Sir, if the Administration pursues its present policy, in thirty days you will be Jeff. Davis's prisoner of war." The Republicans say "that the result of the present policy will be, first, the utter demoralization of the government & the people; 2^d, the independence of the rebel Republic; & 3^d, the final subjugation of every free State by the Southern Confederacy. One by one, the Free States wd. join the only government possessed of energy on the continent, & slavery wd. have complete dominion over the Republic".—

Bloodshed must ensue or Slavery will triumph, I very much fear. I have not the least doubt that Slavery will be destroyed, but I fear it will be a long time yet. No one seems willing to say what the future will be, no one will risk a prediction.—

Sixty six weeks has my darling been gone from us. Yesterday, April 6th. was her birth day. She is five yrs. old. I have thought of her & dreamed of her so much lately.— Yesterday P.M. I called at W. Clark's, & Harvey B's. & Mr. Dailey's & Mrs. Avner's. Mrs. Dailey & her family visited at Revilo's about two weeks since. Freda was well, she grows some, & seemed contented, & they all seemed pleasant towards her. Mrs. D. thinks R's wife is kind to her. Freda is learning to read. She has kept her playthings well. She & the little boy seem to agree when playing.

Mrs. D. says she talked with the wife about their keeping Freda from us & told her it was very hard for us not to be allowed to see her. The woman said "she did not know but it was; but as long as she had the child she should not let her

see us, & she did not want her under the influence of Frances & myself, for we might prejudice Freda against her."

Mrs. D. talked with R. too. He said "we wd. have a bad influence over the child & it was best not to have any intercourse with us."

Mrs. D. said the wife only mentioned Frances & myself. she said nothing about any others of the family. It seems their hearts are as hard as ever. & there is nothing to hope for from them. I see no way in which I can see my darling. I fear she does not care about us any more, & perhaps does not think of us. Mrs. D. asked her "if she wanted to see Aunt Julia?" But Freda did not make much of any reply. Oh! I see how it will be. I shall be no more to her than any body else very soon.

This talk with Mrs. D. has made me almost sick. I have cryed till my eyes ache & I feel so miserably today. I am alone. All the rest have gone away.

Rush Sunday Apr. 14th.

Pleasant weather all the week until yesterday when it rained & we needed rain very much. I have done a good deal of hard work in the Garden during the week. & things

begin to grow nicely. I have sewed some & read some, &c. I finished Elsie Venner last evening. I have been much interested in it all through. Holmes is a writer of genius, wit & sense.

The Papers say war is inevitable. & I say 'let it come,' rather than this do-nothing policy should continue. I suppose Charlestown has been the scene of fighting before this. What it will come to I cannot presume to guess. I fear the slave is not to be saved yet. The Lord have mercy on him, as well as the rest of us.—Last evening had a letter from Ella. I think she is some better, & she hopes to be able to come East in the summer. I hope she may do so.

April 19th. Friday. 1861.

The Anniversary of Sarah's Death.

Three years already since she died. & if Baby had lived she would have been three yrs. old on the 11th. inst. It does not seem as if this could be so, but how time flies.

Last Tuesday I walked to Leland's. In the P.M. it snowed & the wind blew. I staid all night.

On Wednesday P.M. I walked to Avon to Mr. Hartwell's, where I am now. Mr. H. has had another paralytic stroke & is quite feeble & helpless & I have tried to be of use to them in helping Alvira.

Thursday it rained & snowed.

Last Sunday Fort Sumpter was evacuated. It was attacked on Friday the 12th. inst. & the Fort was at last set on fire by the rebels' hot shot & shells. & it took all of Anderson's men to put out the fire. 19 batteries had been built around the harbor of Charleston in order to take it. Major Anderson surrendered with

the honors of war & marched out with drums beating & colors flying. He is now in New York. The President has ordered out troops. First 75,000 then 100,000. All the Free states responded promptly. but none of the border States but Maryland, who agrees to furnish her quota. Virginia has seceded & the war has begun.

Rush. Apr. 20th. Saturday.

This morning I went to West Avon in the Express for Alvira. Called at Mr. Winans. & got the news. Walked home from East Avon & called at Leland's & Harvey B's Am excessively tired, but I will not mind being tired if it does not make me lame. Revilo was at Harvey's Monday. He said "Freda was well & she does not say much about coming down now." So it is to be, I suppose she hardly thinks of us now, oh! dear.—It is 68 weeks since she was taken from us.—Yesterday a Massachusetts regiment on its way to Washington was attacked in Baltimore by a mob & several persons killed. The rest succeeded in reaching Washington. A company of unarmed volunteers from Philadelphia had to go back.

There is great excitement through the country. All for the Union now, Secessionists have to keep quiet. Report says Jeff. Davis is marching towards Washington. No doubt it will be attacked very soon, & probably it will be taken by the Rebels before troops in sufficient numbers can get there to protect it. They can't go by the Baltimore R.R. & must go by water. There is a fearful state of things. Va. offers 100,000 troops. They are arming.

This P.M. Father & Mother went to Mr. Hartwell's, but they could not get into the store for the crowd. There was a public meeting to be addressed by Hosmer. Cannons were firing, drums beating, and flags flying. & little gray did not know what to make of it. Civil war is upon us. I hope the slave will take advantage of it & strike for Liberty. I hope peace will not be proclaimed until every slave is free. I hope every body will understand that the South is fighting for slavery, to extend the system over all the country. Will she do it?—

Rush. Sunday Apr. 21st. 1861.

Fine & warmer. Snow nearly gone. Been alone most of the day. & have written to Angeline, Frances, Elma & Mary. Uncle Jephtha & Isaac & Ezra have called. Father & Mother have heard two war sermons. Everybody talks about war. They all seem to be of one mind. Great excitement in Rochester. A company is to leave there to morrow for W. We fear troops will arrive there too late. All are anxious to hear further news.

Monday. Apr. 22^d.

Three years ago to day Sister Sarah was buried in W. Avon. It was a bright pleasant day, & to day is fine & warm.

This morning troops left Rochester for Washington. & when the train stopped at W. Avon music & shouting was heard here. 15 men have gone from Avon to day.

I have washed & ironed & wrote two letters & read some, & to night I am very tired.

Rush. April 28th. 1861. Sunday

Rainy & windy. I have written two or three letters & read to father Beecher's sermon on the war, & had a collision with H. & Ann &c. The last has made me feel miserably. Ann is very saucy & insulting to father. I wish he would not bear so much of her. She told him "she hated me & wants him to understand it." She is a terrible little woman.

Last Wednesday I went with father to Avon. & called at Uncle Ephraim's. & then went to Mr. Hartwell's to sew for Alvira. Mr. H. is better.

The arsenal at Harper's Ferry & the arms have been destroyed by the garrison to prevent their falling into the hands of the Rebels. The ships & Navy Yard have been destroyed at Norfolk for the same purpose. Fort Monroe is held by the government yet.

Jeff. Davis is said to be marching to Washington, our troops are arriving there in great numbers, & they hope to be in time to save it.

Thursday sewed all day for Alvira & towards night walked to Mr. Winans. It was a long but pleasant walk & I was quite tired. Mrs. Winans has a brother & son who have enlisted. & of course all the talk is of war.

Friday I went to Chili with Mr. & Mrs. W. & visited at Mr. Root's. Had a nice ride & I enjoyed it exceedingly.

Saturday I went to burying ground, & in the P.M. Julia Winans brought me home. Then I read Wendell Phillips' discourse on the War last Sunday in Boston. It is a glorious speech in support of the Administration. "The same mob that threatened his life last January, stood packed around the same building, applauding whenever the echo of his voice reached them. They wanted to draw him home when the lecture was over, but he retired through a back entrance & avoided their ovation." Is not this turning the tables?

The largest audience ever assembled to hear one man. 4000 in the building, Music Hall, & as many more were excluded[?] who could not get an inch of standing room. The Platform was decorated with the stars & stripes. He said "it was the first time in his Anti Slavery life that he had spoken under the stars & stripes & welcomed the tread of Massachusetts men marshaled for war." He said "today the slave asks God for a sight of this banner". This is the motto of the A.S. Standard now. It has heretofore been "No Union with Slaveholders." He says, in speaking of the Tribune, "its unflinching fidelity & matchless ability make it, in this fight "The White plume of Navarre." But nothing has gratified me more than to hear that Southside Adams was lately told by some persons who waited upon him for the purpose, that if he did not come out stiff & strong for northern rights & freedom his house wd. be burned down over his head, & so last

Sunday he preached a patriotic sermon. And Van Dyke of Brooklyn has been waited on by his friends who tell him he will not be safe unless he comes out stronger for the Union. I am glad to learn that these men are estimated aright.

Yesterday had letters from Frances & Ella. Ella is better & means to come to Somerset soon if she is able. I shall try to go there & see her. She will not come home in such a bad state of things as exist here now. I try not to think of it, for it makes me sick. It grows less & less like home.

Tuesday Apr. 30th.

Rainy. with two bright intervals. I have cleaned the parlor & bedroom & am very tired tonight. Mother has gone to Mt. Morris to be absent a week or more. Father took her to the cars. He brought last evening's paper & letters from Charlotte & Mary Julia. Sis writes a very nice & intelligent letter. She

discusses the times of course, & is full of excitement. C. is helping the ladies sew for the volunteers & is wide awake on the war. Mr. Griffin has not enlisted but he talks about it.

No particular news. No attack has been made upon Washington yet. it is so well defended now that the Rebels hold back; & Va. says her troops will not attack it. We think the rebels are waiting to get better organized & supplied.

Yesterday I washed & ironed & did some other work. Lillie Bigelow was here. I was so tired that I did not know how to get up this morning. My sleep lately is disturbed by unpleasant dreams. Perhaps some new evil is impending.

Thursday. May 2^d. 1861.

Letters from Sister Mary & Cornelia Post. Mary is full of trouble, the first she has had since she was married. Her husband has enlisted, & was to go day before

yesterday to Fort Wayne, 4 miles below Detroit. Mary feels very badly & I am very sorry for her. They were living happily & it is bad to have their family broken up. At first she could not consent to it, but she did at last & Joseph did not go until she did consent.—She is coming home to visit us all & will stay a few months. & intends to start in about 2 wks. I am so glad she is coming. & I hope she will take some comfort here, although it is so unpleasant. She means to stop with Ella a few days. & I hope Ella will be able to come with her.

This is a new source of anxiety. & my life seems to be made up of care & trouble. Mary says “she don’t blame Joe for wanting to go & if she was a man she wd. go too.”

I have been to Harvey B’s this P.M. Mrs. B. feels very badly about her brother Joseph’s going: & I think he might have waited until it becomes necessary for more men.

Cousin C. does not care for the war, she is tired of hearing about it.
Cousin Robert Lapham’s wife died the 24th of Apr. & was buried last Friday.

Two more little motherless ones in the world.

Cousin Caroline Lapham was married in Jan. to Henry Van Orman & lives 3 miles from Troy.—

It has been cold & unpleasant to day & last night it froze quite hard. I have done little but think about Mary & read the paper to father. No particular news. Baltimore is quiet & the Stars & Stripes now wave over the city. The Pug Uglies have been quieted for the time. Virginia seems willing to hold on a little, but it is said Jeff. Davis is moving his forces north. & means to be on the banks of the Hudson in less than a month. Troops have poured into Washington, & it is now thought safe from an attack. The R. Roads & bridges in Maryland have been repaired & are now guarded by soldiers & communication is open with the north.

Friday May 3^d.

A long, tedious forenoon, long enough for a common day. This P.M. went with father to Avon, & called at Leland’s & Mr. Hartwell’s & Wm. J. Harris’s & Uncle Ephraim’s & Mr. Cookingham’s & Mrs. Morehouse’s & Uncle Jephtha’s.

Mr. Merrill of Avon raised a secession flag on his house yesterday & towards night a company of men from the village went there & made him take it down, & they then tore it in pieces & distributed it among the company, & if he does not raise the Union Flag they say they will tear his house down.

But I think they will hardly go to that extent. It wd. not be right. Mr. Merrill has relatives in Mississippi, but I think he had better keep still if he is not a friend of the North. We shall not hold still for his relations to fight us, or lynch us, or hang us or tar & feather us.

It is well enough to scare those men with Southern proclivities, for now is not the time to manifest them. It is thought that Maryland will not secede at present. & that Jeff. Davis wants a truce of 60 days. I hope they will not grant it, but make him toe the mark as soon as they can, before he can collect any more forces. The South has thought that most of the Democrats at the North would side with them. & the unanimity of feeling here has surprised & disappointed them. They little thought the N.Y. Herald, wd. turn against them. & southside Adams & H.J. Van Dyke too. I have not much confidence in these sudden conversions. Van Dyke says now that the Government must be sustained, last winter he wrote to a friend in Georgia thus, "If the agitation of the slavery question is not stopped, & the hostile legislation of the North is not repealed, your state & all the Southern States ought to break loose from the Government."

⁵When I came home Addie & Mattie D. & Lillie B. were here for plants & roots. They took tea & left about dark. I wd. as soon have a small regiment of wildcats about the house as to have 3 such girls & yet I like to have them come.

It is said that John Brown Jr. is raising a regiment of negroes in Va. to fight the South. I had supposed old John Brown's spirit was hovering around Harper's Ferry about these days & I hope his mantle has fallen on his son. The negroes undoubtedly will act a part in this rebellion when the right moment comes & wait with fear & trembling. His chains will be made tighter for a while or else it will work out his emancipation. There are many people who wd. like to get rid of Slavery because it is a vexed question & they wish to hear no more about it & not because they have any principle against it.

But let them work. The people are building better than they know, but they will see it in the end.

May 4th, Saturday.

Fine & warmer. Did house[?] till 10. Then worked in garden till 1, & am oh! so tired.

Henry & Ann are away this P.M. & that gives me extra work. I have an indications of something I know not what, which has surprised me much. This A.M. Ann

⁵ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26051_034 to HC13-26051_112, in their Folder entitled March. 12, 1861 to Sept. 20, 1861.

spoke to me in her natural manner, as anybody else would. For 6 months or more she has not spoken to me only when she had something to spiteful to say. I don't know how this happened.

70 weeks since my precious one was taken from us. Perhaps she seldom thinks of us. When Mary comes I shall insist upon her going with father to see Freda though I fear he will not go.

Sunday, May 5th, 1861

Very bright & warmer.

Went with father to meeting. Heard Mr. Nott preach two sermons but they made no impression upon me. His doctrine I do not believe, especially that a sheriff when about hanging a man "is the servant of God". The troops have left Rochester for Elvira. Lincoln's 20 days of grace expire today & now we expect something will be done.

Frederick Douglass was ready to take a trip to Hayti ten days ago but has given it up for the present, hoping there will be something for him to do here.

Wednesday May 5th [*Transcriber's note: Also dated May 5*]

Yesterday & day before cleaned house & worked in garden & painted. Today Mother got home from Mt. Morris. Rainy. Cleaned bedroom this A.M. This P.M. getting ready to go to Rochester tomorrow. Letter from Frances. Wants me to meet her in city tomorrow. So tired.

Thursday, May 9th, 1861.

With little gray & buggy came to city alone. Charlotte has gone to N.Y. so I shall not see her.

Francis left Hartland this morning & got here about the time I did. Abner has not come. Called at Industrial School & went with F. to look for furniture. Met Mrs. Coleman. Took dinner with Mr. Griffin. This P.M. Francis & I have been to Mrs. Watkies' to meet John Brown Jr. Rumor has had him in Western Virginia at the head of 400 negroes & 1500 more ready to join him. This has been the rounds of the papers. Another report was that John Brown Jr. & Redpath were prisoners on Cumberland Island & were about to be shot. So much for newspaper reports. Mr. B. says "he has learned to believe nothing that he reads & only one half of what he sees." He has just come from Boston & is on his way home to Ohio. He has been among the fugitives in Canada most all winter. Chas. Sumner, W. Phillips Dr Howe, Stearns & others sent for him to

Come to Boston to consult as to what is best for Abolitionists to do.

Phillips & Sumner think that everything is working well now. But the North as a body is not ready to espouse the cause of the African. It is best to keep the North united until they get so far that they can't give up, till they need regiments of colored men & will be glad of their help. Colored regiments are forming in Boston, New York & Philadelphia & have

offered their services but government will not accept them yet. Still they mean to be ready. But any demonstration by Abolitionists now would divide the North & do no good. Mr. Sumner says the North must be castigated severely, she must be beaten in several battles, each state must be made to feel more deeply by still further outrages by the South; this will have to be done before there will be a general anti-slavery feeling sufficient to make cause with the slave. This war may end & the slave not be emancipated, but un-

less the question is settled now it will soon come up again, for the slave will eventually be free. I fear this delay must occur for these Democrats, hunkers[?] & proslavery ministers are not abolitionists yet, far from it.

Gen. Butler offered the services of Mass. troops to put down any uprising of slaves in Maryland. Lieut. Slemmer at Fort Pickens sent back to Florida seven slaves in chains who came to him & offered their services & one officer has said he would willingly go into S. Carolina now to put down a slave insurrection.

As P. Pillsbury says, "I try hard to be glad, I am glad of this uprising of the North, but it means no good to the slave"—

I shall not soon forget the pleasure this interview has given me. The noble soul, the free spirit of John Brown Jr. his heroism at Harper's Ferry, his terrible sufferings as a prisoner, his being the son of Old John Brown of Osawatomie"; all these things create a deep interest in the man. They tell me he is

very like his father. He has a mild, loving eye, gentle manners, deliberate speech. Has dark hair, sandy beard quite long, worn to hide the scars about his face & neck made by the sabre cuts of the enemy. Terrible scars on his arm from the ropes by which he was dragged for miles. Has fine teeth, is very neat in his person, has a taste for the beautiful & worships the good & true. How unlike what I imagined him to be. Like his father he has deep religious feelings & acts from firm convictions of duty; not from impulse, not from revenge, but because he hates slavery & wrong. I told him "I hoped I should hear glorious news of him yet."

There is no doubt but the Harper's Ferry affair & the execution of John Brown helped us along greatly to the times we now see. I have enjoyed this P.M. exceedingly.

Miss. S. B. Anthony was there & Rosa Douglass & others. & Sister F. enjoyed it as much as I did.

Took tea at C's, then went to Irondequoit. Benjamin drove for us, good visit with Aunt E. & the rest.

Friday, May 10th

Came back to city early this morning. Saw Sis & Ned a little while. Went out with Frances, finished my business. Saw a company of volunteers being drilled. All quite

young, some of them mere boys. The troops mostly left R. a week ago, so there is not quite as much excitement in R. now as there has been for a few weeks past. Left for home at 2 & from Henrietta rode in the rain.

H. & A. wanted to go away today but could not because I was gone with the horse. They seem full of wrath & hatred. They say nothing to me, but their treatment of father is worse than I have seen before. To see them do so makes me almost sick & discouraged. If they should abuse me a half a day & say their worst it would not trouble me half as much, as does this treatment of father, & father allows them to go on so & says not a word in reply. I pity Henry for all he is so bad. His wife makes him so I think.

Sunday May 12th

Fine day. Father & Mother gone to meeting. Henry & Ann are away & I am all alone. A good time to write, but it is lonesome. Yesterday I worked in the house & garden & sewed & read &c. & I am very tired of it. Brought home "Linda" & "Redpath's Life of John Brown" but there is so much to do now that I can read but little besides the papers.

Sunday May 19th

A week of house cleaning & hard work. I feel old & lame & tired. Mother & I have cleaned the large chamber, & cleaned, papered & painted the Sitting room. It looks so much better that we feel paid for our hard work. I have also cleaned & painted the front stoop; & varnished furniture &c &c. I have read "Linda" & am now reading John Brown, & yesterday worked in garden some &c. It has been cold & unpleasant during the week.

I found "Linda" exceedingly interesting. It is incidents in the life of Harriet Jacobs, a fugitive slave who was in Rochester about a year & where I became a little acquainted with her & also her brother John S. Jacobs, who was a fugitive too. He lectured on Anti-Slavery & was here once with Douglass & then went to California. Harriet's home has been in the family of N.P. Willis ever since she came North. & they have befriended her nobly. Willis's 2^d wife paid for the freedom of Harriet & her 2 children so that they might not be in fear any longer of the slave hunters. H. protested against this but Mrs. W. did it unknown to her. A noble woman! This has inspired me with a fresh hatred to slavery, for was she not a woman & a sister? & are there not thousands like her helpless & sorrowing in that dark prison house of iniquity. Harriet Jacobs has noble womanly feelings although her skin is not quite as white as mine.

John Brown was a remarkable & wonderful man. His struggles in Kansas & murder of his sons, his career at Harper's Ferry & the killing of 2 sons there, his sublime & triumphant death on the scaffold at Charleston; all these embody incidents so painfully

interesting, so self-sacrificing & heroic, that I am lost in amazement & awe. —R.W. Emerson said:

“The Saint whose fate yet hangs in suspense, but whose martyrdom, if it shall be perfected, will make the gallons glorious like the cross.”

Henry D. Thoreau said:

“He was one who recognized no unjust human laws but resisted them as he was bid. He cd. not have been tried by his peers, for his peers did not exist”—Theo. Parker said, “John Brown is one of the most extraordinary men of this age & nation”.

Wendell Phillips said:

“God makes him the test, & all he asks of our comparatively cowardly lips is to preach the sermon & say to the American people that, whether that old man succeeded in a worldly sense or not, he stood a representative of law, of government, of right, of justice, of religion, & they were pirates that gathered about him, & sought to wreak vengeance by taking his life. The banks of the Potomac, doubly dear now to History & to Man! The dust of Washington rests there; & History will see forever on that riverside the brave old man on his pallet, whose dust, when God calls him home, the Father of his Country wd. be proud to make room for beside his own.”

Dr. Cheever said: “John Brown was a shot from the cannon of God’s providence.”

How much the Harper’s Ferry affair & the death of J. Brown have to do with the present war, none of us can tell. I think it has much to do with it. I think that act will yet raise up 50 John Browns to avenge the wrong of the slave, His spirit still lives!

Sunday evening. Henry & Ann are away, Father & Mother have been to meeting, brought papers & letter from Cousin Kate—. Aunt Phebe intended to start the 1st of June to visit us but the Bank in which she has deposited money has failed & now she fears she will be unable to come. She is much disappointed as well myself.—Things wear a martial aspect in Quincy as well as in our eastern towns.

No particular war news. The Union sentiment has triumphed in Maryland. U.S. troops have come through Baltimore. Gen. Butler has taken possession of the City. Western Va. is resisting the traitors. Capt. Lyon has captured a rebel brigade of 800 men near St. Louis.—After Gen. Butler offered his regiment to put down any uprising of slaves in Md.; it is said Gov. Anderson of Mass. wrote to him saying “he had made a great military blunder which must not be repeated.”—

Rush, Sunday May 26th, 1861

Another busy week has gone. Have been housecleaning & have worked hard. Yesterday I rested a little.

Had a letter from Frances. Alvira & Mary & Minnie are with her. Alvira is considerably better. She is to stay with F. this summer & will probably not come home. Mary intends to come here this week. She is to make a short visit in Somerset first. I am in a hurry to see her. But it will be unpleasant here. Ann has had another tantrum, a regular quarrel with Mother. Cousin P.A. Gazely & husband visited us on Thursday but Ann would do nothing for them.

Had a characteristic letter from Wm. Penn. He is much moved by the martial aspect of affairs. He lives on the Railroad where he sees the troops pass & he sometimes gives them a blast from his Bugle.

No battle yet but the Federal troops are about marching into Virginia.

Wednesday May 29th, 1861

Heavy rain last night. This A.M. went to Avon & called at Mr. Hartwell's. Letter from Mary. She was to come to Rochester yesterday, so I intend to go for her tomorrow. Yesterday worked on my flag & wrote to R.A. Carroll. I feel dispirited & discouraged. 64 wks since I have seen my darling, I dream of her & think of her. Oh! dear.

Col. Ellsworth of the N.Y. Zouave regiment has been killed at Alexandria Va. by a Seccessionist, & creates great indignation at the North. Our troops have gone in to Virginia. A fight is expected.—

Thursday May 30th

Started early this morning for Rochester. It has been a very fine day

Found Mary & Minnie at Charlotte's. Mary has changed but little in 4 yrs. Minnie is 3 yrs. old & is a nice little girl. Called on Mrs. Watkys & walked considerably & got very tired. & this P.M. have had such a dreadful sick head ache that I could hardly sit up to ride home. Mary drove most of the way.

Friday, May 31st.

Felt miserably all day but kept busy. Mary & Minnie are glad to be at Grandpa's. If my little darling was here now how happy I might be. It is so wicked to keep her from us. Henry & Ann have been away all day. Maria B. called this evening.

Saturday, June 1st.

Fine. Worked all day on my shawl & M. helped me some. Am very tired. Minnie has been very happy. She has been to Uncle J's with H & Ann & got a basket of apples. Mrs. Bigelow called this evening

Rush, Sunday, June 2^d, 1861

Have not felt like doing anything today. Have been alone with Mary & Minnie & wrote a little. Rain this P.M.

Monday June 3rd.

This A.M. washed & this P.M. ironed. Finished my black shawl & am very tired. Nobody tries to make it pleasant for Mary. She has been asked to do part of the work while she stays. No regard is shown her whatever. It is a sad, a dreadful thing to have no mother. But it is sadder still & more to be dreaded to have another person in a dear good Mother's place.

Mary is anxious & worried & not in good health & I would like to promote her comfort & have her enjoy herself while she is here but I cannot do as I would wish. It is but very little like home to me.

Wednesday Jun 5th.

Yesterday & today have sewed steadily wh. is hard work for me. Mary & Minnie have gone to Harvey's.

Thursday June 6th

This morning worked in garden & talked awhile with father. The result is a nervous & sick head ache & I have been unable to sit up this P.M.

Never in my life have my feelings been wounded more deeply. My father is childish & easily imposed upon by the designing & selfish. & I can forgive him, at the same time I can never forget his harsh and unkind words.

I have explained some things to him, & he feels differently now, & wishes he had not said what he did & assures me that I will not be disturbed &c &c, but a wounded spirit who can bear?

I refuse to work any more than I have done for Henry & Ann or Laura even, for I have done more already than justice or generosity requires of me. I think I earn the food I eat & am entitled to a home here & shall act accordingly. My father's wife,

She does not deserve to be called mother any more, shows a selfish & bad spirit. She has not treated Mary civilly, & hardly humanly since she has been here & now when she is disposed to join Henry & Ann in their efforts to make it uncomfortable for Mary & myself, & to annoy father by complaints & set him against us, it is too, too bad. I was not prepared for this on her part. I supposed she would be kind & friendly towards Mary, out of regard for father if for nothing else. I am so disappointed in her. If she wants to get the ill will of the whole tribe of relations she is taking just the way.

Henry & Ann appeared much gratified at the course she has taken. I have treated her well & respectfully since she has been & I want folks to think well of her & I try always to speak well of her. But it will take a long time to forget this affair, I know she wants me to leave home. Oh! well.

Friday June 7th

Sick all day. This unfair & unkind treatment has given me a shock that I can not get over immediately. There has been such a spirit manifested here since Mary came that I have taken no comfort with her. I can hardly talk at times. I have only worked on every day & borne it in silence. But the storm has burst & if the thunder will only clear the atmosphere & make it more fit to breathe I will not mind it so much. The shock has prostrated me but I shall hope for more pleasant times for father says "Laura will treat Mary differently after this & they will try to make it pleasant for her."

Saturday June 8th.

Felt some better but cannot do much. 74 weeks since my little one was taken from my arms, from my willing care. Mary & Minnie have been to Mr. Dailey's & I have been to bring them back.

Sunday, June 9th

This A.M. Mary & Minnie & I went to church, heard El. Nott, preach a dry sermon. This P.M. got dinner, read & wrote a little. Mary & Minnie have been sleeping awhile. This has been a perfect June day, one of those that Lowell sings of,

"Whether we work or whether we listen
we hear life murmur, or see it glisten".

It is a luxury to live, to one beset by no more than ordinary cares, but it is all well nigh lost on me. I wonder if it is ever to be thus. That I never shall take comfort again. Ann went away yesterday morning & Henry in the P.M. It seems so much better to have them away if we do have to do all the work.

Tuesday, 11th June,

Very warm. Yesterday we washed & ironed until we were very tired. This P.M. Mary & Minnie & I have been to the burying

ground & to Mr. Winans & had a good visit. Mary has a letter from Joe. He was about to leave Fort Wayne for Washington. Today's paper says the 2^d. Michigan Regiment reached Washington Sunday night, & has been reviewed by the President. Mary feels badly about Joe's going so far off & being exposed to so many dangers.

Thursday, June 13th

Yesterday Mary & Minnie & I went to P. Office & to Uncle Jephtha's & took tea. Today finished Minnie's muslin dress. This P.M. we went to Mr. Barber's & had a nice visit. Mary has a letter from Joe. He writes from Washington is well & in good spirits.— The Federal troops from Fort Monroe attacked a battery some 12 miles distant & were repulsed by the rebels with a loss of 25 killed & 100 wounded. Gen. Pierce is blamed for bad management. This has encouraged the Rebels somewhat.

Saturday 15th June

Quite cool yesterday. In P.M. Mary went to Harvey's & Minnie staid with me. It seems some like having Freda here, & I often call her Freda. Oh! if my little darling was only with us. It will be 76 weeks tomorrow since she was taken from us, the dear one. I do want Mary to go & see her but I dread to mention it to father. I expect he will oppose it.

Today finished my Flag & the Stars & Stripes are now waving in the breeze in front of our house. Made a little flag for Minnie too. Did various chores. Windy but pleasant.

Sunday 16th June.

No one been to Church. Rainy A.M., but fine this P.M.—
Have written & read a little & rested some.

June 19th, Wednesday

Mary & Minnie & I have been to Mr. Hartwell's this P.M. Shower while we were there. Have not felt like visiting. Worked in garden this A.M. & got very tired. We hear that Harper's Ferry has been evacuated by the rebels, but they first destroyed nearly all the bridges & buildings & property that they could not remove.

Saturday June 22^d.

This P.M. Mary & Minnie & I have been to Uncle Ephraim's & had a good visit. It is 767 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from these arms, from her happy home at Grandpa's. Mary has asked father to go with her to see Freda. but he says "No" as I supposed he would, but he told her she could have the horse & buggy if she could get anybody to go with her. We shall ask E. Daily to go with her next week. I shall be in a tumult of apprehension until

this is done, for fear Mary will not go & for fear they will not see her if they do go. It should be a small matter & an easy matter, but oh! dear, nothing is harder to bring about. I dread the time when Mary must leave. I shall be more lonely than ever.

On Thursday P.M. Mary & Minnie & I were here alone, & it seemed really pleasant, some like the home it used to be. Had a letter from Frances. Ella is in Somerset for a few weeks & she is quite smart. No particular war news.

Sunday 23^d June

Took walk to falls with Mary & Minnie. The day has been delightful, a perfect June day. Leland & Mary called this P.M. Read "Christobol" & "The Ancient Mariner". Tried to discover some of the genius ascribed to those poems, but cannot. They don't suit me. Mind to simple to appreciate their beauties probably.

Rush, June 25th

Yesterday washed, ironed & sewed & called at Harvey B's.
This A.M. forenoon sewed for Mrs. B.

This P.M. Mary & Minnie & I have been to S. Society at Mr. Dana's. Had very pleasant time there, & sometimes we almost forget how unpleasant it is at home.

Wednesday 26th

Very hot & windy. Mary & Minnie & I walked up to Harvey B.'s this morning & this P.M. visited at Mrs. Frederies[?] & he brought us home. Old Mr. Bigelow's wife came to Harvey's when we were there. When I asked after Freda, Mrs. B. said "she was well", but she answered me as if I had no business to speak of her. I could not talk with them about my darling; they seem so cold & unfeeling that they would not understand nor appreciate my feelings & motives. It disturbs me very much to see them.

Thursday 27th

Wrote to C & sewed for Mrs. B. & worked in garden. Letter from Ella, she is quite smart & is in Somerset. Mary has letter from Joe. He is in Camp on Georgetown Heights, 63 miles from Washington, is well & in good spirits.

No particular war news.

Saturday 29th,

Mary went to Rochester yesterday with Mrs. B & came back this P.M. Staid all night in Brighton. Saw C. & Mary Julia a little while. She left Minnie with me, she has been good & contented.—Ann went away yesterday morning and has not come back yet. So I have been doing housework as well as other things.

78 wks since my darling was taken from us. E. Dailey will not be at home in a week or more, so I must wait as well as I can for Mary to go to see Freda.

Rush June 30th, Sunday,

Mary & Minnie & I have been to church & heard Mr. Elmore. Came back by the way of Uncle E's & took dinner. Indications of rain this P.M. I am tired & stupid & have headache. There seems to be no electricity in the air.

Henry & Ann have not come yet.

Wednesday, July 3^d, 1861

Yesterday it rained all day. Things look fine now. Worked hard in house & garden today. Ann away.

Esek Winegar & wife came this evening to spend the 4th. Have head ache.

Thursday July 4th, 1861

The 85th anniversary of American Independence. Mercury at 84 in shade. Worked in garden this A.M. & got, oh! so tired. Anti Slavery Picnic in Rochester today. How well I would like to have been there. Douglass & Pillsbury & Mrs. Stanton are the speakers.

Congress meets today for a short term probably. No particular war news. Troops are concentrating at & near Washington.

July 7th, Sunday

Have had several very hot days. Worked in garden every morning nearly, & sewed the rest of the day, for several days past.

Friday, Mrs. Bigelow here. Ann was stuky[?] & would get no tea for the company. She behaves very meanly. Mr. W. has left, but Mrs. Winegar is to stay awhile.

A fine Comet is visible now. It is in Ursa Major. & nearly on the meridian. It is very brilliant; more so than a Star of the first magnitude.

Yesterday it was 79 wks since my precious one was taken from us. I do hope Mary can go up there this week.—

July 8th,

Washed & ironed & sewed &c. A hard day's work. Had spat with Ann at dinner table. She crowded me, I asked her to move a little & she said I might put my plate on the other table &c. She acted shamefully. I am not sorry either that Mrs. Winegar saw it.—

Mary & Minnie gone to Mr. D's to stay all night.—

July 9th

This A.M. I went to Mr. Dailey's & took dinner & this P.M went to Mr. Green's with Mary & Euphemia & Mrs. Bigelow. Had a pleasant visit.—Mary & I have been so disappointed & I have had a crying spell too. Mr. D is not willing for Euphemia to go to see Freda with Mary tomorrow & we came home this evening feeling very badly. But we talked with Father until he has consented to go with her. It is 70 wks since I have seen my darling; it is so long, so long.—

July 10th

Father says he can't go today but will go tomorrow. Oh! dear. I am so afraid something will happen to prevent. Henry & Ann went away with buggy this morning although they knew that Mary was fixing to go away with E.D. H. is very disobliging. We walked to H's & took dinner & then got Mr. D's buggy & went to W.Jos. Harris's but Mary was not at home so we called at Mrs. Keith's & Leland's & made out to get home just before the rain, tired enough & not well satisfied with our day's work.—

July 11th

Rained all day, oh! it is so hard to wait. I sewed & sewed & sewed. Hope it will be fine tomorrow. It is quite cool.—

Friday July 12th, 1861

It is all over. They have been to R's & were not allowed to see my little dear one. We are all so disappointed. After R. & his wife both had asked father to come there to be treated so meanly, it took father by surprise. Father with Mary & Minnie left here at 8 & I worked about house nearly all the A.M. & thought about it as little & calmly as I could.

Then I was anxious & disturbed & when I saw them drive up at 2 I was sure they had not seen her. They were back too soon. They got there about 11 & father went to the door, a girl opened it a few inches & told him R. was out to the barn. He went & found him. Revilo was at work on the roof with a carpenter. They talked a little while & father asked R. if he was not coming down. R. said if father had nothing in particular to say he could hear him where he was. Father told him R. he had asked him to come there & he wanted to see Freda & Mary was in the buggy & she

wanted to see her. R. said "he had nothing in particular against father or Mary but if he let them see her, the rest wd. be wanting to come & see her & he wanted nothing to do with any of the family. He did not want them to come on to his premises. He said I had property here that belonged to Freda; he had paid me a hundred & fifty dollars; & he was told that father had said he should alter his will & leave nothing to Freda &c. Father told him that was his own business & he supposed Revilo's business with me was all settled. He had tried to be generous with R. & Revilo allowed that he had been so & that he made something while he lived with father &c. Father says Money seems to worry R. more than anything else & he seemed to feel so hateful & mad, Mary & Minnie were in the buggy all this time & it seemed an age to them. In returning they stopped at the school.

house where Freda was but Miss Sinclair the teacher would not allow them to see her. She said she had been ordered not to do so. Father told her it was strange after he had been invited to come there & it was hard. She said she knew it & that she did'nt approve of all they did but she could not do any different. Mary felt very badly to be so near Freda & not see her. Miss S. said "she was well & learned fast & was a nice smart little girl." So very sadly they rode homewards. They were so tired by this time that they stopped at Lakeville at Mr. Kimbark's[?] They told Mr. & Mrs. K. all about it. Mrs. K. says they watch Freda all the time & they had heard Mary was here & was expecting she wd. come to see Freda. Mrs. K says I must come up there to meeting again. & I shall do so if I can. She says when we went there to meeting last summer Dan Bigelow heard of it & went to R's that Sunday morning on horse back to tell R.

not to come to meeting with her & R. laughs about outwitting us.—

I thought if they could only visit with her a little while & speak to her of Aunt Fanny & Aunt Ella & Uncle Abner & Ned & Mary Julia, & tell her that Aunt Julia loves her all the time & she loves Freda best of any body & she must always love Aunty, if they could only have done this it would have been such a satisfaction, such a relief. But now the burden is heavier than before, for even father can have no access to her. How long, oh! Lord how long must it be thus?—

Saturday July 13th

About half sick today, so discouraged. I have nothing pleasant to look forward to. Cut off from seeing & seldom hearing from my little dear one.—such an unpleasant home—& Mary so unsettled & worried & I can do so little for her. Oh! it looks dark.

Have done various chores today. The time is going so fast & Mary will soon leave us & then I shall be more desolate than ever.—Yesterday had a letter from Mary Julia & Frances. I must write to Frances now.

Sunday, July 14th, 1861

Fine. Cool. This A.M. Father & Mother & Mary & Minnie & I went to Camp meeting about 3 miles from here. It was very pleasant. I enjoyed it much & would like to be there all day. Mr. Ives of Auburn preached from Hebrews 7-25. It was a Methodist sermon of course. Everything was decent & orderly & quiet. Such meetings are conducted much better than formerly. There were a great many people present, but all were civil. Henry & Ann have gone there this P.M.

Since we came back I have picked raspberries & helped get dinner, & it leaves but little time for writing or anything else

Tuesday, July 16th

Yesterday we washed & ironed & did various things to get ready to go to city today. We started at 9 ½ A.M. Warm ride. Dined at C.s. Sis & Ned have got back from Somerset, having made but a short stay.

Went to Industrial School & Savings Bank & dyers, a long hot walk which gave me the headache. About 3 went to Cousin H. Babcock's. Phebe C. there.

Wednesday July 17th.

A very pleasant visit at Henry's. Came from there about 2 P.M. called on Aunt Maria a little while. Then did a little shopping, our purse being very low. Mary bought spectacles. Her sight is about as poor as mine. Too bad for so young a person.—C. very busy dressing heads.

About 5 went to Benjamin's. All well but Aunt E., she is very lame. It is very pleasant at B's & Aunt E. is so glad to see us.—

Thursday July 18th, 1861

Looks like rain, quite warm. Had a nice visit at B's. Left there about 1 P.M. & did a few chores in the city. C. very busy. Have seen Sis & Ned but a few minutes. & could have no visit with C. Minnie likes the excitement & has been good all the time. Left city about 4 & stopped at Mt. Hope a little while.

Reached home about dusk. Have had a good time but we are all tired. We go to bed supperless for we are too tired to get any & there is no one to care for us.

Mary has a letter from Joe. He is in Georgetown yet. The troops are advancing into Va. & there is a good deal of skirmishing. There has been a battle in Missouri. The German

Volunteers under Col. Seigel routed the rebels & many were killed. Another battle at Beverly in Va. Federal troops victorious, took many prisoners, & much camp equipage & 6 guns.

Saturday July 20th

How fast the month is going & Mary will think she must leave soon. It is most too bad to have her go back alone.

Yesterday it was very hot. & Mary & I were both almost sick, unable to do but little all day. The weather was very oppressive. Last night there was a heavy thunder shower & today it is cooler & pleasant & we have done a sight of work. Put up cherries, made currant jelly &c.—I do not feel well & I do not like the looks of my pale face, for I want to be well & strong & do all I can for Mary.

Sunday, July 21st

Cool & pleasant. Went to bed early last night to get rested out but Mary & I both dreamed of snakes & Minnie was restless & our sleep was not as refreshing as it might have been. Father & Mother & Mary have been to meeting. Minnie staid with me. Henry has several men at work harvesting.

but he does not work much himself. Ann is doing ever so much unnecessary work today. I wish they would not do so, & I wish father wd. not allow it.—

Took a walk with Minnie & met them coming from meeting. John Hillman here to tea. Read “Essays & Reviews”—a “National Church.” by H.B. Wilson. B.D.—I cannot fix my mind on Theology lately. I have not half understood this.

Chilly, blue P.M. Mary is lonesome.

Monday, July 22^d.

Washed, trimmed shrubbery, ironed &c. & Mary & I are almost tired out. Ann has spoken to me several times today. I cannot account for it. Mrs. B. & Mrs. Green & children called.

Tuesday, July 23rd

This A.M. sewed & this P.M. went with Mary & Minnie to Society at Mr. Hartwells. Fine & cool—

We learned this A.M. that a terrible battle has been fought at Bull’s Run about 3 miles from Manassas Junction. It commenced Sunday morning & our troops were carrying every thing before them. But Gen. Patterson failed to cut off Gen. Johnson’s approach & the rebels were reinforced. The fighting continued 12 hours. The men in our front ranks had used up all their ammunition & teams were sent to the rear for more. Some of our troops thought a retreat had begun, this caused a panic & they turned & fled. The rebels pursued them a short distance only. The officers wished them to make a stand at Centerville but there was no controlling them & they came back to Alexandria. The rebel force was much larger than ours. The first report was that 4,000 or 5,000 of our troops were killed, but it has come down

to 300. Of course it is not known yet. The troops keep coming in. It is a sad & disheartening affair.

Little else is talked of now, so many are anxious to hear from friends. The Rochester regiment was one that suffered most & the Avon boys were in that. Tonight we learned that the 2^d Michigan Regt. was in the fight & two were wounded but Mary does not know it yet & I wish we could keep it from her till she hears from Joe. She feels badly, but is hopeful.

Wednesday, July 24th.

Have sewed all day on Mary's wrapper. Cousin Jephtha W. here to tea. Tonight Mary & Minnie have gone to Ira Green's to stay till Saturday. Papers a full of incidents of the battle. It was a dreadful sight. A great many were there to see what was going on. Hon A. Ely was there & is missing.

Thursday July 25th, 1861

Housework & sewing & am very, very tired & depressed in spirits. It is so lonely without Mary & Minnie. What shall I do when they are gone entirely? I dread to have that time come, but I try not to think of it. Still, Mary intends to leave in about two weeks & go to Somerset & stay 2 weeks & then go to Michigan.

Papers today say 800 were killed on our side & 3000 rebels but it is all conjecture I suppose.

Friday July 26th

Hot day, mercury at 86°. I have been tired & lazy all day but I have sewed & written to Frances. Mary had a letter from Joe last night but it was written last Saturday, the day before the battle. He was at Centerville; well & in good spirits, had been some skirmishing.

Father went up to Ira Green's this morning to hear Mary read it, & he had been to Uncle J's this P.M. to hear the paper there. More particulars of the battle. No news from the Avon boys since the fight. People are very anxious to hear. Col Quinby is not killed as reported & Ely has been found. Names of officers that are killed & missing are given in the papers but not the names of the private soldiers.

Father is very uneasy & disturbed. He is troubled about Mary. I am glad to know that he thinks of her. I asked him "if she had better go back to Michigan in a few weeks as she intends to do." He said "No", but he cannot decide what is best for her to do till we hear from Joe. Too bad for her to go back & stay there alone. I hope she will be satisfied to stay here.

Sunday, July 28th, 1861

Yesterday I was almost sick & did but little. Mary & Minnie came back towards evening. Letter from Frances. She is so disappointed that they did not see Freda. Ella is about the same.

Pleasant day. I feel better & quite rested. At 4 P.M. Father & Mary & Minnie & I went to meeting at S. House; heard El. Hooker; a small talented Methodist minister. I do not feel particularly benefitted by the discourse. It was violently Trinitarian[?] & had no originality of thought. I hope it did others good.

Monday 29th

This P.M. Mary & Minnie went to Henrietta with Mr. & Mrs. Green, but will come back tonight. Ann is sick. We have washed & done various things.

Battle of Bull Run [*Transcribers note – in faint writing at top of page, does not appear to be part of original entry*]

Tuesday July 30

Do not feel much like work but have had to work hard & Mary too. Mary had letter from Joe last night written 2 or 3 days after the battle. He says it was a terrible fight. Many were killed on both sides. He was in the left wing of the 3 divisions of the forces & not in the fore front of the battle. His regiment was one of Col. Richardson's brigade which covered the retreat & was the last to leave the field. They might & should have made a stand at Centerville but were ordered back to Alexandria & Washington. All they had to eat on that day was 2 or 3 crackers. After the fight they marched 35 miles in 12 hrs. in the rain without blankets, & then slept in a barn on the hay without supper. Joe is now at Arlington Heights.

The attack was against the advice of Scott,

Wednesday July 31st

Mary gone to Harvey's & Minnie stays with me & is very happy.

Paper full of incidents of the battle. The Army is reorganizing. Men & money are being rapidly raised. Many are despondent but more are hopeful & are determined to put down the rebellion at whatever cost. There were companies of blacks fighting with the Rebels. Our people may learn something by this defeat. They will better appreciate the enemy & lose some of their self confidence. It seems a disgrace to the nation, but it may be the best thing that could happen to us.

The rebels killed our surgeons who were tending the wounded, killed all the wounded that were left, shelled a hospital & committed many other atrocities. It will go far to show our people what may be expected of slave holders & convince

those who need convincing that Slavery breeds barbarians. This defeat will stimulate the war spirit & make the nation doubly resolved to conquer, & if it will only make us more anti-slavery we shall be better & stronger for it!

The Standard said on the 6th ult. "The Davis faction have men enough, their cavalry is better than ours, their artillery as good thanks to the judicious stealings of Floyd—they have abundance of excellent officers who have stolen their education from us & they are acting on the defensive in a country they know perfectly well." The battle of the 21st proves all this true. But in the open field we are a match for them. The southern army hate us with a perfect hatred & will fight accordingly. But our men have no animosity against those whom

they fight & they feel inferior to southerners (from long habit.) & all this is greatly to our disadvantage, & make the victory harder to win & it will not be worth the winning unless it ends in Emancipation of the Slave.

Thursday Aug 1st, 1861

Hot. Mary came back this evening. E. Daily came with her.

A battle in Western Virginia, our loss said to be 600 & the rebels 1500. Gen. Wise was made to run—

Did house work & finished a dress for Florence.

Friday Aug 2^d

Mercury at 90° in shade. Housework & sewing. This P.M. Mr. & Mrs. Winans & Julia & Johnny here; had good visit with them. Minnie & Johnny were so happy. If Freda dear was only here how happy we might be. But oh! dear I fear she will forget us all.

Ann came down today & worked some.

Rush Saturday, Aug 3^d, '61

Fine. Cooler. Did various chores in reference to Mary's leaving but I don't allow myself to think much of her going. I put far away the evil day.

Read Geo. Wilkes account in the Tribune of the Battle of Bull's Run. It is painful, thrilling, mortifying in the extreme—a graphic picture. The disposition of the forces, the plan, the place, the surroundings, the march & hither, the movements through the day, the particular affects, incidents of battle, the retreat, all is described in the most striking manner.—The Rochester 13th. was in the brigade that made the central attack. Several were killed. The rebels probably lost twice as many as we. They had twice as many men on the ground & when our army was exhausted with fighting & want of food,

the rebels were reinforced by the arrival of Gen. Johnson with 30000 fresh troops. There wd. have been no use contending with these, as our army had no reserve. Our men were not opposed until they came within reach of the masked batteries. They were drawn into a trap & had they gone 2 or 3 miles further would all been lost probably as the ground was

mined to a great extent. If the rebels had followed up our army in their panic & retreat they might have taken Washington it is supposed very easily.
Hon. A. Ely & C. Huson are prisoners with several hundred others.—
The rebels refuse to bring[?] the Fire Zouaves, they hate them with an especial hatred.—
The Fire Zouaves are the hardest cases to be found in N. York city. After the battle they were in a state of insubordination till the next Saturday.

when they revolted. A regiment of our troops disarmed them & they have been sent back to N.Y. The time is out for many of those regiments who enlisted for 3 months. & they will go home, some are glad to get back & stay here, others will go again.
400 negroes came to Fort Monroe for protection & Gen. Butler sent them back to their masters.

Burnside & Cowdin have been giving up negroes too. It is shameful; & our arms will not be successful while such injustice is allowed by government. Why will they not do at once what must soon be done? The cause of the rebellion must be removed. Liberty must be proclaimed to the Slave. For while we protect & defend her institution (peculiar) we shall never subdue the South. This is her assailable point & we are bound

to use it & make the war as short as possible for humanity's sake—for God's sake too. Every mind is yet full of the battle. Events seem to thicken around us. I think the north will have to receive some severe lessons before she will do her duty. Perhaps we shall be subdued by the South & what then? She has already controlled us for years & instituted a reign of terror & we have submitted & may perhaps do it again. But I do think Slavery is doomed sooner or later.

Sunday, Aug. 4th

Hottest day yet.

Feel very shiftless. Father & mother have been to meeting. Henry & Ann are away. Letter from Frances. She is overcome by heat & hard work & trouble. Ella is about the same, talks about going back to Detroit—

Wednesday Aug 7th, 1861

Rainy & cooler. Worked all day in getting ready to start for Somerset tomorrow. Mary's things are all snugly packed. & a few more chores remain to be done.—We are to go to city tomorrow.

Do not feel well & work goes hard. I have had so much to do yesterday & day before too. & then the thoughts of Mary's going makes me feel badly.

August 8th, 1861, Thursday

My Birth Day. I have seen almost half a century! I can hardly believe it though.
Cloudy all day but no rain.

Got ready about 8 & Mary bid them all goodbye but father. He went to Harvey's with us. H. went with us to Rochester. Father felt badly. He will be lonesome I am sure. & he will miss Minnie very much. It is a chance if he ever sees them.

again. He is old & fails very perceptibly. He hoped Mary wd. conclude to stay in Somerset at least. Too bad that it is so unpleasant in her father's house that she can't stay there, yet so it is.

I hope she will come back in the Spring & that we shall have better times here. Mary had letter from Joe last night. He is at Washington Heights yet.

I went to Avon last night for papers. No particular news, some fighting in Missouri. We have had a comfortable ride to city. Dined at C.'s All well. Several failures here, hard times to get money.

Col. Quinby & some of the 13 Regt. have returned. Did shopping for Mary. Went to John's. Minnie & I staid all night Charlotte & Mary went back.

Rochester, ~~Thurs~~Friday Aug 9th

Cloudy & warm. This A.M. drove Minnie in a little carriage from John's to Charlotte's. The nicest ride she ever had. She staid with

Mary Julia & Mary & I went out. Mary sat for picture. Went shopping & got very tired. Saw a carbine taken from Blackhorse Cavalry & a gun & sword taken from rebels, at Bull's Run. This battle is the topic of conversation yet. Mr. Ely prisoner at Richmond writes his wife that he is well used. Do not see much of Sis & Ned. We stay at C.s. Ready to leave in morning.

Saturday Aug 10th.

Fine.hot. Left on 11 o'clock train for Middleport, C. went with us to depot.

Uncle Abner met us & at 2 we were at Aunt Fanny's, tired enough.

Pleasant place & good place. Ella is in Somerset.

Sunday, 11th. Hartland

Cooler. Rested today, read but little, a letter from G. Smith to Breckinridge, fine.

Congress adjourned the 6th inst. Have voted men & means to carry on the war.

Breckinridge & other sympathizers with

traitors. Have talked all the treason they wished to. But at a secession dinner in Baltimore Breckinbridge was mobbed. Gen. Butler has written to Sec. Cameron to know what must be done with fugitive slaves, or, when the masters leave their slaves & the slaves come with in our lines are they fugitives? Gen B. says he is compelled to regard them as men & women & as free men & women too. Gen. M^cDowell's orders have been to admit no fugitives into the camps. Gen B's letter is as noble as it is wonderful. A long, long step from offering as he did when in Md. to help put down any uprising of slaves &

Gov. Hicks told him "they cd. take care of their own slaves." Butler placidly says they should be regarded as free white men.

Read official report of Gen M^cDowell of the fight at Bull's Run. Very plain & candid apparently.

Hartland, Tuesday, Aug 13th

Rained last night. Yesterday worked & sewed for Mary & have sewed all day today. Shower this P.M. I intend to go to Somerset tomorrow.

Wednesday, Aug 14

Fine. About 8 left Abner's with Frances & Mary & Minnie for Somerset. A nice ride. Called at Morgan's house upside down Carpenters & mason's at work on it.

Came to Alfred's. Ella quite smart. She looks much better than I supposed she did.

Frances has gone back. This P.M. Sarah Jane & Myra Ayer visited here. I have been sewing.

Reported battle in Missouri & Gen Lyon killed. Rebels beaten.

Alfred seems to be provoked about the war; & is mad at the Abolitionists. He calls all the Republican party Abolitionists.

Friday 15th

Yesterday Elizabeth & children here. I sew most all the time. It is fine to

day. The Lake is beautiful. Minnie & I have been on the house top & we have been to see the flowers. Aunt Lina's flowers are very nice. Better state of things at Washington.

Saturday 17th

Mary & Minnie have been to Sarah Jane's. I have sewed & my head feels very badly & my eyes ache.

Theodore has been to Lockport. Skirmishing in Western Virginia. Men going on to Washington all the while. John Van W's son has enlisted & we are afraid Theodore will enlist. I am sorry for Angeline.

Somerset Sunday Aug 18

Fine. None of us go to church but Theo. We have been resting & reading some. Minnie & I have been on the house top. She thinks it very nice up there. Going to Morgan's this evening.

Tuesday Aug. 19. At Morgan's.

Full of work here, upside down yet. E. is not well, arm troubles her. Jos[?] Van W. & wife called yesterday. I have been sewing.

Had[?] colored women from Canada came to work. Sarah Jane & Miss Ayer called this eve & Mary & Minnie & I rode to Alfred's with them.

Somerset Aug 21st, 1861

The Anniversary of Brother Theodore's death. He died in 1858, three years ago. It does not seem possible that it is so long since, so time flies.

Sewed. Intend to go to Abner's tomorrow. Abner came this evening with letters from Ella's Joe & from Mary's Joe, all well. I am glad that Mary hears so regularly & that Joe seems in good spirits. Fighting in the west with various results. They are sending troops to Washington as fast as possible.

Thursday 22^d.

Rain last night. Angelina & Alfred came with us to Abner's. Got here at noon. Ella & Mary very tired & so am I too but I have been sewing since & have finished

Mary's Merino dress. Alfred & Angelina & Julia Frances have gone home.

Saturday 24th Aug 1861

At Abner's yesterday did various things to get Mary ready to start for Michigan. Today have washed & ironed & packed trunks & did various other things. We are all very tired, so many chores to do at the last. Exciting times in the west.—

Tammy Tyler, a spiritual medium here this P.M. The toots on a horn, a tooting medium I suppose.

Oh! how I shall miss Mary & Minnie!

Sunday Aug 25th

Fine. Warm. Very busy all day. Mary intends to leave tomorrow morning. Everything packed & ready dinner basket & all. I have concluded to go to Bridge with M.

Monday Aug 26th

Rainy this morning but the day has been bright & hot. Abner took us to Middleport & we reached suspension bridge about 9 A.M.

Waited half an hour there. & saw Mary & Minnie on board the train for Detroit. I took a hurried leave & left the cars after they had started. I told Minnie I was going back & she began to cry. She supposed I was going with them to Mich. I had come so far. When I had said I wd. go a little farther with her, she said "go a big farther Aunty. Come. Do."— but they went on alone & I shall be uneasy until I hear from them. They expect to meet Joseph A. in Detroit.

I went to the Bridge & sat awhile on the bank where I had a fine view of the structure & the Falls above & the dark green river. & the village opposite. I saw a freight train the whole length of the Bridge. Moved slowly across but there was no perceptible motion of the bridge. It is a beautiful structure & wonderful too as a work of art. The continuance of man, the result of his skill.—

I did not suppose the Falls wd. ever look so insignificant to me, for I once gazed on them with delight & awe & was enraptured with their sublimity. A village has been built on each side of the river since I first saw the Bridge some yrs. ago. It is a busy place. I

walked up to the Falls, loitered along & stopped wherever there was a fine view. Saw the irons in the rock where the rope was attached over which Blondin walked to the other side. Stopped in the enclosed grounds & sat on the bank & eat my luncheon. The opposite shore is very beautiful. The Clifton House has been enlarged & the buildings near it improved. The horseshoe fall was in sight & the dark green river below. A poor little starved pig had followed me & would keep near me. When I stopped the pig stopped. When I went on the pig went on. I was vexed & wd. give it none of my dinner & was tempted to push it off the bank 200 feet below but my better

feelings triumphed. & at last I went up the steps of a saloon & through it & piggy could not follow. at one point on the covered way to the Ferry is a fine view. A beautiful rainbow was at my feet & all around was oh! so lovely. The water as it poured over the Horse shoe was at the top an emerald green, scattered over with spots of snow white foam. But long before it reached the bottom the whole was changed to foam & spray, which sparkled in the sunshine, like a fairy scene.

The verdure on the banks is fresh & bright with continual moisture. & on this hot day there is a delightful coolness near the water.—I sat & I stood & I looked till I was nearly satisfied. I stopped to purchase some little earrings from the gypsum which is found here. Then I pushed on to the village looked into one or two Curiosity shops. So many rare & beautiful objects I never saw collected elsewhere. But my purse was too low to make

purchases. The village has grown since I was there last. The International Hotel has been finished & is a magnificent structure. But few visitors at the falls this season. No Southern visitors I am told.

Went to depot & rested & waited an hour for the train to leave. Saw a gay party going to Buffalo from the Falls. & had a glimpse of the fashions. Saw also an Excursion party from Canada. Composed of men & women, boys & girls & a band of music. On my way back saw Capt. Bowman on the train. He was at Bull's Run & brought away a fine grey horse which belonged to the rebel cavalry. He was reenlisting[?]. He said "they expected to take tea at Manassas but just about that time they had to leave."

Reached Middleport at half past 3. Frances & Ella came to station for me & we got home before tea time. I cannot realize it all now, I have seen so much & had such a pleasant day of it. & the time has been so short too.

The only drawback I was alone & had just parted from Mary & Minnie.—

Tuesday, Aug 27th

Shower this morning. Fine day. Hot.

Sewed on Ella's wrapper. Frances washed & went blackberrying. Mrs. Shaw called. Ella seems quite smart. It seems a long time since yesterday. How we miss Mary & Minnie!

Wednesday 28th,

Hot. Got the new postage stamps. Ironed & sewed & read news.
Several women arrested as traitors & spies. Mrs. Faulkner, Mrs. Gurgin[?] &c.
Government beginning to act with efficiency. More skirmishing. Fighting in Kansas &
Missouri, Secession papers stopped.
Democrats crying for peace & discouraging volunteers, too bad. Ella has letter from
Joseph. Mary got safely to Detroit & J. helped her start off next morning.

Thursday 29th. At Abner's.

Fine. Hot. Finished Ella's wrapper &c. Took walk with Frances. I am anxious to hear
from home. Would like to go back to Somerset. Seems long time since Mary left.

Somerset Friday 30th.

Alfred came for me this morning before we were up. Had a pleasant ride to S. Called at
John Van W's & Morgan's. Elizabeth is laid up with lame arm. She suffers very much &
looks miserably.

This P.M. Rev. Jas. Van W. & wife & Mrs. & Mr. Armstrong have visited here. Mr.
& Mrs. A have been on a wedding tour to the Falls. Interesting young people. Live in
Dutchess Co.

Saturday 31st

Last day of summer. Where has it gone? Sewed & my eyes ache. Read D.S. Dickinson's
speech at Tunkhannock on the Union & the war. First rate for the old democrat. Mrs &
Miss Thayer here to tea. Very still here today.

Somerset, Sunday Sept. 1st 1861

Bright & beautiful. Wd. like to go to meeting but no one to go with me. Theo. has gone to
Camp meeting. Letter from Mary. She arrived safely at her home in Pine Run. the next
P.M. at 3 after leaving Abner's, had no trouble & was not tired out. Found her house all
right. She says when I left them on the cars Minnie cried a long time & would not be
comforted. She "wanted Aunt Julia to come back & go with her to her home in
Michigan." I am so glad to hear that they got there safe. Now I hope M. will not
overwork in trying to get things settled & cleaned.

There was a war meeting at Corners last night. Theo. went but Alfred did not. A. says
he will do nothing more for politics or religion till the war is over. He says "call a
convention & settle it." We had some sharp words. He lays all the troubles to
Abolitionists. Doesn't blame the South at all. The South

doesn't wish to destroy the government, but the North does." There is no use in our
talking we disagree so widely. He is very glum this morning. Theo. says they had a large
& enthusiastic meeting. Several speakers from abroad. I am sorry Alfred feels as he does
& takes such a gloomy view of things. He seems so unhappy. I have just read from 2

Buffalo papers that the "Abolition Papers", Liberator, Independent &c should be stopped for they alienate the South."

Tuesday Sept 3^d

Yesterday washed & ironed & sewed some. Gen. Butler has taken two forts at Hatteras Inlet. 671 prisoners including 40 officers, 25 guns & 1000 stands of arms & not lost a man. A brilliant expedition.

Today went to Sarah Jane's & took dinner, to Jephtha's to tea. Report says Jeff Davis is dead. Looked over Atlantic & Independent. They are full of Anti-Slavery. A Massachusetts Regt. lately marched through N.Y. city singing a hymn to John Brown.

"John Brown has gone to glory, hallelujah," &c. Isn't it wonderful?
Pleasant visit with Cousin Isaac's new wife.

Wednesday 4th.

This morning sewed & read "Agnes of Sorrento" Mrs. Stowe's story in the Atlantic. This P.M. Angeline & I had a pleasant ride to Corners. Called at Morgan's & Mr. Patten's & Mr. Mathews. Sister E. is better. Alfred has been to Lockport.

Thursday 5th

Fine. Sewed nearly all day. Called at Solomon's. Gen. Fremont has proclaimed martial law in Missouri & freedom to all slaves belonging to rebels, A very important step.

Saturday 7th

Thunder shower yesterday. Sewed all day. Lieut. Brazew called to see if Theo. would enlist. He has not done so yet but seems to be thinking about it. Today, sewed, read news & called at Jephtha's.

Abner & Frances & Ella came this evening. Ella is quite smart.

Monday 9th Sept.

Yesterday Theo. & I went to Church. Heard James Van. W. —Abner & Frances left for home about 4. Ella stays to go with us to Youngstown visit Friday. An excursion is contemplated. Took walk to burying ground. Today have washed & did various things. Wrote to Mary & cousin Kate. No war news.

Wednesday 11th.

Yesterday I ironed, gathered seeds &c. Angeline is fixing her flower beds. Today I have written to Joe Van B. Had letter from Charlotte. Papers filled with proceedings of political Conventions. Party spirit prevails as usual.

Thursday 12

Fine. Wrote to C. Post. Walked to Morgan's, Elizabeth quite well. Sewed & cut out work. Called at Jephtha's, got back about dusk. Alfred & Theo. gone to Fair at Medina. Angeline & Ella been alone today.

Friday, Sept. 13th, 1861

Perfect day. Excursion to Fort Niagara postponed till another wk. Sewed &c. This P.M. Mrs. S.M. Wilson. Libbie B. & Isaac Babcock & wife have been here. Pleasant visit. Ella feels quite well.

The People's Convention & the Republican Convention have united on the State ticket. This is well so far. But the Democratic Party seemed bound to make all the trouble they can. They are trying to remove Gen. Fremont from his command in Missouri. They had rather fight the Republican party than to fight the rebels. It is disgusting & vexing. They say & do all they dare to thwart the influence of the Administration & cripple its engines. Gen. Rosecrans in W. Va. has attacked Floyd's forces & routed them. The thief Floyd fled in the night & left all his baggage. Several killed on both sides. Movements indicate a battle soon near Washington.

Saturday 14th. Somerset

Sewed & read new. This P.M. went with Angeline to Mrs. Thayer's. Shower, got back at dark. Ella had a lonely time.

Sunday 15th

Oh! dear, how time flies, one half of a fall month gone already. Three wks. tomorrow since Mary left here. I must think of going home next wk. Been to church with Angeline & Anna. Very bright & warm. The days must seem long to Ella, she has to sit in the house so much & do nothing.

James preached on Contentment. It was much better than no preaching & probably suited the wants of his church. He is a peculiar man.

Monday 16th.

Washed & ironed & sewed. This P.M. Dr. Skinner from Sus. Bridge was here with 3 of his pupils, one blind + 2 mutes & he is blind himself. A "fugitive" boy

drove for him. His pupils are all colored. & mute & blind. He has 8 now & they are supported by voluntary contributions. He has taken the most despised class of community as well as the most unfortunate & endeavors to elevate them & improve them. It is a praiseworthy undertaking; all the more so because it is so unpopular to try to benefit the African. I never saw a group which appealed more strongly for aid & sympathy. The blind boy cd. read. I never saw a book for the blind before I think. Dr. S. has been blind for more than a yr. & of course his usefulness must be diminished. He publishes a paper called "The Mute & the Blind." He is trying to get his institution incorporated but has not succeeded yet is so doing. Several years since he was in Rochester with several children & visited our school. I was much interested in them then,

Tuesday 17th.

Rainy. This A.M. sewed & this P.M. Ella & I went to Solomon's. He is a secessionist surely as well as a proslavery democrat. We had a spirited conversation. This evening read Tribune till eyes ache.

Wednesday 18th

Fine. warm. Angeline has been working in flower beds. Ella & Theo. have been to Morgan's. I have been sewing. Alfred has been to Lindon to carry his wool, 2000 lbs at 35 cents a lb. —

Lincoln has countermanded that part of Fremont's proclamation wh. set free the slaves of rebels.—Our government is so tender of slave property. So afraid of hurting the rebels. They are trying to fight their "Southern brethren" without hurting them. This encourages the rebels again. The pretext is fear of alienating the loyal men in Kentucky. Oh dear! What will we come to?

Thursday 19th. Somerset.

Windy. Fear it will blow up a storm tomorrow & spoil our anticipations. Quite a party are to go. Our preparations are all made. The baskets packed with ever so many good things. Alfred has been to Lockport. Theo has gone to Fair[?] to Johnson's Creek with a head of fine sheep. This evening Morgan & E. called. Report says Beaugard is dead.

Friday, Sep 20th 1861.

Rose at five. Did not sleep well. Owls disturbed us. Started at half past 6. I rode with Morgan & E. & Julia Frances. Cloudy. Rained a little, After 9 o'clock it was a nice day. Stopped at Wilson & then the rear carriages came up; a dozen in all. Reached Youngstown about 11 A.M. & went directly to grounds near Fort Niagara, & then on the bank of the Noble river in a fine grove was spread the collation. A fire was built & tea was made, which tea drinkers of course cd. not do without.

Buffalo robes & carriage cushions made very good seats & we relished the repast exceedingly. The prospect here is very fine. Just opposite is old Fort George & Niagara City. & on a point extending into the Lake is Fort Massasauga. Then up the river we see Queenstown Heights. Brock's Monument & two or three steamboats on the River which is here a mile wide, were working their way to the broad busom[?] of Ontario. Oh! it was an inspiring scene. Forts & battle grounds all about us. The Indian, the French, the English, & the American have each in turn held possession of those shores. The savage Indian, the polite Frenchman, John Bull & Jonathan have occupied the very spot where our social repast was spread & the war whoop & the clang of arms has resounded here when blood & carriage ruled the hour.—

Fire & sword have more than once laid waste these pleasant shores & the whole country around is surprisingly rich in historic associations. After our collation one or two of the party offered to stay & watch the carriages & traps & the rest went to see the Fort. No

soldiers there. An old man in the faded uniform of an ordnance Sergeant has lived here with his family 20 yrs. & takes care of his Uncle Samuel's property. Lieut. Leffner, U.S.A. visits the Fort daily & takes meteorological observations.

The old man told us there wd. be rain or wind in 6 hrs. But, he added, we were not sugar, we wd. not melt. Some of them beat a hasty retreat, indirectly thinking they were sweeter than the old man took them to be. I was vexed at the haste of the party, for we had hurried through it all & I was not half satisfied.—

The principal building is very old. Thick walls. In it are rooms for officers, & various other purposes.

A kitchen with a huge fireplace, both brick & stone much burnt away, has alternately sent forth the savory odors of the fricassee of the Frenchman & the roast beef of the Englishman, & the fried pork of the Yankee. I tried to detach a piece of brick to bring away but the old fireplace was too well built for this.—The building is surmounted by a lantern. Here is a fine windy prospect of both Victoria's dominion & Uncle Samuel's farm & the broad expanse of Lake Ontario. Two bombproof buildings are enclosed within the walls. We examined one. The walls are several feet thick, no windows on the lower floor & on the upper floor are 2 windows on each of 3 sides, about 3 inches wide & 2 ft long. The side towards the Lake has two windows about 2 ft square. It looks indeed as if it was impervious to shot & shell. & as if it had been used for a place of safety.

Sept 20th, 1861—

⁶Diary
Niagara Co.
Friday, Sept. 20th, 1861

Visit to Fort continued,

The Fort is in good repair having been rebuilt but a few yrs. since. Several cannons mounted are kept ready to repel any foe who may approach by water. But whether the old man or his wife or his children wd. act in the capacity of gunners I know not. Several guns were lying on the ground, also 3 mortars. There was one pyramid of 10 inch shell, one of 18 lb. ball, & one of 18 lb. shell. These were all painted. There was a furnace for heating these projectiles, also a powder magazine &c. There were no barracks for soldiers. But enough of the materiel of war was there to put the fort into fighting order in a short time in case of an emergency. Long may it be before this becomes necessary. Niagara Co. was a part of the

⁶ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26052_001 to HC13-26052_075 in their Folder entitled Sept. 20, 1861 to Aug 13, 1862.

domain of the Seneca Indians. The first European visitant was La Salle in 1678, & established a trading post here. The first work here was a simple palisade. In 1687 De Nonville made a fort with 4 bastions. Indians besieged it, sickness destroyed most of the garrison & it was abandoned. In 1725 another defensive work was made by the French, it was afterwards enlarged & became the most important French port west of Montreal.

In 1759 the Eng. sent Gen. Prideaux to reduce the place. He besieged it on the first of July & on the 25th it was surrendered to Sir William Johnson who commanded the expedition after Prideaux's death. The Eng. repaired the Fortress & during the Revolution it was the headquarters of marauding parties of Tories & Indians. Prisoners taken up the war paths were brought here to run the

gauntlet & a premium was here given for scalps. The Tories were more inhuman than the Indians.

In 1796 it was surrendered to the Americans. Col. Smith commanded the fort at the time, He was also commanding officer of the British at the battle of Lexington. He served both at the opening & closing of the American Revolution. In the winter of 1813 & 14 Gen. M^cClure occupied Fort George a few weeks & burnt Newark now Niagara village. He then took shelter in Fort Niagara a short time.—Dec. 19th, 1813 the American garrison was surprised & taken by the British who held it till the close of the war. The villages of Lewiston & Niagara Falls were burned about this time. A scouting party burned all the houses along the road as far as 18 mile Creek including Judge Van Horn's mills. These acts were in retaliation of Gen. M^cClure's wanton

outrages on the other side of the river.

In 1826 Morgan was imprisoned in Fort Niagara before his final disappearance. The spirit of Anti Masonry may still haunt those locked up rooms for I did not enter them to see. Frightful stories are told of the dungeons in the Fort & a certain old well where the French held possession of it. "Black spirits & white; blue spirits & grey" may haunt it for aught I know. I only know that God's pure sunshine falls as lovingly on this ~~spot~~ old Fort as on the most hallowed spot in creation.

(It was in Sept. 1763 that a party of French & Indians destroyed a party of English at Devil's Hole, a few miles up the river. One little drummer boy was all that escaped.) I have Grandfather Lapham tell that when the [?] were driven over the bank the drummer was caught in a tree by his belt or strap and thus was saved.)

I would like to have lingered here awhile but the party hurried me away. On our return to our carriages in the grove we went in to the old burying ground of the Fort. It is in a dilapidated state. Epitaphs in English & French. I screened[?] one of Sergeant Amasa Snow who was buried here in 1829.

"Here lies brave Snow

Full six feet deep,
Whose heart would melt,
When caused to weep.
Though winter's blast
May freeze his frame,
Yet death's cold grasp
Can't chill his fame."

Others equally brave & famous no doubt have been buried there & have mingled with the dust of cowards the unknown. But "honor's voice cannot provoke the silent dust, Nor flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death. Even the tablet of Sergt Amasa Snow was

undermined & I sat upon it to record his epitaph, & none of our party was "so poor as to do him severance."

We repaired to the Hotel at Youngstown & some of our party left directly for home. Others staid to finish up the sights and have a little more fun. I was fortunate enough to be one of the latter. We crossed the river in two sail boats. This is the only way of crossing at present. There was once a good ferry boat, & Youngstown was a thriving business place. But now the mills, warehouses & other buildings are many of them unoccupied & going to decay. Business has mostly been transferred to Lewiston & Suspension Bridge, the two great travelled routes to Canada. It was a pleasant sail. We walked about a mile to Fort Massasanga on a point of land extending much further into the Lake than Fort Niagara. Here is a fine parade ground with not a tree to obstruct

the view. A sentinel was walking on the ramparts, but before we got to the fort he disappeared & was at the gate when we entered. The Fort is surrounded by a moat, by pickets, & by an earthen embankment, something in the shape of a star, & on each point of the star was planted a cannon & a pile of balls, looking like a huge torpid reptile with its eggs lying beside it. The planks on which there[?] rested & indeed all the wood work of the fort was much decayed. The pickets were falling down. There has been no garrison here for about 8 yrs. Three soldiers & their families live here, but hardly to take care of it, for it looks entirely neglected. In the center of the enclosure is a round stone structure with walls of immense thickness, how thick I cannot say as I did not measure them, but I am sure it is bomb proof. The lower part has no windows but the upper part had long narrow windows like those in Fort Niagara, but

they admit but little light the walls are so thick. On The top of this building, which of course is much higher than the embankments, is open, & here is mounted a large gun. A pyramid of balls lays beside it, & a furnace built in the wall for heating balls has evidently seen much service. Fort Niagara with its white walls glisten in the P.M. sun, & looking so innocently[?], might easily be demolished from this point. These are two

commanding positions, & the time has been, & the time may come again when they will be two important positions. Several guns were ranged on the ground. All with a crown of [?] & some V.R. One bore the date of 1810. There are about 15 guns here in all including those on the ramparts.—

The prospect from the ramparts is very fine. I should not object to keeping sentry here, a part of the time at least.—When we entered the sentinel was at the gate. He carried a Minie rifle.

S&M never had seen one & they asked to look at it. The sentry said "not here, but go up there with me & I will show it to you," & he led the way to the top of this tower I have described. The walls rise some 7 or 8 ft. above the floor so that one cd. not see over without climbing.

Another soldier had gone up there to show me & others the furnace &c, & when we reached the top the sentry was explaining the Minie rifle to several gentlemen. An officer came right along behind us and & reprimanded the man very sharply for showing the rifle. "What are you doing here, sir? Is this the way you understand your duty, sir? Go down, sir." & the sentry disappeared about as quick as a projectile would have left one of those big guns. What petty tyranny the soldier often endures!

I was wishing for something tangible as a memento of my visit, & could

see nothing more desirable or appropriate than a cannon ball. Loose piles were lying around, & without the least intention of defrauding Queen Victoria of her possessions, I said to the polite machem[?] in a red shirt who accompanied us that I would like one of those to take with me. & that I had rather he wd. give me one than to have it sent to us in ~~any other~~ the usual way, &c. He laughingly said that he hoped they would have no occasion to send us any more; & that those were too large for me to take, but they had some 4 pounders below if I wanted one, &c. &c. I did want one & when we came down I saw a pile of different sizes a few yards off & asked if those were the 4 pounders, & should I go & get one? He didn't object & I went & picked out one & walked out with it & as I passed him I said I was much obliged for it. I heard no objection & saw nothing peculiar on his part, but

some of the company heard him say "I have no right to let her take that away." & when I passed out they said he held out his hand for it. of course had I observed this I should have returned it, for I did not care enough about it to take it against his wishes.

After we started they told me he would be after me; & sure enough the red shirt soon appeared outside the walls of Fort Massasauga. I would not be a coward then and run; so I went on as unconcernedly as possible, occasionally glancing over my shoulder to see if we were pursued. In order to be brave or else because we were very tired, Julia F. & myself fell behind the rest, & she kept watch till at last he disappeared.

I have since thought that he came out thinking I wd. return & give up the ball, & at last was ashamed to follow us any farther. At any rate I hope that

pleasant little red shirt will not suffer from the tyranny of his superior officer for my thoughtlessness. This I did not think of at the time, or I certainly should never have brought away any of Queen Victoria's munitions of war. Peace to the shades of her soldiers three, & eternal quiet to the dilapidated works of Fort Massasauga. But smaller affairs than this have been made a causa bellum, but I trust it will not lead to a rupture between the two nations, if so they may have their 4 pounder, & have it sent from Fort Niagara, too.

Had these balls been arranged as if for use in a well kept fort, & had they looked of any real consequence more than for play things for the children of wh. there were ever so many in the fort, I should not have thought of asking for one. But after all I suppose they are government property, & I would not deliberately

cheat John Bull any more than I would cheat Uncle Sam, if I could do it "ever so slick". "Pshaw, I'm not afraid, who cares[?]" I shall look to the stars & stripes for protection, & Abe Lincoln must take the responsibility.

The village lies back from the River & we did not see much of it. The remains of old Fort George nearly opposite Youngstown we did not have time to visit. The sail back took more than a half hour as the wind was unfavorable, but it was very pleasant except for those who had to work hard at the oars in order to get back at all as they did in the other boat. Tired enough I'll assure[?] you; but I had something to tell & to show to sisters A. & E. & a few others who remained at the Hotel.

About 6 we started for home & took the Lake road. This must be delightful by daylight & in warm weather but it was too dark to see much of it.

Got home about 10. It has been a lonesome day for Ella. She was not well enough to go. Theo. has gone to Fair at Johnson's Creek.—

Somerset, Saturday Sept. 21.

Rainy. Yesterday was the right day for the excursion.—Abner & Frances came about half way & stopped at Titus Arms[?]. They came here in the rain about noon, & about 3 went home. I have felt old & tired & used up, & only lounged about & read some, but Angeline has worked all day.

I am now anxious to be at home. Must start Monday if I can.

Sunday 22^d.

Fine, warm. Been on the house [?]. The Lake to day is "deeply, darkly, beautifully blue", & 13 schooners were to be seen at once, their white sails gleaming in the sunshine. If Minnie was here how she wd. enjoy it. Have been resting, reading & writing.—

Somerset Sept. 23d.

Morgan & Elizabeth called at Alfred's last evening & I went home with them & Julia Frances brought me back this morning. Ella went back with her to M's.

Company at Alfred's to day.

Theodore says he is going to enlist, & A. & Angeline feel badly about it. I have been talking with T. he feels badly too.

About 3 started for Abner's. Abner took Ella & I there, had a very pleasant ride. The weather is delightful & roads good. Tomorrow I intend to start for Rochester.

Tuesday 24th Sept.

Very fine weather. Put up my things, ironed for Frances, said good bye to Ella & about 3 went with Abner & Frances to Middleport. Got to R. about half past 5. Mary Julia was at the Depot. Hear that Father has been sick, but is better now. I must hurry home. Henry has been down here after a girl. Spent evening at store with Charlotte.

Rochester, Sept. 25th

Fine, warm. Did some chores. Called on Miss Martin & Mrs. Coleman & Anna Barnes & Uncle Eseck at John R's. Cousin Ann is sick. All seem to have their troubles, sickness & death visit every family. Feel uneasy about home. I am excessively tired to night. Spent evening with Sis & Ned.

Tomorrow is Fast Day by public proclamation. Think I should stay & hear a sermon, & in the P.M. perhaps C. will go home with me.

Thursday Sept. 26th, 1861.

Fast Day. This A. M. heard Rev. J.D. Boardman at the new 2d. Baptist Church. Text Isaiah 26-9. "When thy judgements are abroad in the earth the people shall learn righteousness." Such a good text, but I am disappointed in the sermon. It was earnest, able, eloquent. "We should confess our sins individually, but Slave-holding was not one of our sins.

"California should not be asked to confess the sins of South Carolina." He utterly ignored our complicity with the accursed system & for aught that Mr. B. said the audience wd. never know think that we are "verily guilty concerning our brother." He specified several sins, "The frightful violation of the 7th Commandment, despising and neglecting the poor, not giving enough of our money to the support of foreign missions & circulating the Bible & for the aid of churches; nominating bad men for office; Sabbath breaking & profanity."

As a whole sermon it was unworthy Mr. B's reputation as a minister. Some parts of it were admirable, just like him when he is saying his best things. But now at this particular time, it was sadly defective. He seemed stricken with ministerial blindness on the great question of the day. Then, he takes a very gloomy view of national affairs. "He hates slavery, & the nation that cherishes the accursed system shall be visited by God's

wrath. Slavery shall be abolished & we may perish. The rebellion shall be crushed & we may be annihilated" in doing it, on account of those sins he specified.— He said it was the saddest day he had ever seen, & he seemed quite overcome by his feelings.— Prof. Cutling in his prayer spoke of the great sins of boastfulness, self-confidence & intemperance.— & at the close asked for wisdom to "deal with this" distressing question & hoped it would please God to set at liberty the servile population." Oh! dear, dear, what tender & gingerly handling of the "sum of all villainies."

Charlotte heard Mr. Van Ingen, Episcopal, preach to the soldiers. She says he preached over them & thinks they did not appreciate his discourse. It was not applicable nor appropriate.—

Esther heard Dr. Robinson at the first Baptist. He handles the great sin without gloves, comes square up to the subject & does not mince the matter at all. Slavery is the cause of the rebellion & the North as well as the South is answerable for the vile,

the wicked system & unless we come to the support of the Government now, & make an effort to preserve our liberty, we deserve to have Jeff. Davis rule over us.

Fast Day, that is young men on driving fast horses, & all others seem to be in use for C. cd. get none that was suitable for us to drive home. So I took the 5-40 train. Mr. Griffin went to Depot with me & about dusk I was at Avon. It was raining some. Mr. A. Barber came up on the train, & kindly offered send me home in the buggy wh. came for him. This was so much better than going to Mr. Hartwell's in the Express & walking from there the next morning, as I had intended to do, that I accepted his offer. But it grew so dark that I sent the boy back when I reached Mr. Flansburg's & went in & asked Mr. F. to take a lantern & walk home with me. It was so dark I could see neither road nor home, & I thought it unsafe to ride farther.

So I found obliging people all the way. On the cars I met an old friend, C. L. whom I had not spoken to for years, and many old associations were revived.

It was 8 when I got home & our folks were all in bed. Father is quite well, but has been very sick.—Laura has been sick & Ann has been sick, they cd. get no girl, so if I had been here I could have had the privilege of doing all the work. Mother says she never had such a hard time before in her life. I asked why they did not send for me? They say "they expected me home every day, & did not know whether I was in S. or in R."

If my father had died I wonder if they would have sent for me?

On father's account I wish I had been at home, but on all other accounts I am glad I was away.—

Ann has been gone a week, & is to stay a while longer in Kendall I suppose. There is an Irish girl at work here.

Friday Sept. 27

Pouring rain all day. Henry left for K. to be gone a week. Seems quite like home to have them both away.

Found letters from Mary, & Henrietta & cousin Kath. & Cousin R. A. Carroll &c. Been waiting nearly a month for answers. So I have spent the days in hearing news & writing letters. Strange how much will happen in 7 wks. I have heard so much in R. & at home that I am almost confused, & the letters I have written to day must be rambling concerns[?]. I am tired & used up & wd. like to rest a few days.

Saturday Sept. 28.

Cool. Cleared off. Wrote to Frances. In P.M. called at Mr. H's & Alvira went with me to W. Avon for my baggage. Called at Mr. Winans. Met S. Winans from Canada who is a secessionist. Went to Burying ground. The shrubbery has not grown any this season.. The ground is as hard & dry.— but it is pleasant there.

It has rained a great deal & much damage has been done. The river is rising, but the roads are quick dry. The wind & sun have dried them.

Rush Sunday Sept. 29.

Cool. I have put away things & wrote. I have been in the garden too. Things looks afully thin. It will take several hard day's works to straiten it up again. Father & Laura have been to church.

Tuesday Oct. 1st.

Yesterday & today I have washed & ironed & made pickles & cleaned some & worked in garden, & am now very tired. There is so much that wants doing that I hardly know what to do first.—It is 82 weeks since I have seen my darling little one, & a long time since I have ever heard from her.

Thursday Oct. 3d.

Yesterday Father & Mother went to Rochester & I expect them home to night. For company I have had the Irishman & the Irish girl. Rather lonely last night. But there was no help for it. I fastened the doors & windows as well as I could, & for the first time as I remember I bolted the door of my sleeping room. But this morning every thing appeared as usual, & I slept

well under the circumstances last night. I worked in the garden most all of yesterday & it looks quite natural once more. The weather has been delightful yesterday & to day. As I am so much alone now I thought it would be a good time to write. So since 10 o'clock I have been writing out my rough notes in my journal. It has been quite a task for so many items of interest have accumulated in 7 wks.

Well, it is done & my hand & arm aches badly. It is about 5 & I am looking any moment for our folks home—

Saturday Oct. 5th, 1861.

Yesterday there were heavy showers. The brooks roar as they do in a spring freshet. I cleaned parlor & labelled the specimens I brought from the Falls & the Forts, & looked over the papers that accumulated in my absence & wrote to Elizabeth.

Our folks got back Thursday about dusk, went to J. Sutherland's in Pittsford. No particular news.

To day 4 yrs. ago Cousin E. Rapalje died, & Sister Sarah went to Rochester the last time.—Oh! dear, how many wretched days I have seen since then.

To day is sunny & cloudy & warm. This A.M. I did housework & went to the Falls. They are beautiful now, the stream is so large. There has been no frost yet, & the trees & fields look fresh & green. The landscape is very beautiful.

This P.M. I went to Harvey B's. Read letter from Joe. He is well. Has to do picket duty.—Hear that Freda is not well, that she has a cough. It is 92 wks. since she was taken from us. My precious little one.—

Letter from Ella, she intends to come to Rochester to day, & will come up to W. Avon Monday morning, & I am to go for her. Letter from Mary, she is well & Minnie talks of Aunty a great deal. How I would like to see them both.

Rush, Oct. 6th, 1861—Sunday.

Rained all day.—The rain a week ago did much damage, & this rain will add to it probably; railroads & bridges have been taken away. The Genesee is higher than it has been for many years before. I fear Ella will not come. I have been reading & writing letters. With nothing to do this would be a long lonely day, but with me it has been passed quickly.

Rush, Oct. 13th, Sunday.

How swiftly the weeks pass away! Last Monday went to W. Avon for Ella. She came from R. alone, & felt pretty well. Abner & Frances came to R. with her the Saturday before & went back the same day.

Tuesday, cousin Eliza W. & Libbie B. spent the day with us. We went to Falls. They have been very beautiful. The stream is about as large as during a spring freshet. Had a good visit with the girls. 83 wks. since I have seen my darling.

Wednesday. Went with Ella to Mr. Hartwell's & called at Lelands & Mr. Piersons.

Thursday. E. & L. Arner[?] here to dinner. Mrs. Bigelow & Euphemia here to tea. —
Weather fine.

Friday. Ella & I went to Uncle J's & took dinner. Then to W. Avon to burying ground. I presume E. thought of the possibility of her being the next occupant. How little we know where another Oct. may find us. Those who think little of it now may be the next who will be laid there to rest beneath the shade of these old oaks.

We had a pleasant ride. Called at Wm. J. Harris's & then went to Uncle Ephraim's & staid all night. Henry came home today.
Saturday. Came back from Uncle E's.—The weather is quite unpleasant. Ella does not feel as well as she has done.

Sunday. It is squally & unpleasant. No body goes to church. Henry has gone to Henrietta for Ann. Ella intends to go to morrow & I am fixing to go to city with her.

Rush Sunday Oct. 20th,

Another week has gone!

On Monday it was fine & warm. I went to city with Ella. had a pleasant ride. Charlotte gone to New York,

Ella sat for her picture. She got very tired, but she was going to Middleport that evening as Abner & Frances intended to meet her there.—

(Ann came home before Ella left but she didn't speak to Ella—)

I saw Neddy but did not see Sis. Called on Mrs. Tippetts, rode home alone, got home about 7. fine moonlight evening & warm.—

More fighting in various places, but nothing that amounts to much.

During the rest of the week, I have washed, & ironed, cleaned parlor bedroom, regulated things about the house, cleaned dooryard, trimmed shrubbery, gathered nuts, &c., &c.

Father & Laura have been to Mt. Morris & were gone three days.

Yesterday it was 94 weeks, since my darling Freda was taken from us. Oh! that I cd. know exactly how she is, & how she looks now, & whether she thinks of me yet!

To day I have been to church & heard Mr. E. preach a dull sermon. Small audience, In such times as these a man has no right to be dull, he has no right to preach unless he can keep his hearers awake. Mr. E. called here on Thursday. he remarked "that he never saw a place where there was so little public spirit as in Avon." No wonder the ministers do so little in keeping the people up with the times. It is their duty

to go forward & lead the people. Instead of this there is apparently no progress, no advance. at least so it seems to me.

Heard today that Revilo has been dangerously hurt from being thrown from a wagon. Am anxious to hear from him directly. This intelligence has disturbed me very much. If he should die it may make still worse my darling's future. I am harassed by indefinable fears & forebodings.

The war seems to make no progress. Charles Sumner in a speech at a republican meeting in Worcester, says we must "carry Africa into the war if we hope to smash the rebellion." He is the first public man in high station who has taken this ground, all honor to him, would that there were more such. Many people think there is no hope for success, while the rebels are permitted to hold their slaves, & it is certainly seems so to me..

It is said "that Seward's policy is to prevent any great battle till spring, & then both sections will by that time get sick of war & be ready for a compromise of the Slavery question & peace, & that he has succeeded in convincing the President of this. Factions are still retained in some of the departments according to the Investigating Committee, oh! dear, what half way work!

Rush Sunday 27th. Oct.

Another week of my life is gone & it has been a very busy one. Have cleaned house some, & sewed some, & read some, & gathered some nuts, & wrote several letters.

Thursday I went to Avon & got letters from Ella & C. Post. E. is quite smart. Her health is improving & she got back to Abner's without being tired out.

Cousin C.P. says "they are sick of the war." & "she fears the country is ruined" & they

have peace meetings in Columbia Co." All this is a matter of course for it is an old foggy democratic district, always proslaver. Don't understand the A.B.C. of abolitionism. I pity them, & am vexed with them too, for they might understand things better. I have sent C. 2 Standards, & if they will only read them, especially Dr. Cheevers articles. Saw Abner at Mr. Hartwell's. He is going back tomorrow. Theo. Van W's has not enlisted. Alfred & Angeline will not consent to it. Solomon Van W's son has enlisted & S. has told him never to come into the house again. oh! what people! Niagara Co. is more patriotic than some counties. It has furnished a fair proportion of men, & the women do all they can for the volunteers. Avon is just waking up & a mustering is to be held tomorrow evening to see what they can do towards furnishing things for the sick & wounded in the hospitals etc.

Revalo was not hurt as badly as we heard he was. He is so that he is out again, Have heard that Freda is well.

Friday had letter from Mary. She has a little boy, it was born Oct. 7th, & she is pretty well. Minnie is much pleased with her little brother. How I wd. like to be with them awhile, It seems too bad that Mary must be so far from us all & so much alone, I am very anxious about her.

Joe Van B. is well. He has moved his camp to Hunter's Creek, 2 miles from Alexandria. ~~& has moved again to Mt. Vernon—~~

No war news of importance.

But little frost yet. The fields look green but the leaves have partly fallen. The flower are going. The last one in a vase on my table. If I cd. only keep a few all winter. They wd. be so much company for me. To day father & mother have gone to meeting & I enjoy the day in reading & writing as usual.

Rush Oct. Nov. 3^d. 1861

A busy week has passed away. On Monday—I washed & ironed & sewed & read & was very tired.

Tuesday—I called at Mr. D's, & Mr. B's, & Mr. G's. & Mr. F's. Mr. Green's folks have seen Freda & she was then pretty well. They were passing. They did not go in but R. & Freda came out.

Mrs. G. remarked that "Freda looks like Minnie." Revilo asked "who is Minnie" & when they told him he asked "if Mary had gone back? & that was all that was said about any of us. Oh, dear. I had a crying spell of course. When they told me how my darling looked, & I thought how near they had been to her. It was 86 weeks since I had seen my dear little one,

Wednesday—helped clean sitting room, this is always a bad job. Ann does not attend to house cleaning at all.

Thursday—Helped clean large chamber & did various things.

Friday—did various things.

Ann had a flare up. & Henry has talked very hard—Such scenes are disgraceful. I detest them.

Saturday—Felt miserably. Sewed & read some. Father not very well for several days—Our troops have been defeated at Edwards Ferry & many of them wounded & killed. Someone is terribly to blame, for it was a rash, & ill advised affair on our part. Col. Baker was killed.

The Great Naval Expedition has at last sailed for the South. More than 100 vessels belong to it. The description of it is deeply interesting, & great results are expected from it. The press has not been allowed to publish anything about it until it was ready to sail. & they said under sealed orders. We shall see!

To day Sunday Mother & I went to church. Father was not well enough to go. A tedious sermon from El. Nott, Called at Dr. B's for medicine for father, Letter from Joe Van B. He is at Hunting Creek, 2 miles south of Alexandria. & he gives a particular description of his camp life wh. is very interesting.

Towards evening Cyrus & Eliza called. Henry & Ann have been away.

I am anxious to hear from Mary again.—Read Standard. Many people are indignant at the injustice done Fremont. If he is superseded it will be a sad time for us. It seems as if Lincoln & Seward willfully shut their eyes to what is passing in the land. Things look discouraging.

When they will end heaven only knows. For the sake of the Republican party I hope Lincoln will show himself equal to the station he occupies & disappoint his enemies,

Rush Sunday, Nov. 10th 61

A very busy week again.

Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday sewed all I could. Thursday walked over to Leland's & staid all night.

Friday morning walked to Mr. Hartwell's & sewed for Alvira. In P.M. visited A. H. Wiands. My old friend Mrs. Donner has lately become a wife & step-mother in Mr. W's home. She seems very pleasantly situated & I hope she will be happy. Had a pleasant visit with the family.

(This morning walked home & am very tired.)

Yesterday went with Mary T. to Aunt H's & Mrs. Landon's. When we started to come away our horse was fractious & unmanageable. Mary succeeded in holding him & proved herself a good horsewoman. I jumped from the buggy into a very soft place & all the harm I received was wetting my feet & getting some muddy. Mary kept in the buggy till help came & the horse was subdued & she

started for home but I was afraid to ride with her & was starting to walk, but I had a chance to ride with Mr. & Mrs. Wiand. She got home safe but quite exhausted with fright & driving the horse. It is a wonder we were not capsized or wrecked.

I staid at Mr. H's last night.

The Great Expedition has been heard from, it has been somewhat disturbed by storms, & had attacked Port Royal on the Coast of S. Carolina with what success we do not know yet.—Gen. Scott has resigned & McClellan takes his place.

Report of battle in Missouri & defeat of rebels. Report that Floyd has been routed in W. Va.— Unless the Expedition does something worth while, people will be discouraged with the course of the government.

I am so tired after my long walk that I do not feel like reading or writing.

I do so want to hear from Mary again,

Rush - Sunday Nov. 17th, 61

Winter weather has come, rain wind & little snow make it unpleasant outdoors. Have accomplished but little through the week. Have been quite unwell; my long walk last Sunday was quite too much for my strength & a lame hand & arm in addition has put a veto on work.—

No letters from Mary or Somerset. I fear M. is sick & she does not mean to write until she is entirely well. I have no heart to write to anybody. I have read & re-read all our papers & can get no late ones. We hear that the fleet has taken Beaufort with a great deal of property, forts &c. The forts were abandoned & the whites all left the town & shot some of the negroes who refused to go with them. The negroes are overjoyed. All the crops fall into the hands of our troops. I am impatient

to read about it, but as we have no daily paper I will try to wait.

Our troops in the west have gained a victory over the rebels at Pikeville, Ky, & at Belmont, Mo.

Sustained a sad loss, so it goes.—

Bloody fight at Guyandotte Va.

Nov. 20th. 1861

Had several bright, cold days, roads good,

I work but little. Do not feel well at all. Monday P.M. I went with Mother to Avon, Called on Mr. Winans & Mr. Batchelor's &c. got papers containing particulars of taking Port Royal, Beaufort & it was a complete success. But it causes no more rejoicing than the taking of Mason & Shidell & bringing them to Fort Monroe. These men were on their way to Eng. & France. They left Charleston on the ~~Nashville~~ Theodora which ran the blockade, but was taken from a British Steamer Rent in the Bahama Channel by Com. Wilkes.—The South is awfully vexed at the Captain of these rebel Commissioners. But we have some good luck yet,

Yesterday I walked up to Harvey B's. I have a new flagstaff. hope I shall be able to make my flag soon. I want to see the Stars & Stripes waving again. My hand & arm are not well yet so that I can sew much. It is very tedious to sit idle so much when there is so much that I want to do. We have fine weather for November, but the cold winter will soon be here. No letters yet from Mary or Ella,

Yesterday A. Barber was here to talk about buying a part of father's farm.

It seems too bad to have any of the land sold, but father thinks it best to do so.

Sunday Nov. 24th

Mild weather. Feel better, sewed all day yesterday, hand lame yet.

Friday went to Uncle Ephraim's. No letter yet from Mary. I don't know what it means. I am very uneasy about her. Ann has been away since Wednesday

but I suppose Henry has gone to Henrietta after her today. Father & Mother have gone to meeting. I would like to be in R. next Thursday so that I could hear a Thanksgiving sermon & hear Edward Everett Lecture. I shall try to be there.

Wednesday Nov. 27th,

At Mr. Winan's,

Mother came here with me this morning but I was too late for the train & am to stay till tomorrow morning. I have to the Burying ground, & have read the papers. We have the promise that something will happen before long, but the army on the Potomac is quite inactive now.—Letter from Mary at last. She is well & gets along comfortably, Also long letter from Mary Julia.—

Mary expects to be alone this winter. I wish I could be with her awhile, & how I would like to see Minnie Van too! I must write to Joe again soon.

Rochester Nov. 28th, 1861

Thanksgiving

Left Avon at 9 1/2 a.m. & reached C's at 11. Too late to go to church, all well. In P.M. went out to see Col. Crooks' Cavalry Regiment take their departure for Washington, It seemed that half of the city was out to see them. They were escorted by the Union Blues & there were six little drummer boys in uniform.

Women walked close by the sides of their friends in the column & some were seen to slip bottles of liquor in to their hands. As a consequence some were drunk when they reached the depot, & were dragged on to the cars. It was very affecting to see some of those rough looking men take leave of their friends, wives & sisters clinging to them till the last minute, & many a sad heart left the depot that night. Some for their homes & some for the distant camp, & many probably, took their last look of each other then.

This were between 800 & 900 & it was imposing sight as well as an interesting one, as they marched through the streets. Then I tried to take in the idea of 70,000 men in uniform infantry, cavalry & artillery; but I probably have no idea of it. At the grand review a few days since across the Potomac there were 70,000 men & Gen. McClellan 'does the thinking & planning' for all these!

How I wd. like to go to Washington & see those warlike preparations, the men, the munitions of war, the fortifications & all that pertains to the [?] field; & then, there will be an exciting session of Congress, how I would like to look in upon it a few times. It is very inconvenient to be poor. If I was only in a way to earn money as I once was I would go. But I suppose the wisest way for me is to confine my wishes within my means & try to be content.—

This cavalry regiment do not get their horses until they reach Washington.

This evening went with Mr. Griffin & Charlotte & Miss Baldwin to hear Edward Everett on the Character & Tending[?] of the War. The Hall was jammed full. He is a fine looking old man & stands straight enough, although he has been accused heretofore of wanting a back bone. His delivery is graceful & precise. His words well chosen & eloquent are enunciated clearly. But knowing his antecedents I felt that there was not much heart behind those eloquent pen[?], those patriotic outbursts.

You would not gather from his words that Slavery was the cause of the war, or that it was an evil in our land, or that he hated it to any extent. No. "The South loves power & as she cannot rule she likes to ruin." He did not behind the scene[?] he did not come to the root of the matter. He did allow that if the Sough separated from us Slavery would come to an end

but he showed no pleasure at the idea of being rid of the vile system. It was all Union with him, he looks at the war in a political view, in a commercial view, with its moral

bearings, its humanitarian aspects he has nothing to do. Therefore he seems to me cold, passionless, not a live man. For I suppose he is the same Everett that said "There is nothing he would do with more pleasure than to buckle on his knapsack & go South to put down an insurrection of the Slaves," "Bell & Everett"! Of course they were alike in politics or they wd. not have been on the same ticket. Now John Bell is part & parcel of the rebels. Everett stands by the Union, but whether he we. Sacrifice slavery to save it, this [?] knowing does not say.

But it is a privilege to listen to a man like him. He is a scholar, an orator & a man of marked ability & forms part of our history & it is well to know all such even if we think they come short of the demands of the times.

Rochester Nov 29th.

Dined with Mrs. Colman & spent 2 or 3 hours very pleasantly. She gave me a piece of crystal brought from Fairfax Church where Washington was married. Also some maple sugar made in North Elba by John Brown's wife Mary.

Fremont & his wife & daughter, several officers, & Gen. Jim Lane passed through the city to day on their way to New York.

F. Douglass was on the same train. He says Jessie appears to be a very devoted wife & it was worth five dollars to see Jim Lane sleep. Mrs. C. told me much interesting news about the times & about anti slavery folks.

This P.M. went to S. Cornell's. Met M. Hallowell & Mrs. Willis. had pleasant visit.—

Saturday Nov. 30

I spent last night with Anna Barnes. This morning she went with me to Institute.

It was very tiresome & it seemed like lost time. Saw but few teachers that I knew. Towards night went to Cousin J. Rapalje's & was so tired after so many long walks. It is 100 weeks since my darling was taken from us & no hope of seeing her yet.

Rochester, Dec. 1st.

Sunny & cold. Staid at John's last night. Went to new Brick Church, very fine house, It was their Communion Season, so I left before the services closed.

Read "Neighbor Jackwood" a good anti-slavery story. Wanted to hear Giles Hobbins this evening on Slavery, but it was so Stormy I did not go out.

Monday Dec. 2^d.

Staid at C.'s last night. —Congress met today. Called on Miss Walker & on Mrs. Hall at No. 11. The school looks natural & pleasant. but it seems to me that I can never teach again. I have but little energy or ambition left to do anything.

Went to Uncle Esek's. Aunt Maria is alone I had a long walk & it is cold.

Rochester Dec. 3^d

Came from Uncle E's. this morning. This P.M. went to Mrs. Angle's & spent 2 or 3 hrs. very pleasantly. This evening went with Mr. Griffin & Charlotte to hear Beecher on "The Camp & the Country." Lecture was first rate. Unlike Everett he went right in to the merits of the case. He said there was no use of missing the matter. Everybody knows that Slavery is the cause of the war." Slavery said it would govern, Liberty said it would govern & Slavery should not. He said "all the Military education we had ever had was the privilege of laughing at the militia 2 or 3 times a year." He learns from the New Testament that war is right. That we should fight to preserve Liberty & free institutions & our homes & our firesides. Explained his ideas

of peace & war. "War is God's medicine chest" When we become too wicked he permits war as a punishment. "He is a Quaker in all but the doctrine & spirit." Yet he gave them a great deal of credit. The Quakers now are the most belligerent class in community. Told about that Quaker Company in Pennsylvania. He was alive & earnest as ever. Says that war will be the end of Slavery.

He lectured as per the invitation of the ladies of the Brick Church. I was glad they had to hear so much of A. Slavery & Dr. Shaw too. I was afraid he wd. go into the Emancipation question, for he has said that he would not have the slaves set free during the war. It should be done in a time of peace. But he did not give his reason on this point, but it was all anti slavery & first rate. & I was agreeably disappointed.—

After lecture went with Mrs. G. & C. to Mrs. Woods to spend the rest of the evening. Had some nice music. but her card playing I like no better than I ever did.

12 o'clock when we got home & I was so tired. Tomorrow morning early I must leave for home. I have been away longer than I intended, but I have had a pretty good time. It seems good to see a little of the world again. & come in contact with friends, once more. I have seen but little of Mary Julia & Neddy, when Neddy is not in school he is out to play. Sis is absorbed in worsted work, & other trifling things, I think she does no useful work. & only reads frivolous & light reading.

I have not had much of a visit with her, there was so much going on, she was out or else had company most all the time. I wish they both could be taught systematic & useful habits, & be disciplined comfortably.

Wednesday Dec 4th,

Staid at C's. Left before they were up to take the early train. very cold this morning Took dinner at Mr. Winans & then he

brought me home. Mother came for me on Monday, but as she did not meet me, she wd. not come for me again, even when she had to go to East Avon to day. I should be ashamed to have Mr. & Mrs. W. know this, I don't wish them to know how little my folks care for me.—

When I came home about 2 father & mother had gone to Uncle Jephtha's & it looked lonely enough here.—I put away my things & took a bath & cleaned up, for I cannot keep myself in order when I am away from home. This evening read for father, The President's Message is received. He proposes the acquisition of territory to colonize the colored people when they are free, but I think he only means those that are confiscated from the rebels, & the already free colored people. —Congress begins about right[?] bills in relation to slavery will be presented soon. Several members have given notice to that effect. They don't seem inclined to put

off the subject. I think the question must be met.—Seward said that “in 10 days we would rejoice at great news,” some fighting —Col. Kerrigan is sentenced to be shot.—Gordon the Capt. of a slaver is sentenced to be hung on the 7th of Feb.

Letter from Eliza Van W. all well. Ella is there & quite smart.

Rush, Thursday Dec. 5th,

Fine. Father & Henry have been to city; they bring back no particular news. Father bought a new hat, & a buffalo robe for \$6,50.

While I was away Henry had another flare up. He talked terribly I am told, I wonder how long father will bear it. I am ashamed of Henry. He disgraces all the family.

Sunday Dec. 8th,

Rainy. Father & Mother been to church, yesterday & day before I wrote letters & sewed some. Now I want to go to Uncle E's & sew for Aunt E. This P.M. fine. have read & written some. It is lonesome here.

Rush Saturday Dec. 14th

Have been to Uncle Ephraim's for 4 days past. Mother took me over there Monday P.M., I have sewed all the time. Today I have washed & ironed & wrote to Mary, Cyrus brought me home last evening. Our folks have butchered[?] this week, The weather has been remarkably fine for the time of year. bright & warm, No particular war news. Congress is legislating upon Slavery, & it looks now as if something would be accomplished. Some fighting, but no great battle yet.

Sunday Dec. 22^d, 1861

Fair day but cold. fine through the wk. till Friday. Another week has quickly gone. I have done some chores, but have sewed most of the time for Aunt E.—

On Wednesday the Winegar girls & their Uncle Ira came & were here till Saturday morning. I did not fill all the time in visiting but our folks all behaved pretty well.

Letters from Ella & Henrietta & Kate. E is quite well, & so is Wm. Penn's family. Cousin Kate in Quincy is so near the war she sees something of it. Cousin Alonzo is in the Quarter Master's department in Hannibal Mo. The rebels have threatened to burn Quincy & when the river freezes over they could easily do it.

No particular news except the fire in Charleston, a great part of the city is destroyed, whether by accident or otherwise is not known.

Great excitement in Eng. on the news of Mason & Slidell's arrest. Some say Eng. will ask us to give up the rebels, & sour[?] will ensue. But it seems to me they will know better than to go to war with us.

Rush Dec. 25th 1861

Christmas (Wednesday) has come again. Two years ago today Freda was here, & every day I feared she would go, oh! such an anxious time. The little innocent thing knew nothing of

my suffering. Oh! that I could see her this day! that I cd. even know where she is & just how she is! Two years! Many things in relation to us she has probably forgotten entirely, she has no one to help her remember us, but she has many to help her to forget us. How long must it be!

This day brings happiness to many. It has been quiet here. I have done considerable work. Henry & Ann have been away. & I have thought of the time when my brothers & sisters were at home & Sarah was at the head of household affairs. The recollection of her looks, her words, her actions has been with me all day. I can almost see her & hear her. Is her spiritual presence near me to day that I am thus impressed? Oh! dear. Oh! dear. She is gone from my sight I cannot be reconciled to her death. I cannot see that it is right.

Letters from Mary in Michigan & Joe in Virginia, five miles from Alexandria. Mary is very well & so is Minnie & baby. She is comfortable in every respect only Joe is not with her.

Joe is well, has got rid of his cold, & seems to be in good spirits.—he has sent Mary some bullets that were shot at him by the rebel pickets.—he has sent me a leaf of holly tree which was planted by Washington. He says they may leave there in two days & they may stay there all winter. Nobody knows what they will do. The letters have done me much good. They have been a pleasant feature in my Christmas.

I wish Sis & Ned could be here today. Paper is very newsy, some federal success—talk about war with Eng. Prince Albert is dead. & Gen. Scott is returning from Europe &c. &c.

On Sunday night it snowed some, it is quite cold, but bright & fine today, I have been busy since Sunday in washing & ironing & fixing over my gray dress, trying to modernize it, &c.

Sunday Dec. 29th. 1861

Sunny. mild. Sleighs have run a little, Since Wednesday have been sewing most of the time. Fixed my merino dress &c. &c. My wardrobe is getting reduced & I can afford to get nothing new. A Sontag is all that I have bought this fall or winter. However, it gives

me but little uneasiness[?] yet, I am good at repairing & fixing over. I must do without things while I am earning nothing.

Yesterday drove to Avon & the P. Office, ride did me good. Prince Albert is dead. The Eng. are sending troops & munitions of war to Canada. Many people think there will be war with Eng., others think that the difficulty will be settled without war. We shall see.

Rush. Dec. 31st. 1861

The Eve of a New Year! Yes, there will be a new date for the morrow. & so adieu to 1861. There are many happy groups gathered this evening. but to others the event brings no joy. It brings none to me. I am thankful for the blessings I have, & they are many when compared to those of some others. I do not mean to be unmindful of the good things I have. Yet this day, to me is the saddest of all this year. The anniversary of a living trouble. Two years ago that darling child was removed from my care, from the home where she had run so happy, to try a new home among strangers, to begin to know what it is to be a motherless child. oh! dear. May God temper the wind to the shorn lamb. & bless her accordingly for her own & for her mother's sake.

Could I know that she is happy,
Could I know that she loves me yet,
Oh! the thought is very hard to bear,
That she her friends forget.

Two years has passed away, & she probably thinks but little of us now, for she is but a child, & a child is easily diverted & made to forget. I presume she hears no allusion made to any of us. She may remember yet who gave here some of her playthings. but she will in time forget us all unless she sees us.

Two weary years have passed away,
years full of grief & sadness,
And left no hope how ever slight,
of future joy & gladness.

Tis just two years ago today
Since the cruel blow was given
Since Freda found another home.
And from these arms was riven.

How dear to me Sarah's child
They never seemed to know;
Else, how would they so cruel be
To one who loved her so?

That they could keep her from me,
From her friends so near & dear,
'Twas too unjust to think of,
'Twas too absurd to fear.

Indeed, I could not then believe
They could do this cruel wrong,
I counted all the days & hours,
And oh! they seemed so long.

When I could wait no longer,
I went to her new home,
They did not make me welcome
Did not say I must not come.

For a few short moments only
Was she held in my embrace—
But for days & weeks it haunted me,
That little sober face.

I saw she was not happy
And she needed better care;

The joyous look that once she wore
Now seemed a stranger there.

They took her from my presence,
Sad enough I sought my home,

'Twas then my brain grew almost wild
~~I seemed turning all~~ My heart seemed turned to stone

Two months I hoped & waited,
Oh! I was sorely tried,
I felt that I must see her,
I could not be denied.

I went & saw my darling,
Held her in my arms awhile
I heard her pleasant voice again,
Saw the familiar smile.

Oh! these were precious moments,
She now seemed more at home,—

But soon they made me understand
That there I must not come!

The hard & cruel words they said
In my ears are ringing yet,
The treatment that I then received,
I never can forget,

Grandpa has tried to see her,
But his efforts were in vain
They mean that she shall never see
Her mother's friends again.

I've known the meaning of the words,
"A child without a mother"
To me they are more fraught with woe,
More sad than any other,

For many ~~sad~~ long & weary years
I've lived without a mother;
I have seen in that dear loved one's place,
One stranger, then another.

'Tis seldom that a word I hear
From her I love so well,

How very hard this is to bear,
No words of mine can tell.

I've waited ~~long & patiently~~ now for two long years.
For better times to come.
They come not —and I cannot say
Thy will oh! Lord be done.

Rush, January 1st, 1862!
Wednesday evening.

This date finds me at my father's house, which is nominally my house. 'Tis all the home I have & I cannot help feeling that probably it will be my home but little longer. Such an unhappy state of things has existed here so long, that I think a change of some kind will

take place in the spring, or before, perhaps, Whatever it is it will affect my situation very materially, without any doubt.

While I am in the world I must have the means of living, I must have a place to lay my head. If I was well & strong I should not be concerned about my future support. As it is the prospect ahead is very dubious. Last week I felt pretty well. This week the aches & pains have come again & make me feel that I am nearly good for nothing.

A letter from Rev. L.C.L. has been

received in reply to mine, which he says he will lay before Missionary Association & old Point, VA. may yet be my destination. I feel irresistibly drawn in that direction, & if I am to have no home here, I may as well be there as any where. If I could make such a disposition of my goods & chattels as I wd. like, my way would seem much clearer. But Mary & Frances are so far away, I cannot well put my things in their care, I have no sister here, or near me to look after what I have. Nobody here wd. feel any particular interest in preserving them, & I dread to see them scattered. Some of them belonged to sister S. & they are precious to me for that reason. The spot designed for the last resting place of our family, & where some of our loved ones sleep is near here & I wish my remains to rest with theirs. My father is old & infirm & I would chose to be near him while he lives; & , if I once leave here I feel that it will never be my home again,

Yet necessity I think will soon drive me forth to seek shelter & support elsewhere. In fact the upshot of the business is, I really dont know what is to become of me. I cannot teach as I once did. I cannot get a living by sewing. There are occupations if I only had acces to them by which I might live. but hundreds of needy ones stand ready to jump at every chance for employment. I can do light housework but that pays poorly, or not at all for it is heavy work a kitchen girl is expected to do I am willing to work & earn my living & if I was only well & strong I would undertake almost anything. I begin to think it will not do to wait some for anything to turn up, but I must turn up something myself, It is well perhaps, that I dont know when another N. Year will find me. I may be better, I may be worse, I may be where I little dream of being now. Well, well, I will try not to anticipate trouble, no

doubt it will come soon enough. To every body I wish a happy New Year. There have been some bright spots in the past year even to me. Sister Mary & her little Minnie were with me about 3 months & the remembrance of this visit is very pleasant. Sister Elma has so nearly recovered her health again that she has made us a visit. The six weeks I spent in Michigan Co. are among the pleasant things of the past year.

But then in common with others I have experienced so much anxiety & excitement. The extraordinary state of public affairs has been an absorbing subject. Another twelve months will tell tremendously for our government, either for well or worse.

The topic of today is the surrender of Mason & Slidell to the English government. This will probably avert a war with England, at least for the present. The rebels will be jubilant no doubt but who cares? We shall be gainers by it in the end.

Hon. A. Ely has been released from the Richmond prison & has returned—No decisive battle yet. Terrible day for an encampment. The morning was bright, about noon a regular tempest commenced. We have had nothing so severe in a long time. This evening I saw a bright light in the direction of Rochester. A fire is probably raging there, the wind is blowing a gale.

I have written a little & sewed some & read the news. Father & Mother have been to Avon. Henry & Ann are away this evening. Letter from Alfred. He talks hard about the Abolitionists; thinks they ought to be imprisoned; they make all the trouble. talks of "our Southern brethren", &c. This is in reply to a letter I sent him wh. was enclosed in an envelope with an anti Slavery petition to Congress on one side if it. He says such a thing should not be allowed to go through the mails.—He wants the Union restored as it was before the war &c. &c.

He takes a very gloomy view of things, I am really sorry for him, for I think if he was better informed, he wd. think differently. There is no more satisfaction in corresponding with him. I think he is a thorough pro-slavery negro hater, & I am his antipodes. Ah! well, I hope he will feel better some time, for he is a well meaning person.

Thus opens the year 1862.

Thursday evening Jan 2^d. 1862.

Very cold today but bright, wind abated. Irish Margaret came from city this morning. She says the fire was in Buffalo St. Now we have the discomforts of a kitchen girl again. For 10 days we have been relieved of that personage, & it seemed so nice. I have sewed all day, & read some this evening & my eyes feel badly in consequence. I wish somebody wd. come that I wd. like to see. It is really lonely here, but I am bent on getting some work done, so the time passes quickly. Spring will soon come around again.

Rush. Jan 6th 1862. Monday

Trying to snow for several days, but not enough for sleighing yet. Have worked a little today. Father has gone to W. Rush to pay taxes. Yesterday he went to church although it

was the coldest day we have had, Mercury at zero. I wrote to Mary & Rev. Wm. H.C. & cracked nuts, & wished for Mary & Minnie, & read some. Government affairs look dubious. The Treasury is in trouble. The expense of the army is 1½ million a day. Half a million of men in the field & yet we are not strong enough to advance on the rebels. These are symptoms of impatience on the part of the people. They think this masterly inactivity has been tried long enough. Unless something is done soon to retrieve the aspect of affairs, England & France will probably break the Blockade & open the Cotton ports. The feeling towards Eng. is very bitter & no doubt she will have occasion for war if she wants war.

Jan 12th. Sunday Evening

Rainy day. all been at home. I have written to Angeline & Frances. The week has passed quickly, although it has been dull & drizzly most of the time. I have sewed most of the time, read some. Wednesday I went to Avon & called at Mr. H's. Thursday Cousin Cyrus was married to Julia W. Hall & a card was sent to our family. Yesterday I went up to H.B's. I enjoyed the walk out in the snowstorm. I think I like to walk out in a storm, somehow it is grateful to my feelings. The dull gray sky & the fast falling snow & the silent woods all spoke to me of the weary sorrowful past & the dark uncertain future. A great sorrow had closed in around me & shut out all the pleasant prospect. I was going to hear some tidings of Freda. It was 106 weeks since she was taken from us. yes, more than two years. since R. took her from my love & care. & her recollection of me now is probably dim & shadowy.

I had heard that R. was at H's the day before. He said that Freda was well & she does not go to school; this winter. But not a word did he ask about any of us. Have had letters from Sis & Ester & Frances & from New York. Shall not go to Fortress Monroe at present.

Sunday Jan. 19.

A stormy week has passed away. There is new snow enough for sleighing I think it is a foot deep. I have done various things. I have done up muslins &c., made a new hood which I think is quite pretty. I have written letters & also a story for Minnie wh. is ready to send her. I have knit some & read the papers, I have not been out of the gate & nobody has been here. Henry & Ann ride out nearly every day.—Letters from Uncle C. & sister Mary. Mary & her little ones are well.

Sec. Cameron has resigned his

office. It produces quite a sensation! It seems he does not agree with the policy of the President & his Cabinet. So it is all the while. If an officer shows that he really means to put down the rebellion, & says he is in favor of using the slaves to help us, just so soon he is removed or superseded. This may not be the reason but I think it is.

The Burnside Expedition has sailed & we shall soon hear from it I suppose. The flotilla is also ready to go down the Mississippi. I think this week will bring us important news.

Rush. Sunday Jan. 26th

A federal victory over the rebels in Ky. & Gen. Zollicoffer is dead, is all the important news. We are waiting to hear of some great exploit. But I think with the Tribune that they seem to be afraid they will obtain decisive victory over the rebels. & they do not intend to subdue them, only thrash them enough to

make them willing to compromise. Our officers are not secessionists, they are Union men, that is if Slavery can be saved by saving the Union. That no harm shall befall Slavery is of more importance to the administration than anything else.

A Tribune Cor. says "That the nomination of Mr. Stanton for Sec. of War is felt to be a solemn condemnation by the Administration & regular Army, of the policy of Emancipation & arming the slaves of rebels, so strongly recommended by Mr. Cameron. They saw in it an open issue with the Anti-Slavery feeling of the North & West." Then again it is said "that the only Senator who enjoys intimate relations with Mr. Stanton is Mr. Sumner, & he moved his unanimous Confirmation the day his name reached the Capitol. The relations between him & Mr. Chase are equally intimate, & he is acceptable to Fessenden, Wade, &c. That those who flatter themselves that the Border States, or the Rebels, or the cause of Slavery has gained an

ally, will be charmingly disappointed. He believes Slavery to be the most vulnerable point in wh. to strike the rebellion &c." Well, we shall see. I hope this is not said to pacify the Anti-Slavery feeling of the North & West, but that it is really true.

This week's Democrat notices at length & commends a speech of Chas. Sumner on neutral rights. It says The speech glows with historical beauty; its tone is manly & independent, & its moral sentiment as loftily humane & Catholic as ever was heard in the halls of legislation." yet it thinks "the speech is open to criticism for its construction of international law &c." Heretofore Sumner's ablest speeches have received no notice whatever at the hands of the Democrat. The world moves. If it will only keep moving!

Last Sunday I rode in the little cutter to the P.O. & called at Uncle J's. he is quite sick. Garrison has given a fine lecture in N.Y.

Thursday Henry went to city with poultry

⁷Cloudy for a week until Friday wh. was the most glorious winter's day that I ever remember. Cold, but not too much so for comfort. Bright as possible. Sleighing fine as

⁷ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26052_076 to HC13-26052_120 in their Folder entitled Sept. 20, 1861 to Aug 13, 1862.

could be. Snow not drifted at all. At noon I went to Uncle E's alone in the little blue sleigh & drove little gray—And there was the most glorious sunset that I ever saw. All the primary colors have blended so beautifully, & the white surface of the earth seemed to heighten the prismatic colors; it was indeed gorgeous. How my darling Freda would have enjoyed this ride, & particularly this sunset. Had a good visit. Cyrus has been to Washington, & he had many interesting things to relate. Yesterday stormy again, morn snow & last night & today the wind blows & the snow is drifting. It is bright today, but cold. Harry and Ann have gone away. No weather keeps them when they wish to go.

Yesterday it was 108 wks. since my little darling was taken from me. If she was with me now how pleasant it might be here. I fear she will be sick this winter. The Measles, & Mumps & Diptheria prevail very generally, and she has had none of these diseases. But if she is sick I may not hear of it all.

I wish I could see some of my friends. When H. came from city it seemed hard that I could make no inquiries about C. or the children, when I want to see them so much. I have sewed most of the time & have nearly finished a silk morning dress. I have read the papers, & thus another week has gone. To day I am writing & reading & enjoy it very much. Have no wish to go out.

But all this must come to an end, it can last for a short time only. I cannot live precisely as I am now living much longer. Something will turn up I think to vary this monotony.

Jan. 29th.1862

Thawing fast—Sleighbing is going.

Yesterday went to City with R. Clark & wife. Got home after 9 P.M. with sick head ache, & do not feel well to day, head aches yet. It was a hard day's work, but as it was likely to be all the opportunity I sh. have I imposed[?] it. Henry will not allow me to go with him, & I can send for nothing by him. I am ashamed of my brother. I feel that he injures himself more than he does me. May God forgive him as freely as I do, for I think he knows not what he does.

C. & Miss Baldwin had just got back from LeRoy & Avon by way of Batavia. Harry gone to L. on Saturday. The railroads have all been blocked up with snow, & the Valley road is impassible on account of a wreck on the track. no lives lost, but the trains did not run for a day or two. No mails from N.Y. for 2 or three days past. The storm has been very general & now there will probably be a freshet if it thaws.

There have been rains at the South, & floods in the west & snows at the north, & fires in N.Y. & Boston &c. No very particular war news. Expecting any day to hear from Burnsides Expedition. The proslavery part of the press & community are more hateful than ever. The Herald is awful & the R. Union is as bad as it dares be. The Hutchinson's who had Liberty from the Sec. of War to sing in the Federal Camps, have been forbidden

to come within the lines by Gen. M^cClellan. Proslavery speeches are made in Congress as usual, & there are also antislavery speeches too & there will be fierce discussions I think before Congress adjourns. Things look discouraging just now.

Bought black satin for dress. wh. was about all the purchase I made. Saw Sis & Ned a little while. Sis does not like her school now, & I presume it will be of but little advantage to her. Mr. G. & C. say business is very dull.

Rush. Feb. 2^d. Sunday, 1862

Fine day but cold. Have had several pleasant days. I have just written to Wm. Penn & must now write to my old friend in Ann Arbor Mrs. Carpenter.

Thursdy I rode over to Uncle J's & got the papers.—I have been sewing on my black dress for two or three days. Yesterday I went to Mr. Winans & spent most of the day. Julia has been confined to her room 9 wks. She is lame and very ill from the effects of a spider bite last summer. Had a satisfactory visit & a pleasant ride, only I was alone. Called at Mr. Hartwell's.—No letters today. The Burnside Expedition has suffered severely from the storm. It is now in Pamlico Sound. I suppose the rebels think now that winds & waves are on their side. One valuable vessel was lost by the treachery of a pilot it is thought.—War feeling abating in England.—

Feb. 9th Sunday

Cold and blustery.—

I have cleaned up and written some. The Sundays are very short I think, I have sewed all the week. Finished my black satin dress & did various other jobs. —Letters from Angeline, & Joe Van B. & Ella. Ella is pretty well for her, but her letter brought me no other comfort.

A. says Alfred feels badly yet about the war. Almond Van W. is sick in Washington & his father has gone to him. George Van W. has come home sick.—Joe Van B. thinks that M^cClellan is all right, & that people are finding fault with him unnecessarily. says the roads are so bad that the army can't move at all. He had just been to Washington & has some photographs agoing & is to send me one.—No particular war news, only people are manifesting impatience & dissatisfaction at the way things are going.—M^cClellan is growing unpopular, & our troubles accumulate.

Rush. Monday Feb. 10th, 1862

Fine. Washed & sewed some.

About 2 P.M. Mr. Newman came to tell us that Julia Winans died yesterday at 5 P.M. & is to be buried to-morrow at 11. It seems her disease went to her head at last. When I was there 9 days ago she was suffering from pain in the head, & she never found any relief, but was delirious much of the time. Dr. N. said she would get better until the P.M. she

died. I have not a particle of confidence in Dr. N. I think he is very ignorant, & have thought so from the first moment I saw him when he came here to see Sarah. If Julia had given attention to herself at the first, no doubt she cd. have been cured. But the poison was permitted to work until it affected her whole system, & then no skill perhaps cd. have saved her. Dr. N. called it hip disease. Dr. Moore said it was very far from that. Dr. N. said the bite of the

spider had nothing to do with it. Dr. M said it was enough to cause her sickness. The family think that the poisonous bite caused her death. They had a chance to watch the progress of disease & know how she was affected. I think so too.

Poor girl, cut off from her life in the flower of her youth. She was not quite 24, she was not afraid to die, but bid them all goodbye calmly[?] & died without a struggle, as if she was falling asleep. She rests well now, no doubt. She was a namesake of mine, and she was a very excellent girl.

Tuesday, Feb. 11th

I rode with Mr. N. yesterday to E. Avon, and from there to Mr. Winans with E. Morehouse, & to day mother came to the funeral & I came home with her. This is the first break in the family of Mr. W. & there are 10 brothers and sisters to mourn her loss. But in their sorrow there is much comfort & hope, much that is pleasant

to think of. As she lay on her death couch she looked as if sleeping, & there was nothing there of the gloom & repulsiveness of death. It was a lovely corpse to commit to the Earth and cover with the cold snows of winter. They have chosen a lot near ours in a very pleasant spot. Now they have an interest in that graveyard such as they never had before. My dear friend, Mrs. W. is a noble woman, & bears this trial with much resignation. Many of their relatives are with them today, & there was a large funeral. Saw my old friend Mrs. Root, the grandmother of Julia, for the first time since Mr. Root's death last spring.

I had intended to go soon & stay 2 or 3 days with Julia. I had no idea she wd. pass away so soon. I had not heard from her in a week, & the news of her death surprised me. I thought she would get well slowly. ~~But~~ I did not think she was to die so soon. Well, she is safe now from harm & temptation.

Wednesday Feb. 12th,

Do not feel like work. My head has ached yesterday & today & my eyes ache. I feel sad & oppressed and lonely.—

Henry went to city, but has not said a word about C. & the children.—

Saturday, Feb. 15th,

Today is quite pleasant. Father & Mother have gone to Avon & I hope to have some papers. We have had no news in several days. I have been sewing for several days & I feel very dull & stupid. Nobody comes here.

111 wks. since Freda was taken from us. Towards night we were very glad to see Theodore Van Wagoner & Neddy come. It seems so good to have them here, to see some of our relation once more.

Sunday Feb. 16th,

Father & Mother been to meeting. Neddy has been sick all day. This P.M. went with [F?] to Uncle Jephtha's & Uncle Ephraim's. Fine

day & sleighing good. I saw Cyrus's new wife for the first time. Hear that the rebels are surrounded in Fort Donelson & the fort will probably be taken.—

Monday 17th.

Cold morning. Neddy sick yet, but he & Theodore started for Rochester about 9. Have had a good visit with T., but N. has not enjoyed his visit.

About 11 Charlotte & Miss Baldwin came & left about 4 P.M. Glad to see them; but I have been very much distracted & annoyed. Something to trouble us all the while. If it is not one thing it is another. I hope father's life will not be worried out of him. Towards night the Avon bells rang forth a joyous peal. Fort Donelson is taken with great loss on both sides; so, many hearts will be filled with sorrow. Johnson & Buckner & 15000 prisoners & a great deal of property has been taken. Floyd & Pillow escaped with 5000 troops.

Wednesday 19th.

Have spent most of the day at Mr. Winans, & had a pleasant visit. Oh! how they miss Julia. I think I can realize how Mr. W. feels.—I returned in a storm of snow & wind. Letter from Ella. All well.

Thursday 20th.

Letters from Aunt Mary and Mary Julia & Wm. Penn. Aunt M. has been sick. Cousin Delilah Mosher died the 4th of this month.—Neddy has measles and is quite sick, at first they thought it small pox & were very much frightened.

Wm. Penn and his family are well, he is all alive about the war;—He sent me a piece of Gen. Zollicoffer's undershirt dyed in his own blood. He was killed at the battle of Somerset in Ky, on the 18th or 19 Jan. The possession of it made me nervous for awhile. it is a singular & interesting memento of the Rebellion. Wm. P. hopes to send a piece of Beauregard's coat next time.

Friday 21st.

Have sewed all day & my eyes ache. Cousin Emmaline has visited here. Henry & Ann have started for Kendall.

Encouraging news from Missouri & Tenn, But I do not think the Rebels will give up yet. I hope not at least, for there would be danger of some disgraceful settlement on our part if they should do so.

Saturday 22^d.

Went to Avon, and called at Uncle Jephtha's. Clarksville & Nashville are taken. Letter from Rev. W.H.C. gives me interesting information in relation to the plans for improving the situation of the "Freedmen & Freedwomen" at Port Royal, I am hoping to go there, but fear I shall not succeed in so doing.—

This evening wrote to Rev. M. French, N.Y. Read Julian's speech in the House of Rep. one of the best that has been made on the subject of emancipation.

Sunday. 23^d.

Thawing. Father & Mother have been to meeting. I have done various things. Wrote three letters before breakfast, & have written three since. I fear the sleighing is going off.

Thursday 27th. Feb.

Cold & blustering. I have not done much. I have told father of my plans. He thinks it is a wild calculation, & says he has a good mind not to help me one bit. I presume I shall have hard work to get away.—

Monday was the most tempestuous day of the season. The snow drifted & it was cold. My going to Port Royal looked dubious then.

Tuesday—Old Mr. C. worked in the snow most all day. The road has been shoveled & a team has been driven through. It was 103 wks. since I have seen my darling Freda. almost two years! Oh! that I could hear from her again, & know just how she is.

Wednesdy. stormy, but I went to P.O. & got five letters, one from Joe Van B. enclosing his photograph & Col. Poe's—Just heard from Mary. she was well. Letters from Prof. Dewey & Mr. Angle & Mr. Hobbie, all kind and precisely what I want, but better than I expected, & perhaps better than I deserve.

About 11 Aunt Eliza came. It seemed nice to have her make us a visit once more. I told her of my plans and she does not discourage me. Cyrus did not come for her as she expected, so she staid all night.—He came for her this morning. —No particular war news.—

Saturday evening, March 1st.

Stormy yesterday & today, roads drifted again. Cannot go to P.O. Looks discouraging for me. Henry & Ann do not come yet.

Have done various chores and read some. Wrote to Mary yesterday.—

It is 113 wks. since my little darling was taken from me. Yes, more than two long years. I suppose she seldom thinks of us now. She is nearly six years old. Oh that I could see her!

Sunday, March 2^d. 1862.

Spring opens with a heavy body of snow on the ground. If it sh. go off suddenly there wd. be a great freshet.

This morning father talked with me about going away. He does not forbid my going, but does not advise me to go. "He thinks it a presumptuous undertaking, that my health and strength are not sufficient for it.

If H. & A. go away, & I leave too, there will be nobody to look after things nor keep the house, when father & mother want to go visiting or to meeting, & mother will have all the work to see too &c." I tell him Ann does not look after anything when she is here; & mother will take charge of the work whether I go or stay, & what they can't do, they can leave till I come back. I intend to be gone but three months, that time will soon pass away.

Rush. March 3^d. 1862.

Rainy P.M. & evening. Washed & did various chores. About 1 P.M. went to Avon expecting to go to city tomorrow, to make preparations for leaving home. Letter from Mr. S.W.S. and Frances but none from N.Y. & I feel disappointed. Went to Mr. Hartwell's to stay all night. With Alvira called at R. Chapel's, who returned last Saturday from a visit to Abner's. Frances thinks my undertaking a venturesome one, but tells me to go if it is my duty & God will protect me. Ella is pretty well.—F. is tried and sorely vexed with many things about her. I wish she could live more to her mind.

Tuesday March 4th.

Weather changed in night & it snowed & blew terribly, & it was so bad this morning that I thought it not best to start for city. Wrote to Frances, This P.M. Alvira & I went to P.O. Letters from Cousin C. Post & Rev. M. French. He says they could not get me there in time to be examined to sail with them. They have a goodly number

of Teachers, & hope to need many more. I infer that they have as many as they can afford to send at present, & probably no more will go this spring. I am somewhat disappointed, but I feel relieved for I have been working upon uncertainties for the last 2 or 3 wks. It may be all for the best as it is; at least I shall try to think so.—

Walked to cousin Mary Harris's to spend the night. Report that the rebels are evacuating Columbus—The Anti-Slavery folks fear that the rebels will soon offer to compromise, & the North will only be too ready to accept their terms. How disgraceful it would be, to make new guarantees for Slavery & submit to be ruled by the Slave Power again as formerly. I think Slavery rules our government now. Congress is about passing a law that any officer or soldier who shall assist in returning fugitives shall be dismissed from service. But I think the officers will disregard it, & do as they like in spite of Congress.

March 5th, Wednesday.

cold. Good visit at cousin M's—Wm. James was to bring me home this P.M. but about one old Mr. C. came for me.— Never saw the roads in such bad condition before. There is snow & ice & water under the snow. I expected our little cutter wd. be broken, but we got along to our hill & I had no further fears, when over we went & the horse sunk in the snow. We succeeded in disengaging her from our vehicle, & she behaved admirably on the occasion, & got out safe. I had a hard walk to the house. The cutter was left till father went out with Mr. C & they drew it home. When it thaws more I think the roads will be impassable. Henry & Ann have not come yet, I am glad to be safe at home this weather, & do not expect to go out again in a long time. But I have plenty of sewing & writing to do; & this will probably be a good time to do it. The news we must conclude to dispense with.

Thursday, March 6th, 1862

Bright & cold.—Did chores, sewed & read. Two years ago today I went to see my little darling. Two years since I have seen her! Oh dear! How much I underwent that day & for several days previous. It seemed to me I could not live without seeing her. Now she is two years older and in those two years, perhaps I have nearly passed from her childish remembrance. Most likely it is so. When I think it is my own sister Sarah's child that is not allowed to see any of her mother's friends, that Sarah's child is kept from us & not allowed to see us, why, it seems too wicked to believe; too unnatural to be possible. Cousin M.H. has lately visited at Mr. S.-s who knows all about the families. They say Freda is not well, (But R. always says she is well.) & that R. seldom takes her to his father's, & they seldom see her. That the wife was petted by her first husband & her whims humored. They say

Mr. B's folks think R. was very mean not to let father see Freda last summer, & if they have said any thing to R, & his wife about it of course they will resent it.—I think R. & his wife must be far from happy, & I am sure they will some time meet their deserts. I wish them no harm, but justice will not sleep forever.

Rush. Sunday, March 9th,

Today father is 75 yrs. old, & he looks like an old man. I hope he will live many yrs. yet, but it is not very probable—He has gone to meeting with mother. It is bright & mild & thawing considerably, I intend to write to Ella & Mary & Sally A.F.—The snow will probably leave us soon, & the roads will be so bad there will be no getting out. Friday morning Henry & Ann came from K. gone two wks. They talk of moving into the stone house near us & seem to be fixing to do so. I shall believe it when they go. This will be much better than to have Ann live here, but still she will be near enough to annoy us in various ways.

Had letter from Mary. They are all well, but she sees some lonely hours. Minnie knows her letters, I do hope Mary will take pains in teaching her.

Yesterday made elephant for Eddy Harris & a doll for Inez. Sewed till my eyes ached. I have subscribed for the Tribune. My first one has come. No particular war news.

Tuesday, March 11th.

Yesterday washed & worked on Doll's clothes. Today made the shoes, Bonnet, &c, & finished it entirely. It is very pretty indeed, & I am sure Inez will like it.

Last Monday the Teachers & others sailed from N. York for Port Royal about 60 in all. If I could have gone too! I suppose they are now enjoying the warm spring of the sunny south, instead of looking out as I do upon snow banks & ice wh. still cover all the landscape here. I do exceedingly regret that I was unable to go to Port Royal. It was just what I desired.

Henry & Ann with Jim & Margaret have been away all day housecleaning. It is 105 wks. since I have seen my darling.

March, Wednesday 12th, 1862.

Bright & cold. Henry & Ann have moved today, taken all their things away! Ann left by the back door & said nothing to anybody. I think she has not spoken to father or mother in several days. Henry behaves very civilly towards father, lately. I hope it will last. Jim behaves better too, makes less noise & is more civil. I dread going into the room they have left. It will never seem pleasant again, although it is the best chamber in the house. It is about a year & a half since I have been in to it. It has not seemed like a part of our house. They always locked it when they left it, if for not more than an hour, I hardly know what was in it. How unnaturally we have lived here for nearly two years. But I think it will be more pleasant now.

Read Democrat. Lots of news.

Our army is moving. even the Potomac Army is not quiet. Great success in the West. Columbus, the Gibraltar of the Rebels, has been evacuated, & the U.S. Flag waves over its forts. Our troops have attacked the rebels in various[?] places, & been victorious.

There has been one naval battle.

Capt. Dupont's expedition has taken Fort Clinch, Florida, & all the Georgia Coast is under Federal control. The president has sent a message to Congress, wh. The Democrat says is the greatest event of all.—I cannot see much encouraging in it, but it makes a profound sensation. He proposes to Congress to proclaim to the Slave States that compensation will be made to them if they will take measures to liberate their slaves. He wishes them, the states, to do it themselves & do it gradually. But "if Congress does not think it best there is an end of it," he says.

It seems to me the effect of this will be to pacify the people at the North, & they will keep still, taking it for granted that some thing is about to be done for the slave. In the mean time the war will close by some compromise with the rebels; & then northern politicians will say the war has cost so much that they can make no compensation to the slave owners & they will keep their slaves as before, & the golden moment with us will have passed, for "in time of peace we have no right to meddle with Slavery," I cannot rejoice over the message, somehow it seems fraught with mischief. It will only serve, I fear, to occupy attention till the time has passed in which we could have done something.

Thursday March 13th.

Bright. March weather.

Margaret left here this morning. She had worked here since last October. We are to be our own Bridgets now, & I

shall like it for awhile, at least until we can get things cleaned up, for M. was anything but a tidy girl, & everything she had any thing to do with is as dirty as it can well be. Mother & I have spent nearly the whole day in cleaning kitchen utensils, scouring dishes & cupboards &c., & a hard day's work we have had too. But I shall enjoy the fact of having clean dishes on the table once more, & hope the food will relish better than it has done since October last.

I cannot realize yet that we have the house to ourselves, that Ann is gone away entirely, for I did not see much of her when she was here. She spent most of her time in her reception room, & left the hired girl to do about as she liked, in the kitchen. Such housekeeping as we have had here ought to be scarce. I hope Ann will do better now that she is by herself. I am sure we shall have a chance to.

Saturday March 15, 1862

Rained all day. Now we must expect a freshet. The brooks on each side of us roar, & the roads are nearly impassable. Yesterday wrote to Joe Van B. fear we shall not hear from him as often after this, as the Army of the Potomac is moving. I dare say Mary is uneasy now.—Henry brought Tribune from office yesterday. There has been a great Federal victory in Arkansas after a 3 days fight. Many killed on both sides. Ben M^cCulloch killed. A Naval fight on the 8 & 9th, at the mouth of James River. The iron clad steamer Merrimac destroyed two of our largest war frigates the Congress & the Cumberland. Then she was attacked by the iron clad Monitor (Ericsons new vessel, this was her first trial) which disabled & drove off the Merrimac which was 4 times the size of the Monitor, the latter was unhurt. No fight

of the kind ever took place before. The vessels touched each other part of the time but no men were to be seen on either. The Monster Merrimac which the rebels have been to work at for 6 months looks like an iron roof with a smoke stack upon it.

The Monitor is flat, only 18 inches out of the water, with a bombproof turret containing 2 guns on pivots & a smoke stack, which latter is lowered into the vessel when it stops. It is a new invention, & if successful is to be bought by the government. The balls of those 2 guns are of wrought iron and cost \$47 a piece. 200 or 300 men were lost on the Congress & Cumberland.

I have done house work today & looked over papers. Read speech of Carl Schurz in N.Y. in favor of emancipation. Very able.

It is 115 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from me. I dreamed of riding with her last night. We had two white horses & one of them tried to bite her. We were in a sleigh with George Gridley. No box on the sleigh & it was covered with ice, & it was difficult to keep on it.—

Sunday March 16th,

Snow 6 or 8 inches deep, & it is snowing yet. It is colder, & the wind is drifting the snow. The travelling is terrible. Henry did not come down yesterday nor today. Hard times for cattle if they are exposed. Have made a thorough toilet, looked over & put away things, wrote a little & read some.

Manassas has been evacuated by the Rebels.— M^cClellan has allowed all that army that we have been watching for 7 months to get away from him, & go further south & entrench themselves & make us more expense. When our army took possession of Manassas they are said to have gnashed their teeth with rage, to find that it was by no means a formidable place, & not a rebel was left. Think of it, 100000 of our soldiers have been watching it ever since the battle of Bull Run, & afraid to attack it, & at last let the rebels escape.—But as M^cClellan

permitted it, people excuse it; suppose it had happened to have been Fremont's department. Wouldn't they blow him sky high?

A new arrangement has been made. M^cClellan is no longer Commander in Chief of all the armies, but only of the Army of the Potomac, & this has five divisions. The Generals are McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman, Keyes & Banks. And there is a new "Mountain Department" comprising Western Va. Eastern Ky. & Eastern Tenn. & Fremont is Major Gen. of this department. The forces left for the defense of Washington are placed in command of Brig-Gen. Jas. Wadsworth, who is also military Governor of the District of Columbia. Last week's Tribune contained the Defense of Fremont, his statement & evidence as presented to the Joint Committee of the two Houses on the Conduct of the War. It shows that injustice has been done him, & his friends consider it a triumphant vindication of himself.

Tuesday March 18th.

Bright & Thawing some. I wish the snow wd. go off. Yesterday washed & got tired out. My arms ache badly. Letter from Frances. She is not well, but Ella is quite smart. Eliza Van is sick. F. is glad that I did not go to Port Royal. Theodore Van W. is in Washington sick with Measles. Morgan is going to see to him.—Got new Standard. Mass meeting in N.Y. of the Enemies of Slavery—great demonstration. Expecting a battle near the Potomac somewhere—

Today I have ironed & done other housework & written to Cousin Kate Mawsey[?].

Wednesday March 19th,

Very bright. Went to Avon with Mother in cutter. Henry been to city in wagon. Read news. Battle at Fort Craig, New Mex. New Madrid taken by our troops. New York harbor to be garrisoned.

Thursday 20th.

This P.M. took cutter ride, probably the last this season. Some bare spots.

Called at Mr. B's.—Freda has had measles & that is all I could hear about her. Visited at Mr. Dailey's. Euphemia has returned from Michigan. Letter from Angeline. Theodore & Morgan have got back from W. T. has got over measles. Could not get pass to go into Va. so they did not see Joe Van B. The storm of last Friday in Somerset covered the trees with ice, then a hard wind blew & many were entirely destroyed. Peach trees in particular. It is a scene of desolation. Alfred's beautiful shade trees are stripped as naked as flag staffs. What a pity. The labor & improvements of many years are gone.

Saturday Mar. 22^d

Yesterday it snowed again & looks as wintry as ever. Alfred came last night & went away this morning. No particular news.

Read Standard & Tribune. Newbern has been taken after a hard battle. Many killed & wounded, six forts, guns &c. \$2000000 of property.—All Western Florida in our possession

New Madrid has been taken, fighting in progress at Island No. 10. Great excitement throughout the country. Events crowd upon us. But M^cClellan has done nothing yet, only taken possession of Centerville & Manassas, no stores of any amount left by rebels, no munitions of war. A ruined, desolate place. Particular description in Tribune of this rebel stronghold. The guns at Centerville are mostly logs of wood, & no defences at all by any means formidable. I should think M^cClellan wd. be mortified to death. I think this escape of the rebels is as disgraceful to us as the defeat of Bull Run. Perhaps McC. will yet do something to retrieve his lost reputation, for he has lost immensely in the confidence of the people. They say he did not move now until commanded by the President & Sec. of War, & that his not doing any thing was the cause of his command's being restricted to the Army of the Potomac. The Democrats & pro slavery

folks stand up for him, as he is very proslavery. I suppose Joe has moved by this time, wish we could hear from him. How anxious Mary must be now. Oh! dear, such terrible loss of life as there has been.

Wendell Phillips visit to Washington is a great event. He lectured twice to crowds & was invited to an interview with the President. Accompanied by Chas. Sumner he visited the Senate & Vice Pres. Hamlin descended from the dais to receive him. It was like holding a levee, so many crowded about him to speak to him. Speaker Grow invited him to dinner with Vice Pres. & wife, Sumner & Mrs. Fremont &c. It is said he never delivered grander Lectures. Indeed the whole was not only a success but a triumph. 15 months ago the Boston mob was seeking his life. Now he proclaims the most radical sentiments in Washington, & even went into Virginia by invitation of officers & spoke to the Massachusetts troops. Glorious, isn't it?

Monday March 24th.

Washed &c. Commenced cleaning front chamber. It was a year & a half since I had been in the room. It will seem strange to have it to use again. Many holy but sad associations belong to that room, & I will try not to think of the two years of desecration ~~it has~~ which I hope has now terminated.—I will clean it & arrange my own furniture in it & try to make it look pleasant & homelike again. It is the most comfortable sleeping room in the house & it will be a great convenience to have it to use again.

Tuesday March 25th.

Washed dishes & ironed. Cleaned girl's bedroom & 2 bedsteads, sewed &c, & tonight I am very tired. Arms ache severely. It is 107 wks. since I have seen my little darling. Oh dear, how the time goes, & Freda is forgetting us, & none of us can see her. How long, oh! Lord, how long?

Mar. 26

Put down carpet in front chamber & other housework, almost tired out. Letter from Mary Julia. No important news. But it is a satisfaction to hear from her & Eddy.

Father has bought a new horse for \$80, a spirited-looking animal & I think not safe for father or myself to drive. He is a pale canary, or a faded cream color, or a subdued yellow, or in other words, a dirty white. He may look better after shedding his coat.

Thursday 27th.

Finished cleaning & arranging chambers & am oh! so tired again.

No papers this week yet, travelling bad.

Friday 28th.

Cleaned entry & stairs & it has been a hard job. Now our upstairs is all in order. It looks old fashioned & homelike again, & I do not regret the hard work

it has cost to bring it into a comfortable state once more. Henry & Ann would hardly know their "reception room" now with its rag carpet & plain old furniture, & scanty at that. But I know it very well & like it too.—

This P.M. went with father to Avon. Drove Henry's horse instead of the new one, roads bad. Wind & snow drifts.— A very welcome & satisfactory letter from Mrs. Coleman. Having a course of anti slavery lectures in Rochester. Wendell Phillips, Dr. Cheever, F. Douglass & Theodore Tilton. How well I would like to hear all those speakers. A life in the city has many desirable privileges. Got Papers. A terrible battle at Winchester, Va. Rebels fled. Several other skirmishes. No news from Joe Van B.— Wendell P. has been mobbed in Cincinnati. When the unclean spirits are going out of men, they foam & rage terribly.

Sunday Mar. 30th.

Intended to go to meeting with Father, but before 10 A.M. it became so boisterous we gave it up. A genuine March day.

The snow melts very slowly. It has been cold all the week & freezes hard nights. Yesterday had time to rest a little, & I feel quite refreshed. Sewed & read some. Mr. Hoamer[?] & Mr. Bryan called, to tell us Mr. Elmore is to preach his last sermon today. He finds it too hard to raise a salary of \$500 in Avon.—

Yesterday it was 117 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me. I have pictures of her taken at three different times, & I wonder if any of them look like her now. I have them hanging near my usual seat, & also Mary Julia's & Neddy's, & two of Minnie's & Florence's & Theodore Van W.'s when about 8 yrs. old. I love to look at this group of little ones but trust not myself to think much of their future. Have no pictures of sister E's children.

Home Monday March 31 1862

Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. 28 yrs. ago this P.M. between the hours of 3 & 4 o'clock she breathed her last, & 10 children were left motherless. If she had lived to guide them how different might have been the lives of some of them. I was about 20 at the time & how little I knew what those 7 brothers & sisters younger than myself needed. How little I knew of household duties. Yet I undertook all this responsibility, I tried to do by duty & supply as far as I could a mother's place, & much satisfaction I received in the discharge of my duty. And when in less than two yrs. a stranger ~~arrives~~ was put in my loved mother's place, & I was told that I was no longer needed in the home of those little brothers & sisters, none but God & myself knew what a bitter sorrow was mine. To leave the youngest darling to a stranger's care, the little one that I had cherished

so tenderly for our mother's sake, that I had learned to love with my whole soul, oh! it was a bitter, bitter cup! Yet I was obliged to drink it, for was I not motherless? Then the weary years that followed, so full of anxiety for those motherless children that I saw only occasionally.

But this once motherless infant is now ~~is now~~ 28 yrs. old & has two little ones of her own, & is alone with them far away in Michigan. I have this moment received a letter from her husband dated at Old Point Comfort, Va. His brigade moved from the Potomac last week under Hamilton's command. There are some 50000 men at Hampton Roads now, but they know not where they are going. He says they have no baggage only what they carry on their backs.

I think they are to attack Norfolk, & I presume Joe will soon have experience in fighting. May God preserve him, & return

him safe to his wife & little ones. Oh! how anxious Mary must feel now. I wish I could be with her. Expected a kitchen girl today, but she has gone to another place. I have washed & done various kinds of work, & read & wrote some.

Rush, April 6th, Sunday,

Freda's Birth Day. She is now six yrs. old.—& I cannot see her nor hear from her, I wonder how long things will remain thus. Yesterday it was 118 wks. since she was taken from us!

Rather a tiresome week. Housework, sewing & reading. Unpleasant weather, so wet there is no going out. Snow banks in the garden yet. This morning it was frozen so that I went nearly to the hill. The flats are overflowed & the streams are high; but the snow goes off very slowly.

No particular war news. Congress has voted on no important measures yet.

Interesting accounts from the Company that went to Port Royal.—Rev. N.R. Johnston says he had no idea that such degradation existed in our country; & the presence of the military makes it worse for the negroes. The blacks need every thing.

The Express & The Herald talk as bad as they can & oppose the efforts of the Government & individuals to do good to those injured people. They want the abolitionists kept away from them. A more satanic spirit I never saw manifested.

Last Tuesday cousin Cyrus & wife & Elisa called to see us.—

I have been making a Flag. It is very pretty indeed, & a good sized one too, as large as I can conveniently handle. The next fine day I mean to have it out. There is a great deal of work upon it. But I should not care for a Flag unless it was nice. I presume I shall never make another.

Rush, Sunday April 13th, 1862.

A week of anxious excitement, such terrible battles. Sickening to read & think of. I have done housework, & various repairing, & quilted a skirt, worked pretty hard. Wednesday I went to Avon, Roads bad. Some snow banks yet. Mrs. Bigelow took tea with us.

Wednesday—

Letter from Ella. She is quite well, intends to go to D. the 23^d of this month. Avon bells were ringing for victory. Island No 10 has been taken by Gen. Pope, with 3 generals, 6000 prisoners & 100 siege guns &c. &c. Not a man lost on our side. This was April 8. everything there given up.

On Sunday & Monday the 6th. & 7th. there was a battle at Pittsburgh landing on Tenn. River, in South Tenn. Many forces engaged on both sides. Many killed, wounded & taken prisoners on both sides, at last Rebels fled to Corinth in Miss. Gen. Prentice taken prisoner the first day. Many of our officers killed.

Gen. Grant was attacked by a much larger force of Rebels & suffered terribly before Buell came to his assistance. Rebel Gen. Johnston killed. Beauregard wounded. The accounts are awful to read.

Another horrid battle at Corinth on the [*Transcriber's note: blank space left*] but we have no particulars yet. Last evening I heard several guns, so there is news probably of another victory somewhere. There are interesting accounts from at from Port Royal. Sad yet hopeful. Oh! dear.

On the 5th, Yorktown was attacked by the Potomac army. They left Fortress Monroe. M^cClellan, Heintzelman, Porter, Hooker & Hamilton were ahead. Joe is in Hamilton's Command & was probably engaged in this attack. Yorktown is 24 miles from F. Monroe. It rained, & the march was very uncomfortable. Yorktown is strongly defended. Four miles of batteries & intrenchments. List of our killed & wounded in Tribune. Mostly Massachusetts men. Bordan's sharpshooters

took the lead.—At night the firing on both sides ceased.—had no news from there since, only that our forces were waiting. But before this the battle has no doubt been fought & Yorktown taken possession of by our troops, for if skills & numbers could do it.

M^cClellan cd. command them.

Letter from Mary yesterday. She is very sad & anxious now; it was written the 7th, so then she did not know of this attack on Y. but was expecting all the while to hear of a battle. She wants me to come to her, and I wd. like to go, but don't see the way open yet. I wish she cd. be here with her children this Summer.—

Today is fine & warm. Some things are up in the garden. I must clean out the beds this week.— I have been writing to Ella & Mary Julia & Cousin A. Rapalje. Read this evening. I wish Frances & Ella or some of the Somerset folks would come now. It is so lonesome here.—

Apr. 13th, 1862.

⁸Diary

Rush, Tuesday, April 15th, 1862

Fine weather. Did housework, ironing, & sewing. 110 wks since I have seen my darling Freda. Have not heard from her in several weeks. How long will it be thus?

Had letter from Joe Van B. It was written on the 6th. inst. the day after the attack on Yorktown, he was seated on his knapsack, gun by his side, in front of the fortifications at Yorktown, & the rebels sending occasionally shot & shell, The latter burnt in the air; the former they don't mind any more than they would a pop gun. I suppose they were at a safe distance. He expected the fight would commence the next day & felt, probably, as any one would in near prospect of a deadly conflict.

But as yet we do not learn that our army has done any thing more. The rebels have been reinforced & mounted more guns.

I think our army is in a tight place. I wonder & wonder what M^cClellan will do. Will he sacrifice his men by storming the place, or will he retreat with his 'Grand Army'? A few days more will answer that I suppose.

Joe says the march through Hampton was through the woods & mud & rain. It was a quick march & so fatiguing that many fell out by the way & came straggling in towards night. He was almost exhausted & sweat so that he was nearly blinded. He says they are in what they call heavy marching order, knapsacks, guns, equipments & ammunition, & they can't carry enough clothes to keep them warm nights, great quantities thrown away on the march. He had no idea how many thousand men were there. It was a sight to see the artillery & the wagons. He did not partake in the attack the Day before, but heard the firing. He says these sharpshooters say that most

of the men they saw were negroes. They could see them plainly loading the cannon. Joe says while at Hampton 10 contrabands came into camp. They had been several days without food in the woods, & they were nearly exhausted so that one died next morning. Joe had seen the Monitor but not the Merrimac. He sent me some shells from old Point Comfort. Gen. Keyes is to cut off the retreat of rebels to Richmond. Gen M^cDowall has his corps on transports in Chesapeake Bay ready to land as soon as the gunboats prepare a way for them. But these plans may all be thwarted. And what then! Well, well, we shall see.

Wednesday, Apr. 16th.

Delightful. I have worked in the garden till I am very, very tired, & did the usual housework besides. My beds look nicely, but I do not feel that interest in them that I have done before.

⁸ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26053_001 to HC13-26053_064 in their Folder entitled Apr. 15th 1862 to Jun. 22nd, 1862.

Have written to Joe Van B.

Friday Apr. 18

Yesterday finished working in my flower beds & they were all ready for a rain & last night there was a heavy rain, & the grass looks green today.

In the P.M. Euphemia & Addie & Mattie D. were here & I enjoyed their visit.

Today has been showery. This A.M. I was almost sick but I worked considerably & this P.M. went to Ira Green's & had quite a pleasant visit.

Old Mr. B. & wife have been to Harvey B's & I called there to inquire about Freda. Mrs. B. says the old lady said she had not been to Revilo's this winter & Freda had not been there since in the winter, so she had not seen her lately. She said "Freda is not very well. She does not grow much & is poor. She was not very sick with the measles, but has got over that sickness. She looks pale & delicate." I think Freda has not had much care lately, for R's wife & family have all been sick.

Saturday April 19th, 1862.

At Home.

The Anniversary of Sarah's death. I cannot make it seem possible that four years have passed since then; but so it is. Freda was 6 yrs. old the 6th of this month, & little Sarah Alice would have been 4 yrs. old had she lived till the 11th of this month. It is 120 wks. since Freda was so cruelly taken from her mother's friends; from those who loved her so dearly for her Mother's sake as well as her own.

And 110 wks. since she has seen any of us, since I held her in my arms & kissed her dear cheek. I do not like to think how she may have been neglected the past winter, for the family have been sick & they could get no help. I am sure she has wanted my care. Oh! that I could have given it to her. She needs kind & loving care to keep her well,— But it seems she is no longer healthy & strong, but pale & delicate.

To think that it is Sarah's child that is kept away from us so! Oh! it was a mercy that Sarah could not know what wd. happen after she was gone. Four years I have waited & lived on, apart of this time in wretched, aimless inaction, hoping for better days. And now I know not what to do, but I must do something. No one here that cares for me but father; & he, I think, would not raise much objection to my going away. If I could see my sisters oftener, & visit more with friends, & have them come here as they used to, it wd. seem worthwhile to try to do something. But my labor now seems mostly in vain. Those I love cannot enjoy it nor appreciate it.

I do so wish that Mary & her children could live here this summer. Oh! that we had a Mother to love us, to feel an interest in us, to desire our presence! A mother that wd. be glad to do something for us instead of begrudging any help or favors we might receive at home.

Sunday Apr. 20th.

Beautiful day. Been to the Farm & gathered mosses & the first flowers of the season. (bloodroot.) Could Mary Julia, or Freda, or Minnie be with me how good it would seem. I have been alone part of the day. It is lonely with no human being near. Father & Mother have been to church. I have read new 'Standard.' No particular war news. McClellan makes no further attack on Yorktown. He finds a stronger place there than he anticipated. Oh! dear, what will come of it?— The subject of garrisoning the Southern Forts with negroes during the summer is under consideration. I hope they will yield to necessity if to nothing else & arm the blacks. This will be an important step,—
The Capital of the Nation is at last free! Slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia! Senate Yeas-29; Nays-14. House -Yeas 93, Nays 39. Every Republican Member who was present in either house when the vote was taken voted yea. The President has signed the Bill.

The pro slavery forces will howl all they dare. Such meanness as they show will never be rooted out of them.

Mr. Sumner has presented a petition 700 feet long for the abolition of slavery. It was signed by 15000 women. Mr. Kelley of Pa. presented a duplicate of the same to the House. But oh! when will the end of slavery come?

Monday 21st.

Rained all day. Discouraging for farmers. Ann Miller came by to day to work for us. Now I shall not be confined to washing dishes. To day have washed & read Tribune, what thrilling accounts of Pittsburg (or Shiloh) battle! Both sides claim the victory. Rebels took the most prisoners, & Unionists killed the most rebels. our loss in killed, wounded & prisoners is 8 or 9000 probably, o more news from Yorktown.

Wednesday 23^d.

Freezing cold. Can't clean house nor

clean door yard, nor work in garden. Today & yesterday have done various chores. Looked over old papers & read some.

No late news. Letters from Eliza Van W., Mary Julia & S.A. Ferriss. Somerset folks well. Mr. Griffin has sold out. Charlotte has moved her shop to 56 State St.—Sis has no vacation till July. I was in hopes she cd. come up this spring & stay awhile.

Friday, Apr. 25th.

Fine. cool. Washed bed quilts & cleaned door yard. & am so very, very tired. No new papers this week.

Read Chas. Sumner's Speech "The Crime Against Kansas" delivered in the Senate May 19th. & 20th, 1856. Brook's assault on Sumner was on the 22d. 1856. —I had forgotten

this speech & the particulars connected with it—the part Douglass, Mason & Butler took in abusing Mr. Sumner, &c. I have been reading it all & the opinions of the press North & South & I am filled with righteous indignation.

Keitt, Douglass, Edmundson & others were present. to protect & encourage Brooks. The Slaveholders had it all their own way. None meaner or more abusive than S.A. Douglass. But three of these have already gone where the Slaveholders go. Those Kansas times were terrible. Kansas was literally baptized in blood & fire.

Sumner is now a leading man in the Senate & slavery is abolished in the Dist. of Columbia! This is something to thank God for, & give us courage. One year ago, we could hardly hope for so much as this. Wendell Phillips says he does not think this abolishing S. in the Dist. is as significant as the message of the President. The Pres. is ahead of the manifestations of the people. The message means more than men accord to it. Noticing some criticisms upon it Lincoln said, “There is more in it than people see. Did you ever hear the story of the Irishman who went

down to the State of Maine, in Maine liquor law times, & asked for a glass of soda water, adding, ‘Couldn’t you put a drop of the crather in it unbeknown to meself? So I have put a large drop of the crather in it unbeknown to them.’”

Phillips is ever hopeful. He says “for the first time in the history of the Government, it has done an anti Slavery act, it has spoken an Anti Slavery word. Enough to have gained in twelve months.” Mr. P. said he did not believe M^cClellan to be a traitor, but he thought he represented, with Buell & Halleck, the Fairfaxes & Essexes in Eng. Revolution of 1640, who were anxious not to hurt anybody, while Fremont, Sigel, & Hunter represented Cromwell & Ireton, who were not afraid to strike even the King, he says Lincoln holds out his hands & says “How far may I go?” Answer him. Tell him the ice is thick thus far, & will be thicker an arrow’s flight ahead. Mr. P. has heard the “John Brown Song” on the sacred soil of Virginia.”

Rush Saturday Apr. 25th.

Worked but little, feel tired & lame in consequence of overwork yesterday. Read this P.M. & evening. Father has been to Uncle J.’s, & brought the papers.

Fort Pulaski, Ga. has been taken after a bombardment of 30 hours. Eleven batteries of 36 guns on Tybee Island, from 1250 yds. to 3400 yds., opened upon it on the 10th. inst. This was one of the strongest forts in the U.S. & was said to be unassailable. Rebel loss three wounded & 385 prisoners. Union loss one killed. It is worth while to fight in this way & not kill each other. Would that all battles were like it. But alas! it is not so.

The Potomac Army near Yorktown have had several skirmishes & several killed. Near Lee’s Mills on the 16th. The Vermonters attacked the enemy’s Rifle pits & a bloody fight

ensued. A creek was between them. They plunged in on the run. The water deepened unexpectedly. The men were soon

wading up to their breasts, their cartridges slung up on their shoulders, & their muskets held up high. The moment they entered the stream the Rebels swarmed on the edge of the Rifle pit, & rained a fire of bullets on the advancing line. The Vermonters loaded & fired as they waded. Their killed & wounded began to fall from the moment of entering the water. They dashed into the rifle pit & fought an hour against overwhelming numbers. They had to retreat, & fired as they went, carrying their wounded. A Lamville Co. boy not 16 said, 'Why, it was just like sap boiling in that stream—the bullets fell so thick,' — our loss was 40 killed & 200 wounded & missing. Oh! dear, Appalachicola, La., taken. Fredericksburg Va. taken, this is 60 miles from Richmond. Floods in various parts of the country, much damage done.—Battle in New Mexico. Texans fell back, our loss considerable. Banks & McDowell advancing up the Shenandoah. M^cClellan is making formidable preparations, but

task is to be a hard one, & the result by no means certain. A desperate battle will probably occur there soon. Wish we could hear from Joe Van B. again. Rebels said to be preparing for a desperate stand at Corinth. Beauregard has an immense army there. The friends of Fremont are displeased that he has so long been denied artillery & transportation, as if it were the purpose of the government to prevent him from fighting, to give him no opportunity to distinguish himself in connection with the war. The pro slavery hounds are trying to get Mr. Stanton out of the Cabinet. The President thinks things are going to turn out right.

It is said the rebels are damming up the York River & intend & to flood the Union troops—drown out McClellan's army—The Merrimac keeps out of sight, Gen. Sherman says "McClellan prohibited him from making any attack on Savannah"!

He is obliged to make it known now to save his own reputation, as he has been accused of slackness.

Sunday, Apr. 27th.

Fine weather. Father & mother have been to meeting. Drove the new horse, Canary. Father likes the horse, but I was afraid to have him drive him, he looks so large & stout & go-ahead. I would like to go to meeting once more, but no way seems to open.—

Tuesday, 29th. April.

Yesterday & today have been cleaning bedroom & entry, & have done all the whitewashing I mean to do this season. Cleaning carpet, stove & chimney has been pretty hard work. I am tired & lame. Yesterday read letter from Joe to Mrs. Bigelow. He is well, has to do picket duty. Cannonading is going on all the while. More or less killed on both sides, a general battle is expected soon & it will probably be a bloody one. Union army is

putting large guns in position, making roads &c. They are in a dangerous place, no doubt, & the event is uncertain.

Sunday May 4th, 1862

Pleasant today, but nearly all the week the weather has been wet & cold. No trees in blossom, too wet to plough. Discouraging for farmers.

Wednesday, the only pleasant day, then I worked in the garden, sowed flower seeds, made the beds too & was completely tired out. Did some housecleaning besides.

Thursday, rained all day, helped clean large chamber & worked in parlor. Letter from Henrietta. Wm. Penn has been sick again. They have moved on to another, two miles from Dundee. Henrietta's brother Sidney is dead.

Friday, thundershowers, cleaned parlor & did various chores. Read Tribune.

Saturday, no weather to clean carpets or to clean house. Felt uncommonly depressed & lonely & discouraged. Is it a presentiment of some new trouble, or because I am not well & can do

nothing in particular am I thus dull & lonesome? 122 wks, since the joy of my heart, the light of my eyes, was removed from my care. Oh dear! —I cannot say with Mrs. Browning,

“For us ___ whatever's undergone,
Thou knowest, willest what is done,
Grief may be joy misunderstood;
Only the Good discerns the good.
I trust Thee while my days go on.
I praise Thee while my days go on;
I love Thee while my days go on.
Through dark & dearth, through fire & frost,
With emptied arms & treasure lost,
I thank Thee while my days go on.”

Again,

“Tired out are we, my heart & I.
Suppose the world brought diadems
To tempt us, crusted with loose gems
Of powers & pleasures? Let it try.
We scarcely care to look at even
A pretty child, or God's blue heaven,
We feel so tired, my heart & I.

Yet who complains? My heart & I?
In this abundant earth no doubt

Is little room for things worn out:
Disdain them, break them, throw them by?
And if before the days grew rough
We once were loved, used —well enough,
I think we've fared, my heart & I.

I'm ready to go to meeting with father. Hardly know when I went last. Wonder if I shall know how to behave when I get there?

2 o'clock P.M.

Squally. Have returned from a dry meeting. Mr. Nott was just as inspiring as usual. Drove new horse, ride has done me a little good. Now must write to Henrietta & Wm. Penn.

Interesting news from Port Royal. Gen. Hunter emancipates the slaves of rebels who have been employed against the U.S.—This is all that Fremont attempted to do, & yet he was deprived of his command. Hope Gen. H. will be more successful in his wishes—

Tuesday, May 6th

Yesterday washed, ironed curtains &c. Wrote three letters & was tired enough. Today I have put down parlor carpet & regulated the room. All that part of the house is cleaned now.—

Have been to Harry B's.—Yorktown was evacuated Saturday night the 3^d inst. & McClellan was in pursuit of rebels. If he lets them escape again it will be too bad— Fort Macon has been surrendered after a bombardment of 10 hours. Exciting movements in all directions. Think we shall hear from Joe soon.

I have determined to go to Michigan or to Dutchess before long & must go to Rochester first.—to-morrow or next day.

Wednesday 7th.

Letters from Frances & C. Post & Joe Van B. Ella has gone to Detroit, is quite well. Aunt Phebe S. expects to visit us this season. Joe's letter was written Apr. 28th, were

expecting a battle, thought the rebels wd. not escape this time, but if they did escape he wd. have to say that "McClellan was slow." But before I got his letter, they have escaped sure enough! He has had to work very hard & fare very hard since he has been at Y. but does not complain.

I walked to E. Avon & called at Leland's & Mr. Wiand's. So tired. Went in Express to W. Avon to stay at Mr. Winans till morning. Went to Burying ground. Blossoms begin to appear.

Thursday 8th.

Went to Rochester. C. quite unwell. Sis & Neddy well—Called on Mrs. Coleman. Visited stores, but bought nothing.

Can get no money of C. & am so disappointed. Perhaps I cant go to Michigan or Dutchess after all. So tired tonight.

Friday. Fine warm

Did shopping. Bought Neapolitan bonnet for \$5.38. New style.—_Bought 10 yds.

Mozambique for \$5.00 so I am to have new dress once more. Run about all day. ~~At night went to John R's, so tired.~~ Staid at John R.'s all night.

M^cClellan is in pursuit of rebels, battle at Williamsburg, 10 miles from Yorktown. 30000 Union beat 50000 rebels, considerable loss on both sides. 2^d. Michigan Regt. in the battle. In Company F-(Joe's) there was one killed & 14 wounded. This was on the _____

McClellan is following them up.

This P.M. The Merrimac & Monitor have been sent out & gunboats have been firing at Sewall's point. The President has been there to see them. Wish I could be there too.

A desperate battle at West Point 25 miles from Yorktown. Rebels driven on still further.—Cherry trees in blossom.

Saturday.

Bright. Windy. In morning finished shopping. Came to Avon at 11 A.M. Dined at Mr. W's. Mary W. & Susan B. came home with me.

Sunday May 11th.

Went to church with father. Heard Mr. Elmer. Feel so tired, can do but little. In evening cousin Cyrus & wife & Eliza called. E. will go with me to Dutchess or Michigan if I go. Trees in full blossom.

Monday May 12.

Washed & did various things. Wrote to Joe Van B.—Went to Harvey B's. No word from Freda.—

Norfolk is taken. Rebels have burnt Navy Yard & blown up the Merrimac.

Wednesday, May 14th.

Cleaned sitting room. Worked in garden, sewed some &c. Walked to Mrs. B's. She has letter from Joe Van B. written on the battlefield the morning after the battle May 6th at Williamsburg. He made a forced march & went into battle on the double quick. In the 2^d. Mich. Regt. 30 were killed & 100 wounded. In Co. F. one man killed & 14 wounded. Kearney commands the division, &

Berry is the Brig. Gen.—Joe was getting the men of his Company together & was going right on after the rebels who left Williamsburg the night after the battle.

Thursday 16th.

Cleaned closets & washed the dishes, & helped put down the sitting room carpet.

Mr. B. & wife here to tea. Have had locks & bolts put on several doors.

Friday mercury at 80°

In A.M. cleaned chimney &c. In P.M. walked to Uncle Jephtha's & Uncle Ephraim's. Very hot so tired. Ann could go to Avon with father's horse and buggy, but I had to trudge on foot. Father told me in morning I couldn't have a horse for if they did not work they must rest. Such things are not right, but it is not the first time I have been wronged in the same way.

Saturday 17th.

Very warm. This A.M. sewed some. Aunt Eliza does not conclude yet to go to Michigan with me, nor Cousin Eliza either.

About 2 °clock went over to Uncle J's, & after tea Ezra & Emmaline came home with me. I was so glad of a chance to ride.

The weather is delightful. Trees are in full blossom & the air is filled with fragrance.

Letters from Elma & Cousin Kate. E. is quite well.—Cousin K. tells me many things about Gen. Prentiss, whose house is in Quincy, & she is acquainted with him. She was in St. Louis when the wounded were brought there from Pittsburg Landing. Several hundred have been taken to Quincy too. Aunt Phebe intends to come east this season.—A naval engagement on the Mississippi. rebels boats sunk & taken.

Full & interesting accounts of the taking of New Orleans & Forts Jackson & St. Phillip &c. rebels destroyed some 8 or 10 million dollars worth of cotton & shipping. Our total loss 36 killed & 123 wounded. rebels loss 1000 or 1500 besides prisoners. Two great iron clad rams were sunk by our

troops, Mayor N.O. & others refused to take the oath of allegiance, & have been sent to prison.—On Sunday last the country was startled by the news that Gen. Wool had taken possession of Norfolk, Portsmouth, & the Gosport Navy Yard without a battle, & the rebels had blown up the "invincible Merrimac" to keep it from falling into our hands. The President & Sec. Chase were present when the city formally surrendered.—

M^cClellan is advancing toward Richmond with a large force, supported by gunboats in James River. Last news say Gen. Stoneman's advance is 10 miles from Richmond in sight of the enemy. Expect a battle there. Rebels will probably evacuate Richmond, very soon.

Republicans in Congress are doing all they can but the Confiscation & Tax Bills have not been passed yet. Democrats making desperate efforts to prevent all Anti Slavery measures, & save the rebels from punishment. They are led by the contemptible Vallandigham.

Sunday May 18th.

Very warm. Rested considerably, read some. Wrote to Mary, & went to Harvey B's with letter. Am anxious about Mary. I fear she is in want of necessaries that she is unable to

get, & is unwilling to complain. I wish she cd. come home & stay. Joe has received no pay in 4 or 5 months.—

Great complaint is made by the families of soldiers. Report says some 2 or 300 women armed with sticks & clubs went to the City Hall in N.Y. to demand relief of the Mayor. It is too bad, for many of these men were promised that their families should be taken care of if they wd. enlist.

If we had a mother Mary would not live alone in Michigan as she does, but she wd. be in her father's house & have care & sympathy for herself & children. If she wd. come home I wd. give up going to Michigan, & may as it is. For the expense is in the way of my going.

Interesting accounts of Williamsburg battle. Grave mistakes by Gen. Sumner. Soldiers went with nothing to eat, missed the way & blundered terribly. 8000 exhausted men had to face 25000 rebels for several hours, some of their best troops among them. But before our troops gave up Heintzelman was reinforced by Gen. Kearney's division, & Gen. Berry with 3 Michigan regiments rushed into battle on a double quick and saved the day. Heintzelman's corps should have the credit of gaining this battle. The artillery cd. not be used. it was fought by the infantry.

Uncle Jephtha & Aunt Caty have called here. Shower this evening. 124 wks, yesterday since my little darling was so cruelly torn from us. Oh! When shall I see her again? If she was with me now to go to Michigan to see them all there how nice it would be, how pleasant it wd. be for us all, & it is so long since I have heard directly from her. oh! dear—

Rush Tuesday May 20th.

It is 115 wks since my darling Freda was held in these arms, since I kissed her dear cheek, & then saw her taken unwillingly from my presence. The darling child! Have not even heard from her in several months.

Today have ironed; sewed on my Mozambique dress; been to Addie Buskirk's funeral. Elder Sibley (Christian) preached the sermon. Read some. The anniversary speeches of Tilton, Phillips, Wm. W. Brown, Dr. Cheever &c. are very fine. The Anti Slavery Meetings have been an entire success.

Wednesday May 21st.

Rain last night and heavy showers this P.M. Needed it very much. Have sewed, & written to Angelina & Frances & Joe Van B. & been to Mr. B's with the letters, & came back in hard rain. Henry been to office. Have letters from Frances & Ella & Ruth Ann C. & Joe Van. F's letter for various reasons is a sad one.—She is not well & things look discouraging. Sarah Jane has buried her youngest child. The Somerset folks

are far from being happy. F. thinks they will not visit us very soon, so much work to do.—Ella is well & seem in good spirits. Joe Van B.'s was written on the 11th. on the road to Richmond, 17 miles from Williamsburg. He describes the country & Williamsburg also. He was in the thickest of the battle there, but says "there was no bullet made for him." Kearney is/was the bravest fighter in McC's army. Expected they wd. make a stand at Bottom's bridge on the Chickahominy. 15 miles from R. They follow up the enemy so close, that the rebels leave baggage wagons & artillery stuck in the mud. They are on the road nearly all day but don't march far, so many of them they are in each others way. The rebel women that they meet are worse than the men.—The only relic from the battle field that he cd. send me is a piece of a sesesh haversack (gray oil cloth). He can get plenty of cannon balls, bullets, guns, swords, bowie knives, blankets &c. but these he can't send, nor carry with him. Too bad.

He had letter from Mary the day before he wrote. She was well then, but that was 3 wks. ago.—He had written her 3 times since the battle. The papers say our entire loss at W. was 2000. So many supply trains have to follow the army that the wounded come in to Yorktown very slowly. They meet each other & the ambulances are in the way. The sick of which there are a good many, & the wounded are being sent north all the while. Gen. Hunter's proclamation of freedom to the slaves in his district, S. Carolina, Georgia & Florida; if genuine, as there are doubts of it yet, has been declared by the President in a strong Proclamation to be unauthorized by him, not valid, of no effect. The pro slavery papers are in high glee over it, & they say Hunter is to be recalled, & cannot commend Lincoln highly enough for the proclamation. Oh! dear, when will they understand that it has got to be done at last? It is said negro regiments are being organized to garrison

the forts at the South. But there may be no truth in it. Com. Dupont reports the arrival to the blockading squadrons of the rebel armed Steamer Planter, brought off from Charleston by eight contrabands under charge of an intelligent negro pilot. They run the gauntlet of the forts, & surrendered the vessel, wh. contains one of the guns of Fort Sumter & is a very valuable acquisition.— Why don't they send these niggers right back and apologize to their masters! There are plenty of army officers that wd. do it. But I believe no such meanness has been done by naval officers yet.

Friday May 23^d

Cool wind. Been doing chores nearly all day—fixing to go to Michigan. So many things to look over & arrange & see to before I can be ready. Things out doors look beautiful since the rain. I want to hear from Mary & from Somerset before I can fix upon a time to start. The weather is nice now for travelling. No news yesterday.

nor to day only that the President has called for 50,000 more troops. Am anxious to hear from Richmond, from M^cClellan's army.

P.M. Letters from Mary & C. Post & Mrs. A. Carpenter. Mary is well & expects me there. Cousin C. expects me in Columbia too. She will probably be disappointed. My old friend Mrs. C. is as usual. It is pleasant to hear from her again.—Want to hear from Mary once more before I decide to go.

Saturday May 24th.

Cold. Frost last night. Henry planted corn today. rather late for it. Did various chores. Letters from Cousin Kate & Joe Van B. Joe's written 16th. at Cumberland Va. on the Pamunky River 23 miles from Richmond. The army has bivouacked there. He is in the rear guard & resting for a day. They march very slowly, the roads are so blocked up with artillery & supply trains. The advance is only 6 or 8 miles from R. He hopes the rebels will make a stand & have it out. Says he will

say nothing about McClellan, but will wait & see how it comes out. He has received some pay, rains a great deal there. Hopes I will go to Mich. & stay all summer with Mary— Cousin Kate sends Gen. Prentiss's Photograph & writes a very interesting letter about Brig. Gen. Prentiss, & the hospitals in Quincy &c &c She visits the hospitals & waits on the sick soldiers, writes letters for them &c.

Gen Prentiss is a friend of hers. She has a high opinion of his talents as a general & his abilities as a man. Says Grant & Prentiss had a difficulty last summer & Grant was the means of P's being taken; at least that is the talk in Quincy. Aunt P. talks of coming.

Sunday May 25th.

Very fine weather. Frost last night again. Went with father & Mother & Jim to E. Rush to funeral of Judge Jones. He was 77 & one of the pioneers. Large attendance. Saw several old friends & familiar faces. Dr. Lucky

preached from "What is man?" How I would like to visit in E. Rush once more, & I will try to do so this summer. This P.M. Cousin Jephtha called & we talked over the Dutchess friends &c.

May 27th.

Ironed & did various things & wrote to Mary & Wm. Penn. It is very pleasant today. The air is soft & loaded with perfume. Letters from Mary & Mary Julia & Sarah Jane. Mary says I must come by all means.—Neither Angeline nor Eliza can go with me. Can't leave home, but Alfred may go. S. Jane feels deeply the loss of her little one. Mary Julia writes about two military funerals, victims of Williamsburg battle.—

Hear today that Banks has met & fought a superior rebel force, & was obliged to retreat.

I am expecting reverses[?] now for our government seems determined not to deserve success by doing justice to the slave,

Thursday 29th.

Yesterday Cyrus & wife & Eliza called. Have concluded to start for Mich. visit Monday. Now must pack up & get ready.

Today walked to Uncle Jephtha's & back to take letters & send by Uncle J. for our papers &c. Letters from Angeline & Francis.

Saturday May 31st. '62.

Have done various chores yesterday & today preparatory to leaving home for several weeks. Wrote to Frances & cousin Kate.

Hanover Court House 20 miles north of Richmond taken by our army. Loss on both sides. Bank's repulse & retreat was a serious affair. 1st. Maryland Reg^t nearly all killed & wounded. Fears for the safety of Washington again.

McClellan's army very near Richmond. Ira Green had letter from Joe mailed last Sunday. he was on Dr. Tyler's farm a few miles from Richmond. Steamship Oriental from N. Y. to Port Royal wrecked 30 miles from C. Hatteras. Crew & passengers saved, interesting account of it.

Slavery is discussed in Washington as never before. Jail is full of fugitive slaves all the while & they are all the while being sent back to Maryland masters disloyal as well as loyal. President says the law must be enforced, but the highest authority says the fugitive slave law does not apply to the D. of Columbia.

Flocks of contrabands are coming in from Virginia to Washington, & government feeds and protects them as it should. Gen. Wadsworth the military commandant at W. is doing all he can to protect them. Various opinions about Lincoln's late proclamation. Some say he is only reserving to himself the right to proclaim Emancipation, & that he means to do it. Others can see nothing in it but subserviency to the slave power & deference to the Border States. Well, we shall see.

Yesterday P.M. Mrs. B. & Mrs. Green called. Thursday Emma Cookingham & Emma Fletcher called. Very dry & dusty.

Rush June 1st. 1862. Sunday.

Summer has come round again, but it has been cold enough for several days to sit by fire. Rains now. Glad of it. Have been dreading to ride in the dust to Rochester. Must get all ready to day—In this world of changes how uncertain it is whether I ever come back here to live as I have been living for some time past.—So much pleasanter here now than it has been for two yrs. past that I wd. like to be at home this summer & have our friends visit us.—I am afraid father will be sick while I am gone, but if I go I must run the risk I suppose. I mean to enjoy the visit all I can, & I anticipate much pleasure, but there are several drawbacks to my comfort as there always will be perhaps. I have seen the time when I was in raptures at the prospect of such a journey, but

“Tired out are we, my heart & I.”

“We feel so tired, my heart & I.”—

—Cyrus & Wife called.—

June 2^d. Cloudy

Left home about 7 A.M. with Cyrus & Eliza. Called at Mr. Winans. Hear that Corinth is evacuated. That there have been two day's fighting at Richmond. Gen. Kearney's division engaged. Our loss 3000.—

Fremont is following up Jackson. Cleared the Shenandoah valley of rebels. Gov. Stanly has ordered colored schools in Newbern to be closed. President & Sec. Stanton have revoked the order.—Left W. Avon at 9 & reached city about 10 A.M. C & children well. Dined at J. Rapalje's. Went to Dentist's. Had part of tooth taken out, bore it finely. Did several chores. Went to C's for the night.

June 3^d. Cloudy.

Left Rochester at 7.35 A.M. & reached suspension bridge at 10. Nothing of interest so far. First time I ever crossed Bridge in cars. Had a glimpse of the Falls & a view of the river below Bridge for a few minutes. It is a grand sight. Cars full, From Bridge to Windsor

229 miles. Country generally uninteresting. Could not see much of Hamilton. The places we passed through are:

St. Catherines	11 miles	Large village
Grimsby	27	Encampment
Hamilton	43	Can see Lake
Flamboro	52	{Dundas a little way off
Harrisburg	62	{in a valley,
Paris	72	{Railroad comes in from
Princeton	79	{Buffalo —
Woodstock	91	Small places
Ingersoll	100	Small places
London	119	Like a city on Thames.
Komoka	129	Huron R.R. comes in
Mt. Brydges	134	Small places [<i>Transcriber's note: written vertically</i>
<i>for this through Bothwell]</i>		
Elefrid	139	
Glencoe	149	
Newberry	155	
Bothwell	160	
Chatham	183	{Colored people & fugitives
Bell River	212	{have settled here.
Windsor	229	opposite Detroit half past 7.

I wd. like to know just how they are getting along. But there is so prejudice against them that it is difficult to know the truth about them.

London is a large place, built mostly of brick. At the station here we saw new fashions. Two ladies, with hats & black feathers & white feathers, & vails under their hats. before reaching Windsor marshy country road runs along by Lake St. Clair 20 miles. Passengers uninteresting. Three groups of foreigners, all weary, soiled, & travel worn just from the fadder land interested me more than any body else. Then there was a poor old colored man with whom I shared my fried cakes— an object of pity. Road rough, rattling, no comfort talking. Only acquaintance Ira Merrill of Buffalo. Saw a few redcoats of the 63^d Regiment. This was my first trip on the Grand Western R.R. Joseph met us at Windsor, a crowd of passengers. Crossed D. River to Milwaukee Depot. Very nice ferry boats. Walked to J's. office.

Ella there. pretty well. Went to Finney's Hotel (Temperance) tired enough. Retired immediately after supper.

Wednesday June 4th. 1862.

Bright, warmer. Hotel comfortable & convenient. Rose early. Started for Adrian at 9. Ella with us. Joseph & Kate A. went to depot with us. J. introduced us to Serg^t. A.M. Edwards who was also going to Adrian. He was taken prisoner at Bull Run & has just returned from Richmond, that is about 2 wks. ago. When the rebels learned that M^cClellan had reached the Pamunkey they sent several hundred prisoners north on parole not to fight till exchanged. They were afraid to keep them & Mr. E. said "if our army had reached Richmond the rebels would have had a fire in their rear." Mr. E. belonged to the 1st Mich. Reg^t. Col. Wilcox & the rebels have a particular spite against this Reg^t, because it was the first to "invade the sacred soil of Va. & they were treated particularly bad. Mr. E. was one of the 156 that were sent to Castle Pinckney as hostages for the pirates, & a gallows was erected in the

jail yard & they were told it was to hang them if any of the pirates at the North were hung. They were taken from Castle Pinckney to Charleston jail & were there when the fire was in C. They were then taken to Columbia, & then to R. again being told they were to be exchanged. They were in high hopes when word came that no more prisoners were to be exchanged. This was the 15th of February, & then they passed the wretched days till the 15th of May before they were released. 10 months in captivity. Found nothing noble, or generous, or humane among the Virginians. Received all sorts of indignities from people in Richmond, women & all. In the winter many of them had worn out their clothes & some had no blankets till the government sent them in January blankets, overcoats, coats, pants, underclothes, shoes, stockings, caps &c. Then they were happy. Knew that their government had not forgotten them. They seldom saw a Northern paper, & knew nothing that was going on at the North,

Mr. E. said he felt as if he was almost a year behind the intelligence of the age. Saw some Richmond papers. They were treated much better by the South Carolinians, & better at Richmond after the Battle at Fort Donelson. At Castle Pinckney they were put into the casemates, damp & cold. When they had been there six weeks half of them were in the hospital. Mr. E. was commissary for the prisoners. He dealt their rations & was employed by those who had a little money to go out & buy for them some necessaries, but a guard always went with him. In this way he had a chance to see & hear much of what was going on. Prisoners carved beefbones into various trinkets & visitors bought them & some who sympathized with them gave high prices for them. A negro & a wheelbarrow were used to convey his purchases. They called it the Wheelbarrow Express. Coffee \$1 a lb. Tea \$4 a lb. Salt \$40 a sack of 3 bushels. Sugar 20 or 30 cts. a lb. Molasses \$2.50 a gal. &c.

At Richmond sentinels fired into their prison several times. On one occasion one of the boys lay his head on the window sill & fell asleep. his head probably projected too far & the sentinel might have called to him. but as he lay there dreaming perhaps of the loved ones at home the sentinel fired. he was hit between his eyes & his brain was scattered over those near him. Poor fellow he never knew what killed him. At first they had enough to eat, but towards the last they had hardly enough to keep soul & body together. The rebels were on half rations themselves probably. Mr. E. says it was dreadful for the sick & wounded, but they were all shamefully treated.—A letter written by his mother in Sept. reached him in March. Of 14 letters he wrote when in Maine she received one— Just before they came away three of their number wished to go over to the rebels. I asked Mr. E. if it was true that they nearly killed him. He said they did pound him almost to death.

I asked him if he had a finger in the pie. Said he “I did not strike him, but I held the clothes of those that did.”—The old pork packing warehouse is three stories, long narrow rooms windows only in the ends. On the first floor the officers are confined, & on each of the floors above there were about 200 privates. The waterpipes leaked, & sometimes the lower floors were flooded. It is too horrible to think of. I had read about many of these things & he confirmed them all. He has been editor of a Temperance Paper, is intelligent & interesting & it was a great satisfaction to talk with him. I was glad to hear all about these Richmond prisoners from one of their number.

Mr. E. says Mr. Ely was very unpopular among the prisoners. He was very selfish. He tried to curry favor with the rebels & spoke conciliatory words to them & they sent him many charities, but Mr. E. never shared them with his fellow prisoners.— Mr. Ely’s journal is just published, but I do not think

very favorably of Mr. Ely. I think he sympathizes some with the rebels.

When they left Richmond they were sent down the James River. He says there are no batteries above Fort Darling & at certain points they were ordered below so that they might not see what was along the James River. Saw the Stars & Stripes on the Monitor, was the first time they had seen them in 10 months.—Mr. E. is recruiting a company & he was going to Adrian to hold a meeting. In the evening we went to Odd Fellows Hall to hear him speak. He read extracts from his journal to a crowded house. From this & my conversation with him I have gathered the above facts.

It makes these poor abused fellows terribly indignant to know that the rebel prisoners are shopping at the Michigan Exchange in D. & are treated to the best the city affords & are allowed to walk the streets at their leisure. And who can blame them for being very indignant? This day has been full of interest, an interesting chapter in my journey, but Cousin Eliza was not in Adrian this evening to hear Mr. E.

We reached Adrian, 75 miles S.W. of Detroit, 30 from Toledo, 210 from Chicago, about 11. Cousins Charles & Susan met us at the depot. Eliza went home with them & Ella & I went to Cousin Jonathan Lapham's. found them all well & they live in a very nice way. In the P.M. we called at Mr. Halsey's to see his cabinet of minerals & shells. Has a fine collection. Has very large & fine specimens in his door yard, he has spared no pains or expense to collect them. Some of them would weigh a ton I should think. Ella & I went to bed very tired.

Thursday June 5th

Adrian 6000 inhabitants 8 or 10 churches

This morning visited & wrote a letter. This P.M. took a long walk. Adrian has grown & improved very much since I was here in 1851. There are 4 schoolhouses, very fine, with stained glass windows & nice yards around them, & one large Union S. House. Fine 12 churches, & a College (Wesleyan Methodist) & several other fine buildings. It is lighted with gas too. Have had cucumbers & strawberries today,

They were brought from Cincinnati. All kinds of early fruits & vegetables are brought from C. to Adrian. War news. The fight on Saturday & Sunday was a serious one, our loss 3000. Many of the wounded from Richmond have arrived at N.Y. & Philadelphia. I am anxious to hear from Joe. He may be wounded, he may be killed. How anxious Mary must be till she hears. If he escaped she will hear from him soon, if otherwise she may never know his precise fate. How dreadful.

Gen. Hooker has reconnoitered within 4 miles of Richmond. Fremont is in pursuit of Jackson. Later – Jackson has escaped. Gen. Shields left a bridge for him to get away by instead of burning it. Pope has followed up Beauregard 30 miles from Florence. It is said Stanley has closed colored schools in Newbern. Sec. Stanton says he would not be a member for an hour of an administration that wd. sanction such an act. Pres. has ordered the schools reopened.

Cousin Charles came for Ella & I this evening. Had pleasant ride of 3 miles N.W. of Adrian.

Friday June 6th. Bright. warm.

Sewed a little. Took a walk to the school; Miss Knight teacher, where Ida goes. Good looking country about here. C. has good farm. Circus in Adrian today. Sights of people pass here. I cannot make it seem as if we were in Michigan.

Saturday. 7th, At Charles's.

Cool. Pleasant, read some. Cousin Elizabeth & Fanny came this P.M. at evening we came back to town with them. fine ride. Walked to P.O. & news room, bought N.Y. Tribune. Some particulars of battles at Fair Oaks & Seven Pines on the 31st. May & 1st. June. Our loss is nearly 7000. Enemy driven a mile by the bayonet, flood favored the rebels. Casey's division, some of them raw troops, were surprised & overpowered & they had to fall back 3½ miles, lost 19 guns & a great many men. Sunday Gen. Heintzelman & Kearney

divisions were in the thicket of the fight. Great credit given to 2^d Mich. Regt. & Berry's Brigade. They charged bayonets on the rebels & regained all the ground but a half mile that was lost the day before, 60,000 rebels attacked 5000 Yankees. Meant to kill part & drive the rest into the Chickahominy. Rebel loss estimated at 10,000. We were defeated on Saturday but obtained a victory on Sunday. The terrible & unusual rain storms have delayed the operations of our army & destroyed many of our stores. 1,000 wounded were sent to Fortress Monroe immediately. Long list of names in Tribune. Wish I cd. know whether Joe escaped. Must be patient till I can hear from Mary. Our forces within 4 miles of R. Jackson has retreated south & will go to R. probably. Emancipation bill has been voted a reconsideration by 84 to 65.

Beauregard's army retreating. Will go to R. probably. Memphis has surrendered to our troops. Battle at Chattanooga.

Battle at Cross Keys. Jackson loses 500, Fremont 125 killed. 500 wounded.

Adrian June 8th. Cloudless.

In A.M. heard Mr. Baughman at the Methodist. Not particularly interested. In evening hear Mr. Powell at Plymouth Ch. Smart young man. Text. Tim. 2-3-4. "Lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." What amusements suitable for Christians, his opinions of Theaters, circuses &c.

In P.M. ride with Emma & Fanny to Mr. Waldenmin's. Then to the College. Emma drove cream & the drive was very pleasant. This morning a sick soldier from Yorktown called. he lives in Rome & J. took him home, a sharpshooter. been sick in hospital at Y. & at N.Y.

Monday June 9th, Bright, warmer

This A.M. Elizabeth drove us to Oakwood Cemetery, a very pleasant spot in bend of the River Raisin. Cousin E. has a little girl buried there. Then we drove to the old cemetery where Ella's little Freddy was buried 3 years ago.

The little grass grown grave is almost obliterated, & it took a mother to identify it. She is hoping to have the remains removed East to our family burying ground.

This P.M. went to Union school where Emma goes. 4 departments. Miss McOmber teacher in E's room. A fine convenient building. Went to Fanny's school too. Miss Thompson teacher. Several colored girls at the Union School. Towards evening drove around town and out to the Country house & College pleasant ride.— In evening went to Bidwell Hall to see the rehearsal for tomorrow evening.

Tuesday June 10th. Fine

Naval battle near Memphis. 7 rebel gunboats destroyed or taken. Fort Pillow evacuated June 4th. In P.M. E. & I went to Charles'. Susan & Eliza were not at home. They called on us when we came back.

In evening Elizabeth & Ella & I went to the Floral Concert at Bidwell Hall. Quite interesting. Mr. Perkins got it up.

Emma was one of the performers. She was a hollyhock, she sung one piece alone. Several colored girls among them. I heard nothing said about it however. The Queen was Isa Simons. There was not sufficient room for them, but hoops were dispensed with & they got along very well.

Wednesday June 11th. Fine.

Elizabeth, Fanny, Ella & I drove to Rome, 9 miles to Uncle Jacob Lapham's. He & Aunt Mary look much older than when I saw them 10 yrs. ago. He is 70 & Aunt M. is 71.— They both work some yet, & they were very glad to see us. Cousin Edmund was married a year ago to Alvira Case. She is in her 24th yr. & Ed. is about as old as I am. Felt very dull this P.M. Elizabeth & Fanny went back to Adrian.

Thursday June 12th, warm

Spent day at Cousin Ephraim's & had very pleasant visit with him & Emily his wife. They have two nice little girls Ella & Mary.

They have learned to read & spell on the Phonetic system. Ephraim & Emily are first rate anti slavery folks. All the rest of Uncle Jacobs family are very pro slavery. I think they are all spiritualists but Jonathan & Elizabeth.

Thunder shower this P.M.

Lonely, unpleasant place at Uncle J's. Did not see Cousin Nathaniel & wife.

Friday June 13th.

Staid at Uncle J's both nights & this morning said good bye to Uncle Jacob & Aunt Mary, & Cousin Ed. came with us to Adrian. Fine rain last night.— This may be the last

time I shall see Uncle & Aunt for it may be a long time before I come to Michigan again. & Uncle J. in particular looks very feeble.

In P.M. Cousins Eliza & Susan were at Jonathan's & I went home with them at night.

Letter from Mary. Joe was not hurt in the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks.

In P.M. we all called at Mr. Halsey's to see his specimens. He gave me a lodestone & a piece of black mica from N. Jersey; & Susan two specimens of Grand Rapids gypsum. He has the finest shells I ever saw; some very rare ones & many other curiosities. I would like to spend a whole day in examining them.

Saturday June 14th.

This A.M. at Charles's. In P.M. Susan & Eliza came with me to Adrian & we all drove to Mr. Waldemin's. Mrs. W. not at home, so we took tea at Jonathan's. In evening called at P.O. & Auchenbach's store & at Mrs. Yagen's.—Cousin Eliza gone with Susan. I suppose I shall not see her till I get ready to go home.

Sunday June 15th. Adrian.

Rain last night, very fine today. Cool. Went with E. to hear Mr. Baughman again. He is down on Unitarians, "All the errors in Christendom came from denying the divinity of Christ," & more to the same effect.

Ella not well enough to go to meeting today. In P.M. went to College & heard Baccalaureate address by Pres. Mahan, Text. "Show Thyself a Man." He is anything but an agreeable speaker, or a good speaker, & the discourse was remarkable for nothing in particular. Had pleasant ride with Elizabeth. In evening Mr. Halsey called, brought me a Lake Superior agate & a specimen of the *Liriodendron tulipifera*. Mr. H. has been a pupil of Mary B. Allen when she taught in E. Henrietta. He says she must be 75 yrs. old & it seemed incredible to him that she is teaching yet. He was formerly from Chatham N.Y. He has a fine mind & is interesting in conversation.—

In evening went with E. to hear Mr. Duffield, Presbyterian, Text "Wo unto thee Chorazin" &c. He is an awkward speaker, but probably has talents for he is a son of Rev. Dr. Duffield of Detroit.—Almost cold enough for frost. Tomorrow we intend to go to Dundee to Wm. Penn's.

Monday June 16th.

Fine. Cool. Uncle Jacob called to say 'goodbye' once more. Packed trunk & intend to leave at 3 P.M. I have enjoyed this visit in Adrian & vicinity very much. Cousin Elizabeth having a horse and carriage at her disposal made it very pleasant for us. & I think it a great privilege to see my own dear Mother's friends & relatives. E. went to Depot with Ella & I & we took leave of her & Emma & went on the train for Petersburg. This is "The Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana R.R." We now began to realize that

even in Mich. it is about 20 miles to P. William Penn met us there in his lumber wagon & we rode 7 miles to his home in Dundee. Road very rough part of the way & Ella was very tired. William P. looks like an old man. he is quite thin, his front teeth are decayed & he looks broken down. He is quite well now but he cant do a hard day's work as he used to.

William lives in a lonely place, half a mile from a road, & we look into woods in every direction. Henrietta has changed some in 3 yrs. Her front teeth are gone & she looks much older. Florence is three yrs. old, she is a beautiful & interesting child. She resembles Freda more than any other child I ever saw. Could not help having a crying spell when I saw her. She is so much as my little darling was when she was taken from me. Where & how is she now? If I could only know! If she cd. only be with me now!

Dundee Tuesday 17th.

Cool. Pleasant. I felt miserable this A.M. and slept awhile. This P.M. worked some & took a walk through the woods & across fields with Ella & H. & Florence. All the while afraid of snakes. did not enjoy it.

This is the most retired spot that I ever spent a week in. A clearing bounded by woods! They go away & leave their house open

How can they live in such a hard, rough way? Perhaps I shall know if I stay long enough. William has been sick a great deal & cannot get any thing ahead. He has hired a small farm & if the crops turn out full he hopes to clear something this year. But it is a poor part of Michigan & very unhealthy too. The Macon River runs near them. It is almost entirely level about here. I wish he wd. make a desperate effort & get into a healthier place. The water on the place is fit for neither man nor beast to drink nor to use in any way.

Wednesday June 18th.

Fine. Cool. Served some & read a little. Ella has concluded to go to morrow & I am to stay a few days longer. If they can stay here a year I am sure I can stay a week. Lonely place, no papers, no news. Wm. takes no paper. They are 2 miles from D. village. There are neither sights nor sounds. The silence is almost oppressive.

Dundee. Thursday June 19th.

Cool. Fine. This morning William took Ella to Petersburg to take 10 °clock train for Blissfield & Henrietta, Florence & I rode as far as the village & then walked to Mr. Beemish's & took dinner. Saw Henrietta's sisters, Mother, &c. They came a few yrs. ago & cleaned up a farm & now live very comfortably. Dundee is an old village, that is, 30 yrs. old. It is a shabby & dilapidated place, a number of buildings unoccupied & falling down. A half dozen comfortable looking dwelling houses. Mail comes here twice a week. Little business done & nothing pleasant about the place nor in it. Two meeting houses. Very cool to night.

Dundee Friday June 20th.

Fine. Warmer. The day has worn away. This is Michigan in earnest. Have done some trifling work. I am observing how peon folks live. It seems to me now that I have at home every comfort & luxury that is desirable.

Dundee. Saturday June 21st.

Cloudy. Cool. Pretty long day, in more senses than one. No inducement to go out. Nothing interesting about the house inside or out. Been in the lane once for Florence who undertook to follow her father to Dundee. I have carried milk to the chickens twice & looked forth into the surrounding woods many times. & I feel devoutly thankful that my lines have fallen in pleasanter places. It seems to me that in such a place as this I should soon become more tired of life than I have ever yet have been ~~before~~. I pity William Penn & Henrietta, but it is not in my power to help them to any comforts. I wish father cd. do more for them. I am glad I came & glad I have staid through the week. They are better satisfied too.

Sunday June 22^d Cloudy.

This A.M. I went with Wm. Penn & Henrietta & Florence to Methodist Quarterly Meeting at D. Presiding El. Smith preached from John 12-26.

The Meeting house looks tolerably decent outside, but inside, oh! horrid. I never saw anything like it used for a place of worship. So dirty, walls broken, plastering falling off, no paint inside. Thick dirt on the floor, seats greasy & daubed with bread & butter & unctuous eatables by the small fry, of wh. a very large proportion of the meeting was made up. A tin pail & two bowls for drinking purposes near the pulpit. There were a pitcher & 2 tumblers for the wine & Florence "wanted a drink of that cider." The young men & maidens bring nosegays of roses, pinks & buttercups. Colored shaker hoods with curtains of extravagant dimensions were the predominating head gear. No wonder shakers are scarce in market. A few bonnets, such as are usually seen at church were sprinkled through the audience. When we entered the lovefeast was just finished & the finances were being discussed. The Elder thought it was a shame that in such

fine country, among so many rich farmers, that only \$150 had been raised in 9 months. He told them they sh. have a better church too. If it had been a log meeting house with the usual primitive surroundings, there might have been something of romance & inspiration about it. at least it might have been a hopeful scene. But this filthy dilap. place told of civilization relapsing into barbarism & it was painful & provoking to see some well dressed & respectable looking people there, who ought to be ashamed to keep such a house in their midst & call it a church.—

But there were no signs of thrift or improvement in the whole village. If the climate was really healthy & the soil productive, it would tell on surface of things. I did realize today that I am a long way from Western N.Y. Well, after meeting we went to Mr.

Beemish's & took dinner & then rode to Petersburg. Calling at Emmett Jones's, whose home looks some like the aforesaid church.

His wife Betsey is a professed novel reader & is as careless & untidy as any of that class can possibly be. A silly romantic creature neglecting even to care properly for their only child. Without any home comforts it is no wonder that her husband has become a perverse smoking rough man. Neatness, comfort & abundance were among his early associations. He may well be discouraged now. A wholesome lesson might be learned here.—

Petersburg Hotel. 7 P.M.

The ride here was pleasant. The road is nicer part of the way. On the oak openings in Summerfield we stopped & picked wintergreen. The Raisin is a pretty River in some places. Some fields of wheat are nearly destroyed by the insects. Soil good for potatoes & fruit. Henrietta, Wm. Penn & Florence have gone back & I am alone. Expect to take the train in the morning about 4 & start for Pine Run & hope to see Mary & Minnie before night.—*[Transcriber's note: In different penmanship/pen, reads: "finished reading this Oct-26-1903"]*

Sunday June 22^d. 1862.—

⁹Diary

Monday June 23^d 1862.

On the way from Petersburg to Pine Run. Last night Thunder Shower. This morning rainy. Since then very pleasant & comfortable.

Awoke at 2 & cd. not sleep again. Got up at 3 & made myself ready for start. Then woke the house & had my trunk taken to depot in rain. Few people to be seen. P. is a small village. grown up since '51. Few passengers on train. Ida, a few houses in the mud. Crops look poor, mud & water. Nothing pleasant till we get to Monroe, which is a large village. old French town. I noticed Trenton & Wyandotte, the latter has furnaces. Joseph met me at depot in Detroit.

Sergeant Edwards in the cars & had a brief talk with him. Left D. at half past 8.— Pontiac & the country around is beautiful. Holly is quite a village now, it had just started when I was in Mich 5 yrs. ago.

Train stopped at Fentonville 49 miles from Detroit. Here we took stage, which seemed a slow process of getting along. It is 16 miles to Flint. Then stage again 6 miles to Mt. Morris. then cars about 5 miles to Pine Run Station. The country from Pontiac to Pine Run is nice. All through Genesee Co. the wheat looks fine. The fields look as they used to

⁹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26054_001 to HC13-26054_096 in their Folder entitled Jun. 23rd 1862 to Aug. 28th, 1862.

in Rush & Avon several yrs. ago. Corn is backward every where. The land is rolling & pretty good buildings. good plank road. Flint has grown considerably. Left Flint at half past 1 P.M. Pleasant folks in stage. Every body talks about Saginaw now. Every thing new at Pine Run Station wh. is a mile from the village. Cars have only run to this place since last winter.

No public conveyance here, but they told me there was a light load of lumber going to the village & I cd. ride on it or wait till evening when the omnibus wd. come.

Of course I chose to go at once. My trunk was placed upon the load, & I was seated upon the trunk & with my 3 story 'Bull Run' bonnet I must have loomed up majestically upon the horizon of "the Run". It was a fine position for observation & I discovered that Pine Run has improved very much in 5 yrs. There were 4 passengers besides myself & one was a school marm in a bright yellow dress. The sun was shining brightly & every thing looked pleasant. Found Mary & her children well, & impatiently expecting my arrival. Minnie has grown considerably. Stewart is a nice baby & I think I shall have to like him. M. had letter from Joe today. He has to do picket duty in exposed places.

Tuesday June 24th. Windy.

Slept till late. I was so tired & fagged out. Have written to Frances & done a few chores. Mary has another letter from Joe enclosing

several Secesh letters taken from battle field of 7 Pines, the kind we see in the papers. We have been much amused in reading them. When the 2^d Mich. drove the rebels through the woods, the rebels threw away every thing they had & Joe took these letters from a knapsack. When he wrote he was picketing on the ground where Casey's division was surprised. When Gen. Kearney wants scouting done he comes to this Reg^t. for volunteers. It has the credit of being one of the best regiments. It was very hot then & many were sick. Of the 97 men that left Detroit in his co. only about 35 are left fit for duty. Joe thinks some of them play sick in order to be sent into the rear.

Have tended baby till I am tired. 'Aunty Knapp' called this evening.

Wednesday 25th.

Warm & bright; Finished my Mozambique dress. Wrote to Cousin Eliza, tended baby &c. Read Detroit Tribune. No encouraging

news. Jackson has been reinforced & Fremont & Banks are in danger. Washington is threatened again. Battle on James Island near Charleston. Great loss on both sides. We gained nothing.

M^cClellan & other Generals are busy guarding the property of the Rebels & leave the loyal folks to take care of themselves. Our soldiers complain bitterly of this. Capt. Doubleday quartered himself in the house of a notorious rebel who has 3 sons in the rebel army, but Gen. M^cDowell ordered him out & set a guard to protect the house. The

Louisville Journal says 'It is a wise thing for the rebels to leave the southern states & go to Richmond to fight our troops, for they know if the Federal forces occupy their country all the property of the rebels will be protected.' It is a shame that our government will allow men in arms against the government to be treated so tenderly, while our soldiers are suffering so, & Northern men are paying the expenses

of the war. M^cClellan, Halleck, &c evidently mean to carry on the war so that slavery shall not suffer, & their political interests shall receive no detriment. The votes of slaveholders will be wanted by & by. Wm. Penn says "he would not fight in such a war." & I do not blame him when it is evident that both sides are determined to save slavery if every thing else goes by the board. Our late reverses are the best things that could happen to us probably, for we don't deserve success if our main object is to save slavery from detriment.

Whipperwills, frogs & cowbells are the evening music here instead of pianos & guitars.
Thursday 26th.

Bright & warm. Fixed Mary's bonnet. Called at H. VanB's
M^cClellan has advanced his pickets half a mile further. Enemy resisted his advances.

He says he has Kearney's & Hooker's division where he wants them. Says "This was not a battle but an affair of Heintzelman's." loss small. important advantage to us."
Expect a general battle in a day or two. Beauregard's army has joined the Richmond army. Halleck could not catch him nor find him! Great victory for Halleck!!

Tax bill has passed.

Friday 27th.

Warm. Bright. Dull enough. Mrs. H. Van B. dined with us. Fixed dress for Mary. Feel lonely and dispirited today. No particular news.

Saturday 28th.

Cloudy. Hot. Fixed dress for Mary. Took tea with Mrs. Knapp. Other company present. Did not enjoy it much, wish I cd. accommodate myself to circumstances, but it is a physical impossibility at times. The 8th Michigan was in the battle of James Island on the
[Transcriber's note: blank space left] & only 240 of them are left.

Several of this regiment went from this place, & their friends are very much concerned. Our troops were repulsed & lost 1200. Gen. Benham made the attack against the orders of Gen. Thurston & recklessly sacrificed the lives of these hundreds of brave men. What punishment is severe enough for such an officer. He has been sent to N.Y.

Sunday 29th.

Very warm. Mary went to meeting & I took care of children. In P.M. Mrs. Van B. called. Mary & Minnie went to walk & I took care of baby again.

Fremont has resigned his command because the position assigned him by the appointment of Maj. Gen. Pope as Com. in Chief of the Army of Va. is subordinate & inferior to those heretofore held by him, & to remain in the subordinate command now assigned would largely reduce his rank & consideration in the

service. I am sorry he has done so, but I presume he knows what he is about. & can justify himself no doubt. But it gives his enemies a chance to blame him.

President has just been to N.Y. & to West Point to see Gen. Scott. Wonder what is up now? We shall see if we wait long enough. He says "his object was not to make or unmake Generals." McClellan has issued Gen. Order No. 136. "The extra issue of whiskey heretofore ordered will be immediately discontinued hot coffee to be served to the troops immediately after reveille."

It is said Gen. Hunter ordered the negro brigade to James Island, but several officers refused to accompany it & the project was abandoned. Two surgeons have been sent home for refusing to act in negro regiments. I do say as long as our government upholds such things we do not deserve success. It is shameful to have our brave men sacrificed to such wicked, negro-hating,

pro-slavery prejudice. If all these senseless, infatuated officers could be got rid of we might then succeed.

The property of rebels is protected whenever M^cClellan's army marches & our federal soldiers are made to guard the houses of the secesh gentry who hesitate not to shoot our men whenever they can.

White House. Gen. Lee's place, is empty & guarded & not allowed to be used for hospital purposes, while our sick & wounded in the vicinity are needing shelter.

Have written to Cornelia & Kate. How I would like to hear from home.

Monday.

Fine. Cool. Helped wash & ironed. So tired to night am almost sick. Took care of baby while Mary went out.

Paper from home, all well. Mary has letters from Joe & Frances. Joe is 1½ miles to the left of ground that Casey occupied. Siege of Richmond has begun.

F. writes that Mrs. Hartwell has had fit of apoplexy & is not expected to live. I dreamed of Freda last night. Had her in my arms & talked with her. She looked pale & thin & pitiful, but she had not forgotten 'Aunty.' getting ready to go to Flint to-morrow. Bill to Emancipate slaves of rebels has passed the House. Mr. Sumner has great confidence in President.

Tuesday July 1st.

Bright. Cool. Rose early. & after ordeal of fixing & waiting & extra efforts started for Flint at 9 A.M. Went to the Asylum for the Deaf & Dumb & Blind. This is a State

Institution. & the finest establishment of the kind that I ever saw. It is an immense pile of buildings, but not yet completed. Some of them, 4 & five stories. There is a tower & 7 glittering domes which rise above the green woods that surround them, & the effect is really magnificent. I was not aware before that Michigan

was so munificent in her charities. There are 80 pupils at present. 17 of these are blind. There are none under 10 & there is a large proportion of young men & young women. Amelia Stevens is entirely blind. She is an acquaintance of Mary's & is an intelligent young lady. She teaches music, & she & a blind boy of 14 played Dixie & Yankee doodle for us. I cannot see how they learn music. In the blind room we saw their books, the Bible, a Dictionary, a Cyclopaedia & a few others. A map of the U.S.A. wh. is a very ingenious thing. Miss Stearns found the plans very readily that I mentioned. They have slates & a sort of types[?] with which they learn arithmetic. These are really curious. Whoever invented such things is entitled to the thanks of mankind at large. —To make the situation of such unfortunates more tolerable is truly philan-

thropic & Christ-like work. Baby went with Mary & I & Miss S. introduced him to the scholars as Damon Stewart. This pleased them very much for they all know Damon Stewart whose home is in Flint. He was wounded in the Battle of Williamsburg & is now at home.

Miss S. took care of Stewart while we visited the deaf room, where a large class was being taught writing, Arithmetic &c. The teacher Mr. Angus is deaf, but can talk a little. The pupils were mostly young men & women, bright looking & apparently as eager to learn as anybody. They wrote nicely, & performed an example in Long Division. They all wrote sentences at the request of Mr. Angus. One wrote "Miss Stearns conducted those ladies into the room to see us write. I think they are her friends." Another wrote "Blind Stearns led these ladies into our room to see

us. They are her friends. No two wrote precisely alike, but nearly all were correct. I asked them "where is Rochester? Some of them wrote at once, "In the Northern part of the state of N.Y. I think these ladies are from Rochester. It was nearly noon & the pupils were dismissed to dinner so we cd. see no more of the schools. After dinner we saw them at play but there was no sound of merry voices. It seemed as unnatural as it would to be in the woods where there were plenty of birds but no singing. We were much pleased with our visit. This a mile from Flint. We left about 1 P.M. & drove to the Carlton House where we left baby asleep, did a little shopping & then had a very pleasant drive home. The road from Pine Run to Flint is remarkably pleasant. We hear that fighting is going on in Richmond.

Mary & baby are pretty tired to night.

Pine Run Wednesday July 2^d.

Shower. Wrote to Joe. sewed some. Fighting near R. on the 26th. & 27th.

M^cClellan has moved his army nearer James River. There are 2 opinions as to the wisdom of this move. Democrat admirers of M^cC. do not like to admit that he has been foiled in his plans or that M^cC. has made a mistake. Democratic hopes are down on Fremont. No Gen. has been so much maligned & abused for so little cause. From the first the Dem. Press has steadily pursued him with industrious malice. The entire regular army has been pitted against him as it is now against Sigel & Banks. They are not graduates of W. Point. And now just as soon as Fremont's place has become of importance & he has a chance to distinguish himself, Maj. Gen. Pope has an appointment over three Maj. Generals, his superiors in rank. This

is very singular because military rank has always been respected. Naturally this place wd. have fallen to Fremont & it is not singular that he sh. construe it into a personal indignity. Fair minded men will excuse Fremont which they regret he has taken this course. But I am sure he has sufficient reasons for doing as he has done.

Since writing the above the following has come under my notice, "Fremont is a Maj. Gen. in the regular army. While in the Western Department Brig. Gen. Pope served under him. On one occasion Pope delayed to bring forward troops & Fremont cd. not carry out certain plans & Pope incurred his displeasure. Pope manifested his dislike of Fremont, his views & his policy. When Banks was compelled to retreat, Fremont was ordered to pursue Jackson. How well he did it is a matter of history. The failure of Shields to burn a bridge enabled Jackson to escape & defeated Fremont's

further victory. He effected a junction with Banks & Sigel. As senior officer by military law Fremont was now in command of the entire corps. But Sec. Stanton telegraphed to F. that he had nothing to do with the other commands. Sigel & Banks were both ready & willing to act under him. But at this crisis, Pope, a junior officer was placed over him. Pope is a pro-slavery man, a personal enemy of F., a rebuked subordinate, & he is placed over F. & S. & Banks! Fremont cd. with no self respect remain at this post. Lincoln has lately expressed himself in Fremont's praise." But we shall see what we shall see.

July 3^d.

Very warm. Martial music & occasional firing remind us that the 4th is not far off. Mary has letter from Joe written the 21st. No particular news. I have made baby a frock, have wrote to

Mary Julia & read N.Y. Tribune. Report of E.M. Pierce to Sec. Chase is very interesting. He has left Port Royal, affairs then have passed from the Treasury to the War Department. Satisfactory state of things there. Have accomplished all we cd. expect. Some 3000 blacks have been taught. I am afraid things will not prosper as well after this. —A deputation of Progressive Friends both[?] a memorial in behalf of Emancipation has waited upon the President. They had a satisfactory interview. M^cClellan has sent Mrs. Gen. Lee to Richmond with an escort of troops, & immediately after the rebels made a raid upon our army. Our loss was considerable, in stores, R.R. train & prisoners.—

Pine Run July 4th. 1862

Friday, bright. hot.

No doings here. Nearly all the people have gone away to Tuscola & other places. Read Tribune of July 1st, account of the battles of Thursday, Friday, & Saturday.

Thursday at Mechanicsville, right wing was engaged. Some loss no material advantage on either side.

Friday terrible bloody battle. Our loss 4000. Odds against us.

Saturday we had advantage. Right wing is moving towards the James River. White House abandoned as a base of operations. Nearly all the stores safely removed. A few together with the White House owned by Gen. Lee were burned. Left wing has advanced to James River. Burnside is to cooperate with gun boats, Supplies &c. within 15 miles of Richmond.

One year ago today I was at [*Transcriber's note: blank space left*]

July 5th. hot.

Terrible accounts of 6 days fighting at R. Mary feels bad enough. 2 wks since Joe's letter was written. Our loss said to be 15000 or 20,000. Mary has reason for apprehension.

President has called for 300,000 more troops —Portion of left wing under M^cClellan's immediate command was overpowered by numbers & compelled to retreat 17 miles towards James River. Here the enemy were in return repulsed by the gun boats with great Slaughter. Our siege guns had to be spiked & abandoned, our wounded & sick were left in the hands of the enemy with our own surgeons. Stonewall Jackson reported killed. It will be a week or more before we get correct accounts. There seems to be a vast number of men in the Rebel army. Our army has been reinforced too. Do we deserve success if we any longer refuse the help of loyal black men?

So warm I cannot sew this P.M. Miss Johnson & Mrs. Frost called. No mail came this P.M. Folks are disappointed. I do wish we cd. hear from Joe. I very much fear that some evil has befallen him.

Pine Run, July 6th. Sunday

Hottest day yet. Cd. not go to church. Showers all around us. Never suffered more from heat I think. Mrs. H. Van B. called. Wrote to father & to Ella. Never felt less like doing anything, & Mary feels nearly sick.

Monday 7th.

Cooler. Washed & sewed. About noon had heavy Thunder shower. rain in P.M. As primitive & low lived a group as I ever saw passed here today in the rain. An Indian, a squaw, & 3 children. A squaw bareheaded with a baby on her back. A small boy & a dog. A queer specimen of a horse loaded with various traps in the midst of which appeared the head of another boy, an Indian & a large dog brought up the rear. Oh! what specimens of humanity. No letter from Joe yet. Mary is so disappointed again.

Tuesday 8th. July.—

Very hot. Could not work this P.M. Ironed & sewed some. Mrs. Knapp here. Read account of the 6 days fighting. McClellan's army has passed a terrible ordeal.

²⁶ Thursday battle at Mechanicsville no particular advantage gained on either side. We fell back. Our loss 300 or 400. Gen. Sherman's forces & M^cCall's division were engaged.

²⁷ Friday at Gaines Hill. We fell back. Our loss 4500. Our forces number 30,000, the rebels 70,000. Gen. Porter & Gen. Sykes engaged. The fighting was terrible. There were showers of Minnie balls, & bayonet charges by our troops. But the enemy wd. come on with increased numbers, & we were obliged to retreat. Many officers killed. Our killed & wounded left on the field.

²⁸ Saturday retreat towards James R. fighting as they went, across the Chickahominy. At Fair Oaks great amt. of stores destroyed, & several hundred of our wounded were left in the hands of the enemy.

Rebels attacked the rear, severe fighting. Rebels driven back. Our retreat continued.

²⁹ Sunday retreat through White Oak swamp. In morning works in front evacuated. Many stores burnt. White House evacuated & burnt.

³⁰ Monday, battle of White Oak Swamp lasted 10 hrs, 3/5 of our army was engaged. our loss 600. Rebels fought desperately. Heintzelman had charge of the rear. Keyes in advance. Rebels attacked both wings. & then our rear. Sedgwick, Hooker & Kearney & M^cCall fought nobly. Many officers fell. Now or never was the army to be saved. The enemy was defeated at last, by aid of gun boats.

^{1st} Tuesday Battle of Malvern Hill lasted from 5 A.M. till 9 P.M. Chiefly an Artillery fight. desperate fighting on both sides. Rebels defeated in every action, heavy losses on both sides. It is said we had 30000 against 90000 rebels. Gen. Porter prepared the hill for defense.

It is said the rebels were mad with drink. They staggered up to our guns & were cut down by hundreds; Hooker's Division west the Peninsula 11000 strong. Now can number only 5000. Our forces have not been beaten in any conflict. Our loss probably 15000. Rebel loss still greater. Their force double ours. We took 700 prisoners. Might have held many more had we had sufficient force to guard them. Our side lost guns & ground & was compelled to destroy a large amount of munitions & provisions. But the result of the fighting was against us only on one day, Friday, while the last two days were in our favor—no valuable articles fell into the enemy's hands. What we cd. not take was destroyed. But our position is a strong one now. White Oak Swamp flanks it on the right, the James R. & gun boats on left. M^cClellan is fortifying the position & receiving reinforcements. He has "changed his base" it is true & it is called a masterly retreat. It has perhaps saved the Potomac Army from annihilation, but at a fearful cost, & now they must contend with sickness until they can get away.

Wednesday July 9th. 1862.

Cooler. Sewed on Mary's dress, & wrote some. Mary is quite unwell. Calls this evening. Bad dreams about home last night.

No letter from Joe yet. We have reason now to apprehend evil. It is 18 days since his last letter was written; & there has been time enough since the 30th ult. for a letter to reach here.

Thursday July 10th.

Cool & pleasant. Finished Mary's mohair dress. Spent P.M. at Mrs. Bradley's. Her husband and Joe have been together all the time & she does not hear from him either. I fear they have fallen into the hands of the rebels. Many of our dead & wounded were left on the field, & many were taken prisoners. They refuse to receive a flag of truce that we may care for our men. They wish to keep us ignorant of their own situation.

& will not admit within their lines any of our messengers.—No particular movements for a few days past. It is now thought our loss will not exceed 10000. They are sent to Fortress Monroe as fast as possible & from thence to Phil^a. & N.Y. Lists of killed & wounded appear in the papers. Nothing in particular said of the 2^d Michigan.—It is said Burnside has arrived in James R. to cooperate with M^cClellan. Our gun boats & supplies are there. & Harrison's landing is now the base of operations.

Vicksburg has been shelled to the ground. The fleets of Davis & Farragut have met, & the Mississippi is open from its source to the gulf. Bands of guerillas infest all the south western states. The Dem. Press is howling over the disasters near Richmond, & laying it all to the abolitionists. This includes the administration & the Republican Party.

Democrats held meeting in N.Y. F. Wood presided, denounced the President & all Anti Slavery action, & lauded McClellan to the skies. They talk treason very boldly, "demand

a change of measures or a change of men.” Herald trying to influence the worst passions, & prejudices of the populace. Detroit Free Press & others echo the Herald's opinions. They are trying to discourage enlistments; they have grown bold of late & mean to defy the Union feeling at the North.

Call themselves conservatives, are opposed to Emancipation & Confiscation. They commend the President for revoking the proclamations of abolition Generals. They thank McClellan & Halleck particularly. Burden of the meeting abuse of abolitionists.

Ex. Gov. Wickliffe of Ky. said “that unless abolitionists laid down their pens there might be another revolution.” Wm. A. Duer[?] of this state said “if every traitor were hung in order of their guilt, the next man who marched to the gallows

after Jefferson Davis wd. be Charles Sumner.” This was greeted with loud applause.

Pine Run. July 11th. Friday.

Fine. hot.—Circus came from Flint this morning. About 10 A.M. went with Mary & the children over to the Vienna[?] Hotel to see the folks. & from the upper piazza we had a good view of the arrivals. & of various the proceedings. There was a tent where was exhibited a horse with 5 legs & a horse with two legs & no shoulders & a horse with a hump on his back &c. There was another tent where was a horse 4 yrs. old weighing only 27 lbs. & A.J. Davis, a man without arms & no knee joints. When the circus began, Mr. D's performance ceased & I then went in & talked with him. He was very sociable. He gave me some of his writing. Very fine hand? Though written with his toes. He does many interesting things with his toes. He is a mulatto

born in Delaware, his home is in Champlain N.Y.—He says he has made himself well off. Barnum wd. give him but \$15 a month. Now he makes \$10 & \$12 a day. It is a sight to see the folks that come in from the surrounding country. Whole families including grandparents & infants, the children were numberless. Some came on foot in squads of a dozen or 15. In one lumber wagon I counted 15 persons. There was one wagon without a box wh. had a long reach, & was full of men & gaily dressed women with their feet hanging down as they do in an Irish cast. One wagon had tamarack trees all around it & the folks within looked very rural in their extemporized portable grove. All the fashions of the last 10 yrs. were assembled here. I never saw such a collection before.—

H. Van B. & wife were going to see the performance in the P.M. & they invited Mary & I & as it was so nearly under foot we stopped in to it,

The first time I ever went to a Circus, & I presume it will be the last. It was well conducted, & very orderly, & I suppose first rate for the kind. But the surroundings were low, & those who were engaged in it probably were rough fellows & coarse women. It is “Robinson & Co's Circus. There are 50 or 60 persons attached to it. The Gymnastic feats were very wonderful to me, so was the balancing, & so was the riding.

Seymour & Costello did the balancing. The former balanced a man in a chair on a pole 20 feet long, it was startling stood on his head. Chair perch[?] Costello balanced plates & washbowl, & with his feet balance a large ball, dancing & keeping time with the music! J. Robinson is the great hurdle rider. Thomas Armstrong turned a double somersalt in the air.

Luke Rivers walked on a globe up & down an inclined plane, with a

about 8 yrs. old on his head.

Luke Rivers & Anna Robinson 8 yrs. old, rode two horses side by side, danced on them & cut up all manner of capers. They also rode one horse, she wd. stand on one foot on his shoulder, & she also stood on his head & the horse on a swift run. But they lost their balance once when she was standing on his shoulder, & they came down from the horse, the girl into the dirt; but they seemed to fall softly, got up instantly, & mounted the horse again. They jumped over six horses turning somersets as they did so. Anna R. danced on a slack wire. She also rode alone. When the horse was at full speed she wd. dance, jump the rope, stand on one foot & do various things.—the clown was very clever, & he was one of the best gymnasts, he occupied the chair perch, standing on his head in the chair, hanging by one foot, &c. &c. —Two men in a swing performed

almost incredible feats. There were ponies & the comic mule &c &c. The horses were mostly white or grey.

The clown did some things admirably, rode in the go-cart, ran away & if they had dispensed with the coarse talk, & vulgar allusions, it would all have been very well as showing how how much horses can be taught. & to what extent human muscles can be developed, & what agility & dexterity can be acquired by practice.

Minnie enjoyed it as much as any body & was crazy to ride. baby didn't go. We came back about 5 P.M. very tired.

Mary has letter from Joe written the 26th, June, the day of the first[?] battle. He was on picket, wh. saved him from the fight.—He was half a mile from where they were fighting. & cd. hear it but not see much of it—

Pine Run July 12th.

Fine. cooler. Spent most of the day in tucking baby's skirts. Ladies called. Mary had letter from Joe written the 28th, Saturday. When he wrote there was a lull in the sound of musketry, but for 4 days there had been continual firing. He only knew there had been fighting going on. The result he did not know. He had not been in it. We are just as anxious to hear again. His company was deployed as skirmishers. for that reason he was not in those battles.—

Sunday July 13th.

Cloudy. hot. Slept till late, took us till 2 p.m. to get cleaned up. feel better since. The circus came back from Saginaw & stopped here for several hours. The streets do not look much like Sunday. A smoking, drinking, loafing set, one woman with them. The rest went on to Flint in the night probably. I think if I were

one of such a set I wd. travel under cover of darkness.

Yesterday it was 132 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me. If I cd. devote my life to her it wd. seem an object worth living for. but I am so lonely. I have been here 3 weeks. & aside from Mary I have not seen a person that I care two cents for. It is hard work to play the agreeable so long, & I think I do not play my part very well. Well, I can't help it.—

Sunday evening.

About 5 o'clock called at Mrs. Knapp's & took a walk with Mary, Minnie & Stewart. Cool & comfortable this P.M. Read Tribune. President has returned to W. from his trip to M^cClellan's headquarters, & reports himself satisfied with the aspect of things. Our loss in the late battle will not amount to more than 11000 all told. Democrats trying to remove Sec. Stanton. I hope they will not succeed.

It is said the rebels are encamped all the way from Malvern Hill to Richmond. Stonewall Jackson said to be on L. side of James R. M^cClellan's has his army now now on the elevated ground near James R. a very desirable place; has left the swamps of the Chickahominy for the rebels to occupy. It is the most unhealthy place in Va. where our army has been encamped since they left Yorktown.

July 14th. Monday

Very hot.—Washed & did various chores. Very tired tonight. Wrote to Wm. Penn. Mary has letter from Joe written since the battles. He was in the battles of Sunday, Monday & Tuesday, the 29th. & 30th. of June & 1st. of July, & came out all safe. Now Mary feels better.—

The retreat commenced Sunday morning. Their knapsacks were back in the rear & were burned. Joe lost his valuables. He says it did grind them terribly to have to leave their position. He says they don't

know much only what they see themselves. They left Seven Pines Sunday morning. They, the 2^d Mich., remained as pickets in the rear of the whole division until noon, when the enemy came out in force, & we left our artillery, giving them a parting salute. They marched 5 miles & crossed White Oak Swamp but found the enemy there to meet them & they began to think they were done for. But Kearney ordered about face, & they marched back & went down two miles to the next ford & finding all quiet dropped down for the night. They were nearly exhausted, for they had had no regular sleep for a week & the day was very hot. Next day they moved about a mile & at noon the enemy came upon

them in force. This was Monday June 30th. [*Transcriber's note: Following sentence added vertically up the page*] This was the day Van got sun stroke. They fell back again 2 miles to a position prepared by Kearney & Heinzelman & in an hour the ball commenced. It was the most scientific battle

he has ever seen. It lasted till 10 P.M. & they held their position. The enemy cd. not get any artillery into position & ours did great execution. He knows they must have lost five to our one. His regt. lost 2 killed & 11 wounded. They lay on the line till midnight & then took up their march for James R. At sunrise they reached an elevated position near the River.

This was Tuesday, July 1st. The enemy came & were beaten again. (This was when the gun boats did such execution). He says in the night they skedaddled somewhere, where they are now, near a landing on James R. The enemy followed & opened on us again but they were soon repulsed & since the evening of the 3^d. every thing had been quiet. On the 4th, Gen. M^cC. visited the camps. The retreat was a masterly one, retired in perfect order. He calls Mac a good General yet. On Tuesday the 2^d. Regt. lost 6 men by a shell from the enemy. When he thinks what he has been through his escape seems miraculous.

Tuesday July 15th.

Windy. Cooler. Ironed all the A.M. Wrote to Frances & sewed. Mary & children went out for an hour or two & I was all alone & it seemed so still that I was quite lonely.

The rebel force has withdrawn from the front of our army before Richmond. They will probably be heard of further North soon.—A rebel raid in Missouri, Murfreesboro Tenn, captured by the rebels & also some Michigan men.—

An attack on Nashville expected. It is said that M^cClellan has sent to Burnside for 500 negro laborers. The Richmond Dispatch says that “M^cClellan has secured the safety of his army in a masterly manner, & that he has obtained great advantages by the removal of his base of operations. The Detroit Tribune says of McClellan, “That it will not be denied now that he is a man of thorough military education & much skill & capacity. He must have

gone to the wall before this were it not so.

His services in organizing the army will not be forgotten. His delay before Manassas was distasteful to the country, & we think mistaken policy.—The escape of the rebels from M. is something to be explained but not defended.—The occupation of Yorktown we conceive to be a lamentable mistake. But once on the Peninsula Gen. M^cC. made splendid preparations to dislodge the enemy. But the battles of Williamsburg & W. Point evinced no high order of military skill & that they were decided successes we do not believe. Taking all the recent battles into consideration, & the long sojourns in the Chickahominy Swamp, now confessed to be a malarious & unmilitary position, we feel

sure that history will not call it a success. By removing his army Gen. M^cC. has probably saved it & put it in a position for future victories.” These remarks were called forth on account of the debate in the Senate

on Mr. Chandler’s resolution calling for certain documents & facts in relation to the Government with McClellan.

Democrats tell the people that the administration is to blame for the recent disasters to our arms, & that it has overruled M^cC’s plans &c. & that reinforcements were withheld from him on account of personal hostility to him &c.—It is right that the people sh. know the facts as they are. M^cC. is in a responsible position & it is natural & right that the people sh. sanction[?] his actions. But his friends have been foolishly sensitive to criticism.

Some of the Democratic organs wh. lately set out to control the administration by threats & denunciations have quailed before the rising spirit of the loyal masses. People are aroused. War meetings are held again, & enlistments are going on rapidly. Things look discouraging in the west. Gen. Halleck seems to be asleep.

Pine Run July 16th. Cool.—

Sewed most all day. Called at Mr. Cole’s. Letter from Cousin Eliza. I fear she is lonesome & will get homesick. The time is going off so fast that I must stir about & get something done.—Chicago Times says “If we cannot put down this rebellion without the help of negroes as soldiers, we will hang our heads in shame & confusion, & the rebellion shall live.” It also proposes Gen. Halleck as Sec. of War. The Democrats are down on Stanton because they can’t make a tool of him, & demand his removal.

Baton Rouge has been recaptured by the rebels & 1500 Federal prisoners taken.

Bombardment of Vicksburg continues.

The President has submitted to Congress a brief message enclosing a draft of a bill to compensate any State wh. may abolish Slavery within its limits, & recommends its passage.—He will come up to the point yet! Gov. Yates of Ill. proposes to the Pres. to accept the services of all loyal men. If they wd. only do it at once. It may be put off too long.

Friday, July 18th.

Cloudy. hot. In A.M. sewed. In P.M. visited at Dr. Mulholland’s.—A dozen or more ladies there. Yesterday was cooler. Sewed most all day. Called on Mrs. Allby & Mrs. Van B.—The President will return the Confiscation Bill to Congress. he will propose alterations.—All quiet before Richmond. Citizens meeting in Detroit broken up by a mob. Pro-Slavery democrats trying to prevent enlistments.

Mary has two letters from Joe; written up to July 10th.—The hot weather there affects him. Smoke from camp fire makes his eyes sore. In the retreat the cook lost all their cooking utensils, & now each one has to cook the best way he can, pork, hard bread & coffee is all.—He does not write quite as cheerfully as he has done heretofore. He is not eager for another battle, but he thinks affairs progress slowly. Saw the President when he visited the army a few days since.—Hot weather has a depressing affect on the army.

Correspondence of D. Tribune says the 2^d & 3^d & 5th regiments have been consolidated, & this does not make out a whole regiment, only one field officer left fit for duty, all the rest sick or wounded. When any thing is to be done the Michigan men have to do it; & if they are worked so hard much longer they will not be able to kill a flea. They are willing to do any thing in the bounds of reason, but they don't like to be used up so. The officers have petitioned Gov. Blair to see to it that the Mich. men are fairly used. On the retreat they had to protect the rear & came in the greatest danger; then as soon as there was danger of an attack on front they were ordered there, & while these men were ordered from front to rear & from rear to front at double quick, the men from other states walked leisurely along.—It is said that many of the officers are tired of the strategy, wh. consists altogether in digging in the earth & making trenches—as they have done for a year past, & then when they have to fight have to do it outside the trenches.

Pine Run Saturday July 19th.

Very hot, Shower in P.M.—

Sewed & did various chores. Read N.Y. Tribune Description of Harrison Landing & vicinity.—

Congress adjourned July 17th.—Has appropriated nearly \$800,000,000—of this \$560,000,000 is for the army, & 100,000,000 for navy.—President has approved the Confiscation Act. It does not touch the persons & property of loyal citizens. It is startling to say that Congress can free the Slaves of a State, but as the rebels forfeit their slaves to the government, it has only to declare whether they shall be declared free or returned to Slavery. He has no objection to the former. Thinks it wd. be physically impossible for Government to return them to Slavery. Rebel property sh. pay cost of war. Thinks it proper for Military Commanders to employ as many persons of African descent as can be used to advantage.—&c., &c. Well, this is a long step since last July.

Congress has not provided for admission of Western Virginia, nor has it appropriated

\$200,000,000 for border Slave state emancipation & for colonization purposes.—

The main force of the rebel army 15 miles from our lines—Another raid into the Shenandoah Valley to be feared. Great war meeting in N.Y. 50000 people assembled.—It is now known from report of asst. Sec. War that prior to 15th. Apr. 120000 men were sent to McClellan, afterwards Franklin's division of 12000, McCall's division 10000, &

11000 from Baltimore & Fortress Monroe & Shields division 5000 making 158000 sent to McC. before the late battles near Richmond. Before these battles Gen. McC. wrote to President thanking him for sending McCall's division & saying he had men enough to take Richmond. I should think it is time to stop blaming the Sec. of War. & the Pres. now for not sending reinforcements to M'Clellan.—

Sunday July 20th. 1862.

Quite cool. Cloudy. At two P.M. went to church. Mr. Belknap preacher. Methodist. It was a funeral sermon for a young man

that was killed in battle on James Island, S.C. Small, plain house, needing repairs, people very common looking. Mary took both children, baby behaved very well, Wrote to Cousins E. Lapham & E. Wilbur & C. Post.—

Monday July 21st.

Cool. cloudy. Washed & ironed, took care of baby & did various other things. Very tired to-night. Mary has worked hard too. Getting ready to go to Saginaw tomorrow. No papers nor letters.

Tuesday 22^d

Cloudy A.M. but P.M. was bright & hot. Left Pine Run in stage at 8 1/2 P.M. It was refreshing to get out where we cd, smell the woods & fields again & look into the cool recesses of the Swamps. Poor looking country for several miles. quite new. Plank road all the way but very rough in places & not a very easy vehicle. But in spite of all that

jolting & jouncing we enjoyed the ride. It was all new to us. Farrandville[?], first stopping place. looks woodsy enough. Then Birch Run when we changed horses & rested awhile. Then we came to the Bend of the Cass R. & now the county began to look better, some nice farms, good crops. Wheat fine, & now & then a painted house. At Bridgeport Center the driver treated us to lemonade remarking that "it was better than cold water." Part of the way, Mary, the children & myself were the only passengers. Baby was very good. An old lady quaint & peculiar went [?] but half way.—There was some heavy timber, some tall pines, & the beautifully tasseled white birch, berries & wintergreens by the road side where the road went through the woods. We reached E. Saginaw at 7 P.M. & were set down at Mr. Seth McLean's. They are Anti-Slavery folks, & I think I shall like them. They are particular friends of Mary & have been very kind to her.

Enthusiastic war meeting held all about. Rebel force on S. side of James River, will try to blockade the River.

Rebel raids in Kentucky & into Indiana. Seized hospital stores at [?] Ia.

Saginaw. Wednesday July 23^d.

Rose at 5 & read paper. Gen. Halleck has been made Com. in Chief of all the land forces in the U.S.— Shower last night. Fine to day.—In P.M. had pleasant ride. Mr. McLean went with us to Salt Works. This a great feature of the place.

We went to the first wells that were bored. One is 806 ft. deep & the other 750.—Pumps worked by steam. Water taken into a vat to settle. Then it is conducted into kettles, two rows, 25 in a row, ladles to stir it, baskets to drain it, & bins to throw it into for barreling. 280 lbs. in a barrel. Brine, clear, blue & cold. vats for evaporating. Solar, coarse salt, First well cost \$1200. These works extend along the river from Saginaw City to Bay City 25 miles.—Much stronger brine than at Syracuse. Have found it of 93 per ct, from a well 900 ft.

A great deal of Capital is being invested here, in the salt works. it can be taken to Syracuse & sold for less than the Syracuse salt. These [?] blocks they call them, are close to the river, & salt can be easily shipped. The river is alive with sail vessels & steamers. The lumber business is also a striking feature of the place. A great many mills, steam mills all of them. Make a noisy, lively, business like scene. Such immense piles of lumber, such huge rafts too on the River.—The place has 4 or 5000 inhabitants & it has all grown up in a very few years.—There are hundreds of new unpainted buildings scattered over a large extent, with stumps & swamps all about them. I never saw any thing like it before. There are no large, fine dwelling houses. Men invest capital in business & let fine houses go for the present. One large Hotel the Bancroft, is a very conspicuous object, & there are some substantial brick blocks for stores & commercial purposes. No elegant churches yet, & not many sidewalks. Soil, a clean black sand,

We saw dredges for clearing sand from the River. It is here half a mile wide. Some houses on Water St. have a River front, & are quite pleasant. The Littles from Avon have houses here. Washington St. is two miles long & very fine for a drive. We went to Salina some 2 or 3 miles, the road is very pleasant. Baby slept on this ride. Mrs. M^cLean has a nice horse & buggy & she tries to make our visit pleasant.

East Saginaw

Thursday July, 24th.

Fine. Walked about town, went to the observatory of the Bancroft House. had a fine view of the whole city, & cd. trace the River for miles away, the whole prospect bounded by noble woods.—Then we went on the little steamboat Star to Saginaw City, two miles. This was a very pleasant sail, & Minnie enjoyed it very much as well as we. Saw the old Indian trading house which is now unused & the storehouse near. The location of Saginaw City is much

better than that of E. Saginaw. It is older than E. Saginaw & all the business was done there once. But now it is a dull place, but little done apparently, few new buildings, no

salt works, no steam mills. We walked up into the town & saw what there was to be seen & came back on the boat & walked home & found Stewart asleep yet. In P.M. went to get baby's picture. Sewed & read.

Jackson is said to be in the Shenandoah Valley with 70000 men.—President found 70,000 less men on the Peninsula than was sent to Gen. M^cClellan. He cd. not tell where they are. It is thought that not more than 40,000 can be dead, sick or wounded. The rest have furloughs or discharges. M^cC. thinks half of this 70,000 are well & had ought to be in the army again. It is said that one Member of Congress got furloughs & discharges for 300, thinking to please his constituents by so doing I suppose. Many of these are now at their homes, & ought to go back.

Tuesday evening a successful mass meeting

in Detroit, rowdies & traitors kept quiet. But what a wicked prejudice against the negro yet. One of the speakers H. H. Emmons took occasion to say, "that if we allow negroes to fight our battles, we must allow them equal privileges, was not in favor of allowing negroes to fight for hearth stones they cd. not possess, or for the protection of communion tables around wh. they cd. not be permitted to meet our wives & sisters & daughters." What encouragement is there for right thinking men to enlist?—Gen. Washington in the Rev. War used blacks. At the battle of Red Bank, 1777 a R. Island regiment of blacks turned the fortunes of the day.—Mr. Emmons compared the President's case to that of Bill Johnson whose mother wd. whip him if he did not go to S. School, & whose father wd. whip him if he did.—
Great inducements are offered to recruits & no doubt there will be men enough. The Herald & other semisecession sheets are [?] enough I suppose.

East Saginaw Friday July 25th,

Fine. In A.M. went with Mary to Water St. to get Stewart's picture. In P.M. went again, did not succeed in getting good ones, took two. So tired, had rather do a hard day's work.—This evening packed trunk & intend to leave in stage early in morning. We have had a pleasant visit. I find Mr. & Mrs. M^cLean very nice kind, good people & Mrs. McL. seems more intelligent than any lady I have met in Pine Run. I have enjoyed her society, & after this Pine Run will be more distasteful than ever.—

We shall not forget our kind entertainers. & shall long remember the Steam Mills, the Salt Works, the pleasant River, & the tiny steam boats scampering to & fro. There is the Star, the Louisa, the Little Nell & the John Barley Corn. They look like Children's play things. The last particularly. The machinery makes just about as much noise as our churn at home, when father is churning.—These are large boats which ply between Saginaw & Bay City.

Saturday July 26th. 1862 Fine.

Rose very early. felt almost sick. got ready. took leave of our kind friends in E. Saginaw & entered the stage at half past 6, in anticipation of another jolting. There were 10 or 11 passengers, & we had quite a pleasant ride. At Bridgeport were all treated to lemonade again. This seems to be part of the program. It is an opposition to the cars, & they are very accommodating to passengers, & carry cheaper than the Rail Road. Reached home about 10, & tired enough, so tired I was really sick. There were letters for me from Mother, & Ella & Mary Julia, & for Mary from Joe & Frances. We were glad enough to hear from all these. All well at home. Ella not very well. Frances drying fruit & working for soldiers. Joe is well & getting quite rested.—Got 2 Democrats from Frances. Col. D.R. Anthony has been dismissed from Western army because he wd. not return fugitive slaves, & refused to guard the property of rebels. All honor to him.

Pine Run. Sunday July 27th.

Comfortable day. Cloudy—

Did not rise very early. & have not felt like doing much today. Have written to Mother & filled up diary &c. The time is going so fast that I shall have to leave Mary pretty soon. I dread it, & yet it seems as if I must go back. I had rather stay till fall, but then I might miss seeing Aunt Phebe.

Yesterday it was 134 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me, oh that I cd. know where & how she is now!—

Monday 28th.

Hot. Shower in P.M.—Large washing & other chores. so tired. Mary has letter from Joe. No change in Potomac army. He has a plenty to eat now & feels rested.—

Read N.Y. Tribune. Gen. [?] writes to a friend, “I am here with the remnant of my poor brigade. Out of 4,400 men, but 1,200 now remain. Of the balance, many lie in hospitals sick & wounded, & the bones of others lie

mouldering in the fields of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Advance[?] Station, Charles City & Quaker Road,”—Official account of our losses in the 6 days: fighting, killed 1,565, wounded 7,701, missing 5,958, total 15,224. In the S. West guerillas are making terrible work. Col. D.R. Anthony at the head of a Kansas regt. in W.Tenn. has been arrested. He has refused to return fugitive slaves or guard the property of rebels & obey order No. 3 of Gen. Halleck. Shame to our government, but honor to him.

Tuesday 29th.

Fine, hot.—Ironed in A.M. Sewed in P.M. Serg^t. Edwards is made 1st. Lieut. in Col. Monroe’s 24th. Reg^t Detroit. Expects to be exchanged soon. The Chicago Tribune says “no bombshell ever thrown into the midst of a foe ever did so much execution or silenced so many guns as Sen. Chandler’s speech. No man has dared to gainsay the facts addressed. The President-makers bitterly revile Sen. C. for exposing their lies, & vindicating

the Sec. of War & the President from their slanders, but the assaults upon Stanton have suddenly ceased, & the sonorous praises of the 'strategy' & the 'generalship' stopped at the same instant."—Cin. Gaz. says It was whispered here for months that the horrible unhealthy localities at Yorktown & on the Chickahominy in wh. M^cC. had contrived to place his army that he might there save life by digging trenches was producing a terrible mortality; but it was treason to the "Young Napoleon" to say anything openly about it. If M^cC. employed them in such a way as to waste half their number without accomplishing his object, is it not time the ghastly fact was known, & is it not time a change was made in the Command of the Army?" 70,000 men less than were sent to the Peninsula; & where are they? I would say half of these probably have been sacrificed by M^cClellan's admirers. Poor fellows! Their deaths have been in vain!

Pine Run July 30th.

Fine. hot. This A.M. fixed dress for Mary. This P.M. visited at Mrs. Knapp's & sewed. The President says he has done "throwing grass." I hope his Generals are too, but while Gen. Pope is doing about right, we hear that our soldiers are still guarding rebel property on the Pamuskey. When will our Pres. be convinced that the war will never end in this way?

Thursday 31st. July.

Very hot. This A.M. sewed. This P.M. visited at Mrs. Blackmen's.—Walked about a half mile. Finished blue sun bonnet for Stewart. Report that Richmond is being evacuated. rebels going further south.—Eng. & France are sending a large fleet to our waters, & 25000 men to Mexico. Will make trouble for us probably. Guerilla bands are making great trouble. I think we are in a bad fix just now. Things look discouraging.

Pine Run August 1st. 1862.

Hot. Cloudy. Sewed considerable. Mrs. Frost, Mrs. Mulholland, Mrs. Hyke & Mrs. Grifis here to tea. Quite pleasant people. A party of colored people have come to Pine Run from Saginaw & are having a dance to night at the Genesee House. They came in nice carriages & are well dressed & are having a good time no doubt. People rushed out to see them as if they were curiosities. There are plenty of pro slavery folks, real negro-haters. For their own sake I hope this party will do nothing to disgrace themselves. We can look into the ballroom & hear the music & the calling off & it is a lively scene. Before the dishes are rattling in preparation for supper. I wonder if the party all realize the importance of celebrating the first of August. I wonder if they now dream of freedom for their race. I wd. like to go into the ballroom and see them.

Aug. 2^d. Saturday.

Hot.—Sewed nearly all day on Mary's dress—In P.M. went to Mrs. Bradley's, & helped put up the dried fruit to send to Joe & Mr. B. Mary & Mrs. B. have letters from "Joe and Jim," Joe writes cheerfully, Jim quite the reverse. he says the soldiers have lost their enthusiasm, are a pale, sickly looking set. They drill & dig & work the same as they did a year ago. says they don't like McClellan & he cant deny that they are lousy &c.—The day they wrote, 24th, they had both been to a mill pond to bathe & wash their clothes. They now have vegetables to eat, & rations are plenty but each one has to cook for himself as they have no camp kettles yet. & the soldiers sometimes have trouble to get a place at the fire, & then occurs a battle of tin cups, & coffee beans & other rations strew the ground. With the fruit, Mrs. B. & Mary send a basin to stew it in & two teaspoons, & orders not to to get to fighting & spill their huckleberries,

blackberries &c. Papers say they are now all the while expecting an order to march. We dont know whether Stonewall Jackson is south of James R, or whether he is gone towards Washington. Either Pope or McC. must meet him.—Rumor of a battle at Richmond. Drafting to be put in force in N.Y. & Ohio. Several Rebel vessels captured. Vessels are constantly going from N.Y. for the sick & wounded near James R, 6000 there yet.

Prisoners are being exchanged all the time, It is said Beauregard has resigned.—It is said that Richmond is being evacuated.

Letter from Cousin C .Post, she is in despair about the war. "It will take all the crops of the farmers to pay taxes." &c. Aunt Phebe has gone back to Quincy without stopping in Rochester or Michigan. Her friends will be much disappointed. I must fix on a time to start for home & write to Cousin Eliza. I wish I cd. stay till fall, till September perhaps.—

Pine Run. Sunday. Aug. 3^d. 1862.

Very hot. shall not go to church, but will take care of Stewart & let Mary go. Been reading account of Van Buren's funeral &c. No display nor unusual ceremony. In his 80th yr.— Jas. Miller M^cKim & daughter have returned from Port Royal. At a large meeting in Philadelphia he gave an interesting account of affairs at P.R. The freed men and freed women are doing all that we can reasonably expect of them. The colored brigade has a bona fide existence. Gen. Saxton is likely to do well for them the people. 16000 acres are under cultivation.

N.Y. Tribune enumerates acts of late Congress. Army & navy created by its laws, developed monetary resources, &c, Prohibited the existence of Slavery in all the future & present territories of the Republic; Abolished Slavery in Dist. of Columbia; Forbidden officers or privates from returning fugitive slaves to Slavery; It has opposed

the President's policy of gradual Emancipation. Treaty sanctioned for stopping slave trade on high seas. Passed a Homestead Law. Passed Pacific R.R. Bill. &c. &c. Ellen Knapp called.

Monday Aug. 4th.

Oh, so hot. All day washed & worked all the time however. This P.M. sewed. Minnie says "Aunt Julia, come & see the old skeddaddlers!" I went to the door & there was the group of Indians returning that we saw pass the other day. The 'squawk' was on horseback with a pappoose, such degraded looking creatures! The Indian carried a gun & the children were with them all bareheaded but the man.

Mary has letter from Joe. He is well or was rather. It was written a week ago, has new clothes, good tent & bed. Thinks they will have to go back to get to Richmond & Gen. Halleck will institute a different policy, will change the programme.—Towards night

a heavy thunder shower. The house leaks & we had to fly about pretty lively. It lightened incessantly & wind blew hard. Rain was needed very much. Things in garden all drying up.

Tuesday August 5th.

Cooler & pleasant after the shower. This A.M. ironed &c. sewed rest of day. Letter from Cousin E. Lapham. Wrote to Cousin Eliza. People are much excited about drafting. It will have to be done I suppose. President has called for 300000 more troops & has refused to receive a Negro regiment that offered its services. Shame upon him! He says "he can receive no Negro regiments but will employ as laborers all who come to us. This is to be the policy of the government, I presume. It is said Gov. Sprague of R.I. has called for a regiment of colored men & says he will go with them himself. Too good to be true. How will

this work with the President's policy?

Pine Run Aug. 6th.

Fine. Cloudy towards night. This A.M. sewed. This P.M., visited at H. Van Buskirk's. 7 or 8 ladies present. Pretty good visit. Women alarmed at the prospect of drafting for men. McClellan's position is considered dangerous; rebels are massing their forces on the S. side of James R. & making the James impossible for our army. It is said that they occupy both sides of the River between Harrison's Landing & Hampton. They mean to surround McC. They have several new iron-clad boats too, on the James, on the Savannah & on the Yazoo. They are evidently getting the upper hands of us. Guerilla bands in Mo. & Ky. & Tenn. are making terrible work.—Gen. Halleck did not leave the West in a very good state, hope he will do better for the whole than for a part. Have not much faith in him.

Thursday Aug. 7th.

Hottest day yet.—What shall we do? Ironed some & sewed considerable. Went to Mrs. Allby's to tea. The hottest P.M. that I ever went out to visit. Evening delightful. fine moon. glorious sunset. The storm of Monday evening did considerable damage in this region. Paper from home. All well.

A fight at Malvern Hill. Federals successful. fight at New Market. 10 miles from Richmond.—

Pine Run Aug. 8th. 1862.

Hottest yet! My Birth Day.

I have celebrated it by taking tea with Mrs. Frost & going to a war meeting. Hotter, I think, than yesterday. Ironed some & sewed. Finished Mary's domestic Balmoral Skirt. It will be the wonder of the place, I suppose. Baby not well, uncomfortable from heat.

Those that cook all day must suffer.

War meeting at 6 P.M. in a grove of five stunted appletrees! Yet it was shady & cool enough. The moon shone beautifully. The speaker was Presiding Elder Smart. He is raising a company, & is to be Captain of it unless he is made Chaplain of the Regiment. Spoke very well & correctly too of the course of the South & its aggressions upon the North. The war was not waged to destroy Slavery, but it is going as a consequence of the war & we are glad of it!—Said some really good things. Several of the women wore long faces, husbands & sons are enlisting in the "Wolverine Guards." The Martial Music had a solemn sound to night, there were so many tearful faces.

Mary has letter from Joe, dated Aug. 1st. He was well, but there is considerable sickness there.—Several thousand federal troops have crossed the River & made a reconnoissance.

Aug. 9th. Saturday.

Cooler. fine shower last night. another this P.M.—I have done various chores today. It seems that certain prominent Western gentlemen waited on the President to offer him 2 negro regiments from the West. It was a long interview & the whole subject of army negroes was discussed. He said if he accepted them it wd. be to lose 40000 white soldiers now in the army & drive some of the Border States out of the Union. He had deliberately made up his mind to this policy & if the people were dissatisfied, he wd. resign & let Hamlin try it. One of the Senators replied he hoped he would do so. The discussion was warm. These men were astonished & considered Lincoln as backing down from what they had reason to believe he wd. do. It is thought this will put an end to the organizing of negro troops in numerous other quarters. President L. does not seem to care

for the opinion of the North or West. It is only the Border states that he fears to offend. Poor Man! he is not equal to this crisis of affairs. I am ashamed of him. How the rebels will rejoice at this decision for it is as good as 100000 men to them. They must feel more than ever convinced that Lincoln means to take care of slavery, that he is positively afraid

of them, & does not mean to put down rebellion, if by so doing slavery is likely to suffer much. I blush for such a man & tremble for the nation. God will not smile upon our efforts when put forth upon the side of the oppressor!

The casualties of all kinds in the Western Army, since it went into the field are stated of 63,500, of wh. 40000 are charged to death & absence from sickness, & 18,000 to the casualties by battle. This in Halleck's department.

Compliment for N.Y. Tribune. A friend at Copake, NY, writes that in this city he went to a news stand kept by an Irishman & asked for the Tribune. He handed it to me & smilingly remarked, 'are' sure you are not a rowdy!' He said he never knew a rowdy to buy the Tribune. They buy the Herald.

"The N.Y. Legislature enacted in 1781 That any owner of a slave who sh. have him mustered into either of the 2 regiments for the defense of the frontiers sh. receive a grant of 500 acres of land & that any such slave serving 3 yrs. or until he is regularly discharged is declared to be a freeman of this State."

Sunday Aug. 10th.

Fine. not so hot. Rose late. wrote letters. Mrs. B. & her mother called.—Louisa called. Women are wondering what they shall do. Nearly all the able bodied men are serving from this place. It is difficult now to hire any work done or to get a chore done. I am afraid Mary will not get along very well.

Exciting news yesterday & day before.

The War department directs the arrest of all persons who discourage enlistments. No persons subject to Military duty to be allowed to leave the country. Civil & military authorities instructed to prevent their flight.

Monday 11th.

Thunder Shower in morning, fine day. Washed & did various chores. Took care of baby &c.—I must think about going home soon. I don't like to say or do anything about it. It is said Fremont & Cassius M Clay are to have the department west of the Miss. M^cClellan has thrown a heavy body of troops across James R.—Burnside & his fleet are at Aquia Creek in route for Fredericksburg. On his way to Richmond probably & M^cC. will go by the way of Petersburg. Great War Meeting in Washington. President spoke. takes the blame entirely from Sec. Stanton in relation to Potomac Army.

Pine Run. Tuesday Aug. 12th.

Cool & pleasant. Ironed & sewed. Read Gen. D. Hunter's letter to Rev. Dr. Tyng in favor of Emancipation & arming slaves of Rebels.—Strange doings in N. Carolina. Negro schools have not been reopened, rent is paid the rebels for house in Newbern. Everybody wonders why N.C. was not included in the Confiscation Act.

Democratic Convention at Indianapolis on 30th [?] Speeches by C.A. Wickliffe Ky. & J.S. Carlile & Wm. A Richardson, denouncing the policy of the administration, expressing hatred of Emancipation. Slavery was declared innocent of the cause of the Rebellion. "For the Constitution as it is & the Union as it was." Speeches full of treason & sympathy with rebels.—Oh, dear—such doings! Such hatred of the negro, it is awful. Gen. Lew. Wallace in a speech at a War Meeting in Cincinnati, said he heartily despises the negro race. The negro is the cause of all this trouble. Can never permit him

to be on an equality with white men. He will fight himself if it comes to that. But wants to use them & arm them too if necessary, & take them from the rebels. We have seldom heard a public speaker glory in such wicked prejudice. How can we prosper, how can God bless our efforts? Here is another thing that provokes me, "Our requisition for the officers of a single corps of M^cClellan's Army is for 174 cases of claret (2,088 bottles) 46 cases of blackberry brandy, 5 cases of sherry, 52 cases French brandy, 46 cases champagne & 46 cases whiskey." Isn't this a shameful fact ?

Our fleet in the Mississippi have made 2 attempts to destroy the rebel iron clad [?] Arkansas, but failed to injure her materially. Why do they let the rebels build such boats? Another Merrimac is at Richmond nearly finished, wh. expects to clear the James R. of our gunboats. We always wait for the rebels to get every thing ready to fight us.

Wednesday Aug. 13th.

Fine. Cool. Sewed. Made Minnie's long dress. Mrs. Cole called. Mary has letter from Joe. Is well. Has been made 1st. orderly Sergeant. Expecting marching orders.— The Ram Arkansas left Vicksburg. was attacked by Federal gun boats. was abandoned & blown up. Good! Rebels are marching against Pope. N.Y. has raised all but 1200 of her quota. Rochester Regiment is full with 500 overs. Rumors of Mediation. Burnside is at Fredericksburg. Jackson has moved to the Rapidan. Our fleets have left Vicksburg & accomplished nothing the past month.

Thursday Aug. 14th

Rainy day. Did various chores in the sewing line.—Letter from Cousin Eliza. She is enjoying herself & in no particular hurry to start for home. So I will stay next week. Aug. 9th. Great battle on the Rapidan. Bank's Corps was attacked by Ewell. Heavy losses on both sides. Banks maintained

the ground until Pope arrived with reinforcements. Rebels reinforced too. fought till midnight. 2000 or 3000 lost on each side. Rebel batteries silenced, but no victory for either I infer. Next morning firing heard at Jordonsville, fighting going on there. Culpepper is one vast hospital though the wounded will be sent to Washington. In the morning the enemy sent a flag of truce asking permission to bury their dead.— Activity is

the order of the day now. Traitors & cowards plenty in our midst, & trying to get to Canada but many have been arrested under the new order.

Friday Aug. 15th.

Fine.—Great War Meeting in Flint. A delegation from Pine Run in 35 large wagons left here about 9 a.m. Preceded by music & flag. I secured a seat on a board in a lumber wagon, the way the most of them went & the ride was rather pleasant

than otherwise. A motley set filled these wagons 'tis true but they all seemed patriotic & good natured & stood the jolting well. Arrived at Flint about half past eleven, & rode at anchor in the street for an hour or so waiting for a delegation from Richfield to join the procession. Then rode through the streets awhile. When Mrs. Van B. & myself thought we preferred walking awhile, so we alighted went to Carlton House & rested, & then went to the Court House grounds where the meeting was to be held. Quite warm now & we could not get near enough to hear any thing for some time. At last we found a place when I cd. catch a glimpse of Col. Fenton who was speaking, & could hear a little. He was followed by Howard of Detroit. I heard a little, his allusions to employing negroes, "in any way to weaken the enemy & strengthen ourselves, & if in the course of the war Slavery should be sent to kingdom come," were loudly

applauded. Mr. Birney of Saginaw was speaking when we left the ground. There were no seats, & we were tired out. I think I had a good chance to see the rural population of this section of the State: & it was a study for a painter, or for several painters. The fashions of the present day & for many past years past were all to be seen there.—oh! such people as were out to day! I was not sorry to be there to see, but it was tiresome after all. We walked a long way to a Hotel where we rested till the wagons came up & it was nearly sundown when we left Flint.

Col. Fenton has returned from Port Royal to recruit for the 8th. Mich. that suffered so much in the fight at James Isl.

Capt. Smart has raised 103 men in 4½ days. Michigan does nobly. The ride back to Pine Run was long & chilly, & I was tired enough, & came pretty near having sick head ache to finish up with,

Some of "The Knights of the Golden Circle" have turned state's evidence in Indiana. Grand jury have indicted 6 of them, a dreadful slate of things is disclosed, traitors all over the country.—

It is said that the President will not refuse Colored regiments if offered by Governors of States.—Discouraging state of affairs in the South West.—

Saturday Aug. 16th.

Fine. So tired, did not rise till late & have accomplished but little. Did chores. Mrs. Reed here to dinner. Letters from Frances & Mary Julia. Mr. Griffin is about enlisting. Anti

Slavery folks in Rochester want a teacher to go South, & are inquiring for me. Perhaps this will be a chance for me.

Frances writes that sis has been to Hartland & Somerset & has not waited for me.

Folks in Niagara feel badly about the 28th. regiment wh. was in the battle at

Culpepper. Col. Donnelly & many of them killed. F. & other women are working for soldiers.

Sister Elizabeth has dislocated her shoulder. Our principal officers have not yet been released from Richmond, although we have given up all the rebel officers.

[Transcriber's Note: Following is bracketed by the word "mistake" from "Baton Rouge" through "gunboats"]

Baton Rouge has been taken by Breckenridge. He captured 4 regiments & 6 transports & sunk 2 gunboats.

Steamboat collision on Potomac 73 lives lost. Captain suspected of treachery.

McClellan has just issued General Orders 164. He says "his course agrees so nearly with the President's late order that no change is necessary. They will take what is necessary for military purposes but keep an account of what is taken, & its value & give receipts to the owners or their agents. People remaining peaceably in their homes must not be molested & where they (families) are peculiarly exposed guards will be posted for

their protection." He makes no distinction between rebels & loyal persons, so we shall have the same thing continued, guarding rebel property. But he says "Persons of African descent who are employed by an army will not be given up," but does not say but what slaves coming to our lines will be returned unless we employ them. What slip shod work. I have less & less confidence in M^cC's abilities to help the cause. He says no orders in particular have been sent him by Government, which is no doubt very true. The laws of Emancipation & confiscation they will not execute until ordered to do so. Halleck's new order does not enforce the Act of Congress, & so things go on in the same old way. Oh! dear.

Sunday Aug. 17th.

Fine, cool. Wrote letters & read some. Took walk to burying ground & in the woods.

Baby creeps now & has to be looked after all the while. Fell off the bed to day & hurt his head pretty badly.

N.Y. Tribune says "The people desire our rulers to remember that after a war of 16 months we have but just touched the edge of the Cotton States & the dens of the Rebellion have not been penetrated.

And the people hope the war is not to be carried on to gratify the prejudices of any particular State, of any that are conditionally loyal.

The people will insist that the means they now furnish shall be used promptly & efficiently for the destruction of the rebels. They loathe the idea of having these fresh lives[?] demoralized by idling in metropolitan camps, or wasted away by diseases contracted in swamps, or worn down by digging trenches far beyond even the echo of the enemy's cannon.

The loyal masses want the Government to proclaim that it is ready to use all the means known to civilized warfare. A low growl of dissent is heard in quarters where there is sympathy with the Rebellion.

The people want no levity shown the insurgents.

They want the army to feed & forage on the foe. Local laws must not stand in the way. They must yield if necessary to the common good & the Emancipation & Confiscation acts must be carried out & executed vigorously.”—This Rebellion can never be put down under the guidance of men who in principle are substantially with the Rebels—who regard them as an aggrieved & wronged class, but gently deprecate the “irregular opposition “ to the Government & the Laws.—

Monday 18th.

Fine. Washed & did various chores. M^cClellan is retreating from the Peninsula. Best thing that can be done probably. Will not do to send northern men there in Aug. Burnside is at Fredericksburg. Cols. Wilcox & Corcoran have been released at last. Gen. M^cC. has been busy for a wk. in sending 11,000 sick & wounded from Harrison's Landing. But the Rebels have known his intentions to evacuate no doubt,

Tuesday Aug. 19th.

Fine. Ironed & sewed. Took walk. Letter from Henrietta. All well. Battle at Baton Rouge, General Williams killed. Breckinridge lost an arm. Ram Arkansas destroyed Part of M^cClellan's army at Williamsburg.

Wednesday Aug 20th.

Fine. Slight shower towards night. This A.M. did chores & helped Mary empty leach tub & set up leach, the first time I ever helped do a job of the kind. All on account of the war. This P.M. visited at Mr. Cole's. Mary has letter from Joe dated Aug. 16th. at Stewart's Mansion Hospital, Baltimore. At 1^oclock on the morning of the 15th, they were aroused with orders to march at 5. He had had a Diarrhea for some time & felt too weak for a long march, & the Dr. ordered all such to the steam boat & they were brought to Baltimore. Joe says he is

better & expects to be around shortly. & evidently tries to put the best face on the matter so as not to worry Mary. If he is only slightly sick, & has had a sail to Baltimore from Harrison's Landing instead of a hard long march across the Peninsula, it may be fortunate for him.

This evening wrote to Joe.

Pine Run Thursday Aug. 21st.

Cloudy. Warm. Did a few chores. In P.M. visited Mrs. Reed. Called on Mrs. Knapp. Infant Drummer performing at Genesee House this evening.

Detroit Tribune has an article headed "The Change of a Year." When Gen. McClellan entered upon his Western Va. Campaign, he issued a proclamation to the people. Extract—"Notwithstanding all that has been said by traitors to induce you to believe that our [?] among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly, not only will we abstain from all such interference, but will on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush

any attempt at insurrection on their part. It was then the custom of leading generals to return fugitive slaves to their masters. In his recent order Gen. McC. shares how far his own opinions have changed. "Since his army have commenced active operations, Slaves have always been received & protected & paid for their labor & they understand they can never be reclaimed by their former owners." Great progress truly. Congress has reenacted Fremont's Reclamation. Had McC done this a year ago, Dem Press wd. have denounced him as an Abolitionist. But Dem. leaders have come over to Republican ground & denounce just as freely those who have gone beyond them. May they not a year hence occupy the ground that Abolitionists do now?"—

Harrison's Landing is evacuated. The immense army & all its belongings have [?] not lost a man. It was "admirably executed." Porter's corps leads the overland portion to Yorktown. Whether they go by land or water from there is not known yet—Will join Burnside & Pope probably.

This retreat is a complete confession of the absolute failure of the campaign. We have given up trying to take Vicksburg at present. Fleets have withdrawn.

Henry Ward Beecher comes out for immediate & universal Emancipation. Says we have been made weak by the President's attempt to unite impossibilities; to make war, & keep the peace; to strike hand, & not heart; to invade Sovereign States, & not meddle with their Sovereignty; to put down Rebellion without touching its cause; &c." President says in his speech to the Committee of colored men at the White House 14th. July 14th.—he holds that the White & black races cannot dwell together. Urges them to favor Colonization. Suggests Central America.—I think it a heartless cold-blooded speech. A disgrace to one bearing the name of a Christian, & President of a Republic which declares that all men are born free & equal. Lincoln, I fear, is not able to save the country. Too small a pattern of a man.

Pine Run Aug 22^d 1862

Fine. Warm. Helped Mary make soap & did various other things. Some tired. About 1 P.M. Mrs. M^cLean & 3 other ladies came from Saginaw & took dinner with us. left at 4 P.M.

Talk of Gen. Burnside's taking command of the Army now in command of Gen. M^cClellan. There are 20 acres covered with hospitals at Hampton. A portion of the Army must remain between Yorktown & Hampton. Important army movements are anticipated. Federal forces obtained [?] at Baton Rouge. Gen. Williams killed. Mich.6th. in the battle.—Fighting in the West.—Guerrilla bands in Ky.

Mary has a letter from Joe. He is quite well but will not join the army until it reaches the Potomac. Will stay in Baltimore Hospital till he hears from Mary. Union ladies there are very kind. He has every thing he wants, Has been saved the fatigue of a long march.

Saturday Aug. 23^d

Fine. cool. Did chores. Mary has been to the Singing meeting this P.M. & evening, & has enjoyed it very much. She has hardly sung any since Joe went away. She thinks Joe is safe for the present & will be out of the way of the impending battle on the Rappahannock. I have minded the baby & he has been good. Slept most of the evening while I read news, & Minnie went to bed early. How I shall miss baby & shall want to see him oh! so much. I dread the task of going home. If Mary was going with me I wd. not mind it.

This is one of the grandest nights I ever saw. Cloudless sky. A brilliant aurora, numberless stars, & the new Comet. This comet was discovered on the 18th. ultimo, called Tuttle's Comet, coming towards at the rate of 2½ millions of miles a day, by Tuesday it will attain its greatest brilliancy.—

In the evacuation of Harrison's Landing there were 27 miles of wagons & only one was broken.

The Corps d'[?] will remain on Peninsula. Troops of Pope, Burnside & M^cClellan have formed a junction, & have hastily fallen back to the Rappahannock, where they will make a stand. Sigel covers the retreat, Rebels are advancing in great Force. A desperate fight was expected as soon as yesterday or to day, something decisive. Rebels mean to engage us before our new troops can be brought into the field. But oh! one year ago we had as grand an army on this same ground wh. might have moved upon the enemy by the same route that this army will now take. We have buried an immense army since then. Then the enemy was weak now he is strong, & to think of the lives that will be lost in conquering them.

It is said Lincoln means the war shall end this winter. It is rumored that 2 wks. ago the President laid before his cabinet a proclamation of Emancipation, abolishing Slavery on the 1st. of Dec next if the rebellion is not crushed before that. Sec. Smith was absent, & all but 2 of the Cabinet

approved. Sec. Seward & P.M. Blair opposed with all their might. This leaves Chase, Smith, Wells, Stanton & Bates in favor of it. If this was only true beyond doubt! but I fear there is nothing in it.

Indian outbreak in Minnesota, Murders &c. Guerillas defeated in Mo. Cols. Corcoran & Wilcox have had splendid receptions in N.Y. Wilcox will reach Detroit on Wednesday. I shall probably be there to see.

Pine Run Aug 24. Sunday.

Fine. just cool enough for comfort. Picking up things preparatory to leaving on Tuesday morning.—Called on Mrs. Knapp who is very ill, dangerously so. Mary says “if Mrs. Knapp dies she will not stay in Pine Run. This is a friend that Mary esteems very highly & she has been very good to Mary.—Read Detroit Free Press. It is almost as bad as the Rochester Union. Such willful perversions of the truth, such gross misrepresentation of facts!

Pine Run Monday Aug. 25th.

Fine. Warm. Mary & baby & myself spent last night at Mrs. Knapp's. I sat up till 10'clock & Mary the rest of the night. Mrs. K is very sick & wished to have Mary with her. baby behaved very well. Minnie staid with 'Aunt Louisa'. Mary is almost sick today. & I do not feel much like work but we have washed as usual. I have ironed some, sewed some, packed my trunk & have had Mrs. Bradley & Louisa here to tea. Mary has been to Mrs. K's this evening, she is better.

I suppose this is the last night I shall be in Pine Run. If M. & the children were going with me it wd. be so nice, but I hope they will go east & stay through the winter. M. has just got letter from Joe. He is nearly well, in hospital yet, Miss Dix is there.—

To morrow I shall probably be far from Mary & Minnie & Stewart,

Tuesday Aug. 26th.

Very, very hot. This A.M. I was almost sick but got all ready to start. Said good bye to Mary & Minnie & Stewart, & Pine Run in general & left at noon in Omnibus for Pine Run Station wh. is one mile distant. Then on Flint & Pere Marquette R.R. five miles to Mt. Morris. Purchased ticket through to D. on Cars, \$2.60. Stopped at Flint an hour. Saw Stages lined up & start for Saginaw, such a rush for that place, Military men going to camp, & one very old lady from the East going to Tuscola. Shaker bonnet only modern thing she wore. Carried a good sized patchwork bag such as our grandmothers carried in old times. She was a character. Stage to Fentonville 16 miles. Hot ride. Then on Detroit & Milwaukee R.R. 49 mi. In car with recruits. Col. Fenton aboard. Had seat on Sunny side, hot & dusty, vis a vis with an Irish woman, who was anything but an amiable & wholesome traveling companion,

All along the way saw more or less soldiers, some sick, others wounded. Poor fellows. Reached D. about dusk, such a crowd! Joseph was there & we walked to Campus Martins. Ella pretty well. To day review of troops. Yesterday funeral of Gen. Williams who was killed at Baton Rouge. To morrow Col. W. is to arrive. such excitement. Joseph will not enter the army unless he is drafted. Tired enough to night.

Detroit. Wednesday Aug. 27th.

So much noise did not sleep much last night. rain in night. Dust nicely laid this morning. Do not feel very well. E & I went this A.M. to look for Minnie a Shawl, found none to suit. Splendid Stores & shops. Went to Market with Ella, ripe apples, pears, peaches & plums. Very nice fruit & vegetables. Can't enjoy eating them knowing that Mary has none.

Sigel has had a battle, took 2000 rebels. Rebels have taken some of our troops too & Gen. Pope's baggage & papers.

This A.M. report fighting on Potomac & Sigel has shot M^cDowell who is suspected of treachery.

Gen. Wilcox staid in London last night & is to arrive in D. at 2 P.M. Joseph's rooms are on Campus Martins so we shall have a good view of Woodward Avenue, but we can't see the Speaker's stand.

Wednesday Evening.

Never saw so may folks together before. Before noon people began to pour in to the city & the tide set towards the foot of Woodward Avenue where Gen. W. was to land. A detachment of the 3^d U.S. Cavalry were stationed with 2 field pieces on Campus M, & the operation of loading & firing these was interesting to me.—Ella & I went to Dr. Lodge's & had a near view of the entire procession. Then was the Detroit Hussars & city Band. The 17th. Reg^t. Mich. Infantry. The Light Guard, Then in an open Carriage Gen. Wilcox, Gov. Blair, Hon. Lewis Cass &

Hon. Rob^t. M^cClelland. Then there were the 4th. Reg^t. of Cavalry, officers civil & military. Firemen. Steam engines &c. various societies &c. &c. It was the finest procession that I ever saw. But the sky began to look ominous & before they all reached the Campus it began to rain. Ella and I hastened back & did not get wet much. But such a scattering! Some found shelter, but more did not. The soldiers had to stand & take thorough drenching. It was a heavy thunder shower & in a few minutes the streets were afloat. While it was at its height, the remnant of the Old Mich. 1st. went to the stand to see the Gen. & the [?] with shouts of joy. After the shower the people came back & Gov. B. made the welcome speech & Gen. W. replied.—We tried to get near enough to hear but cd. not, we cd only see him. The unpaved space around the stand was very muddy & ladies' skirts were in a woeful plight, but they staid through it all.

More people in D. than when the Prince of Wales was here. Thousands of flags were flying & Woodward Avenue in particular was a gay & inspiring sight.—I am tired of seeing folks. The 17th. Reg^t. leaves this evening. Eliza has not come yet.—

Thursday A.M. Aug. 28th. 1862.

Fine. Warm. Walked to Camp Barnes a mile & a half where the 24th. Reg^t. is encamped. Getting ready to leave. Went into a tent where a woman was fixing her husband's things. 20 men occupy one tent. Arms stacked in center. Knapsacks & blankets lay around the edge.—Some companies were being drilled, & others were doing various things expecting to leave soon. I saw Capt. Edwards. He is a fine looking officer. I cant blame him for wishing to fight the rebels after suffering so much at their hands.—Great many people going to camp. Great many soldiers each with a package of some thing. This is my 1st. visit to a Camp & it was all interesting.—August 28th. 1862.—

¹⁰Diary.

Detroit Aug. 28th. 1862.

Telegraph wires down. no news today. Awakened at 4 this morning by soldiers singing in the street. They had evidently been out all night & were on their way to Camp Barnes.

They stopped just under our windows & sung

“We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree,
We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree,
We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree,
We are marching on.
Glory, glory halle-hallelujah,
Glory, glory halle-hallelujah,
Glory glory halle-hallelujah,
We are marching on.”

It was well sung & I enjoyed it. Then the butcher's carts & the ice wagons made the rest of the morning hideous.

This A.M. went to Camp Barnes,

This P.M. Ella & I went in omnibus to Camp Minty & to Elmwood Cemetery. It is 2 mi or more perhaps. Near the entrance of the Cemetery is a Spring where the soldiers get water for cooking purposes. _A stream from this runs through the Cemetery. This is Bloody Run, an old battle ground. Each side of this gully the ground is level & all improved & ornamented. There is a very pretty chapel & carriage roads & walks, & noble trees. Jones's Monument & Andrews are very fine. There were graves enclosed with marble cradles very pretty. Saw grave of Gen. Williams who was buried last Monday after lying in State at Young Men's Hall for several days. He was killed in

¹⁰ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26001_001 to HC13-26001_096, in their Folder entitled Aug. 28, 1862 to Nov. 19, 1862.

battle at Baton Rouge—Webster & [Transcriber's note: blank space in original] lot was enclosed with stones & refuse from Copper works. singular idea. Got some specimens. Camp Minty is near the Cemetery. Almost the first person we noticed there

was Reuben Steams of Pine Run. He rode with us in stage when coming from Saginaw, Mary knows him, but although he knew not my name he seemed very glad to see me. Not one among that 1400 that he ever knew before he enlisted. This is the 4^t. Reg^t. of Cavalry. Col. Minty commanding. The Camp is in a dry & pleasant place. Mr. S. was at leisure & he showed us every thing of interest. The tables in the open air, the cooking apparatus &c. Only 4 horses for these 1400 to practice with. Saw several Companies sworn in, & others drilling. It was all interesting to us. They were carrying several poor fellows to the hospital. We rested awhile in Capt. Smith's tent & left in the omnibus. wh. was filled with rowdy soldiers & their 'girls'. Near Camp M. is the Camp of the Mounted Rifles, nearly full & near these are the Detroit Barracks. Occupied with recruits for the old Regiments. We saw some reading, others writing, some

playing cards & when we left a company was dancing Cotillions—Tired enough. Ella endures it well.

Stewart's Cavalry has taken some of our men & stores fighting 4 days last week, Pope is on this side the Rappahannock.

Eliza don't come yet. Wrote to E. Lapham.

Detroit. Friday. 29th Aug.

Fine. Letter from Cousin E. by way of Pine Run, wants me to wait a week longer. At 9 A.M. Ella & I started for Fort Wayne & the Copper works, 3 miles. A detachment of the 3^d. U.S. Cavalry are stationed here. 5 parrot guns, 8 & 10 pounders. Walked around on the ramparts, Not much to be seen. It is star shaped, wide ditch. Grass grown. Guns command the ditches. One large building, for quarters I suppose. & one small stone building, magazine probably. —There were the ruins of several buildings. The fort is to be improved & strengthened & the work is begun. It is near the River, land

flat around it. There are trees on the sides which make it pleasant. Outside we got fine specimens & filled the basket wh. we took for that purpose.

At Copper Works got some fine specimens of ore. Not in full operation.

Got back at 1 P.M. not very tired. Rebels attack Manassas, Cavalry advance to Fairfax. 7 government trains destroyed with stores.

About 6 P.M. the 24th Regiment, Col. Morrow, passed here on their way to C.R.R.

Wharf. They made a fine appearance. Capt Edwards looked well by side of Co' F. Great crowd with them. This Reg^t was raised in Wayne Co. & a large share of it in Detroit so they all had friends in this Community. They are equipped furnished with every thing that they can carry that is useful. All the officers have been presented with something & every

soldier too. They marched to the residence of Gen. Wilcox before going to the boats, & in the mean time Ella & I made our way to the dock.

We obtained a seat on a pile of baggage & afterwards stood upon the knapsacks of Co. K. a good place to see the crowd. It was a remarkable scene, The largest jam I ever saw. The immense dock & the streets leading to it were crowded. The Reg^t went on board the Cleveland & May Queen in Companies, a passage was cleared by bayonets. Col. Morrow on his horse bawled himself hoarse & “fall back” was uttered numberless times, such a roar, such confusion, such a crowding to get near the boat, the horses in the crowd, when 2000 persons were on the boats the crowd seemed none the less, there were last words, goodbyes, crying, waving handkerchiefs, such a scene I never saw before! At last Co. K’s baggage must be put on board, the wen[?] ordered off. I was pushed against the wall & skinned my elbow in the operation. It was so hot there. We made our way to the entrance without having our clothes dragged off & here

the police were trying to prevent any more from going in.—The cool air was refreshing, Once is enough to be in such a crowd. Joseph knew too much to go. But I am not sorry that I went. I shall not probably see such a sight again,

Saturday. Aug. 30th.

Fine. The boats left at 8 last evening. It is said 10,000 persons were present to see the 24th off to the seat of war.

No Eliza yet. Concluded to go to Ann Arbor to visit my old friend Mrs. Carpenter. Joseph went with me to C. Depot. Train left at 8. Met Mr. Elder from Rochester. On the cars was a very important (& pompous) General Somebody. Before we left the depot a woman with a baby in her arms came in, said she to him “are you the Conductor?” “Not of this train I am not.” “Have long before the cars start?” “In about three Minutes, Madam”. The look of surprise & scorn which he threw at the woman failed to

annihilate, as he evidently supposed it would, for she seemed all unconscious of the presence of a live general even after he had replied to her. Oh! It was rich!

Shoulder straps aboard every public conveyance, one wounded man on train, arriving at Ann Arbor, 38 mi, I met a young woman who very kindly showed me the way to Mrs. Carpenter’s. Mrs. C. very much the same as she was 10 yrs. ago. My namesake her daughter Julia Fanning has just gone to Perry, N.Y. I feel very stupid. [?] lame,

Ann Arbor. Sunday Aug, 31st,

Fine A.M. Shower in P.M. Feel dull & tired. Went to church with Mrs. C. Heard Mr. Savage of Chicago. Employed by Boston tract soc. to distribute tracts &c. in the camps of Western army. Gave some interesting incidents of battle of Pittsburg Landing.— Telegraph news, fighting in the old battle field of Bull Run. Oh! dear, what is to become of us? Will the Rebels conquer us? Hope Joe is not there.

For some reason I am terribly depressed in spirits. Is it physical exhaustion or is some new calamity coming upon me. I know one thing, that I don't feel like visiting. I remarked to a certain lady this P.M. not for some reason the storms at the west were more severe than in N.Y. She said "Yes, they say that Michigan is 5000 miles nearer the sky than York State. It is nearer the thunder I suppose."

Ann Arbor, ~~Aug~~ Sept. 1st, 1862,

Cloudy, Do not feel well yet, Rode out with Mr. & Mrs. C. The place has grown & improved very much in 10 yrs. —Battle at Manassas all day Friday & Saturday. Pope reports our loss at 8000, Boston & Philadelphia are sending help to the wounded, no reliable report yet, Mary feels anxious now, as she is not certain where Joe is. Hope he is in the hospital yet. This A.M. went with Mrs. C. to the College. Visited Cabinet, Museum & Library. These have been enlarged & arranged nicely since I was here before, a week instead of

wd. be necessary to examine these all. I noticed a fossil lion's head, a stone with a deep hole in it won by two small stones. Piece of Franklin's house. There were many fine specimens of opals, amethysts, mica, marble, gypsum, Lockport stone, gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, salt, agates, jasper, Chaledon & other precious stones. Specimens from S. America, Mexico, & all the European Countries, especially from the mines of Norway, Sweden, Hungary &c. There is a room for statuary & terra cotta. There is a Literary, a Law & a Medical Department. The Law Building is nearly finished. —The situation of Ann Arbor is very fine. The schools make good society. Fine buildings for schools & other purposes around. There is an observatory here—The 20th regt. passed through here to day for the seat of war. Excitement among the people. Many have friends in it. Wrote to Mary.

Tuesday Sept. 2^d

Fine. Left Ann Arbor at 7. Mr. & Mrs. C. accompanied me to cars—Walked from Central Depot to Fisher's Block. Found Cousin E. there. She came in last night. Took walk on Fort St. saw residences of Gen. Cass, Sen. Chandler &c. Mrs. Jones &c Fine yards.—Dined at Henry Albertson's. This P.M. Eliza & I went to Camp Minty. Mr. Stearns was at liberty & he showed us all about & went to the hospital with us too. There were 13 sick soldiers & 3 or 5 ladies were waiting upon them, room clean & comfortable.—On our return saw two gipsies. They had been to camp to sell horses. There was a large no. of horses in a field near camp today.

When we returned to Campus Martins, a crowd was collected & Gen. Wilcox was speaking on the stand, we were delighted to be so fortunate. I was glad for Elisa's sake. We heard Col. Fenton, Capt. Throop, Elders Recd & Hickey. Went with Ella & J. to tea,

At 7 went to Depot. Joseph, & Ella & Mr. W. went with us. Crowd on boat. About dark when train started from Windsor, Night did not seem long. Slept some. Reached Bridge about 4, rested till 7 & then took train for Falls. Saw Cyrus & wife &c. Took breakfast at American Hotel. Then walked all about, visited curiosity shops. Went over to Goat Island, prospect tower, Luna Island &c. Sat awhile in summer house, never had so good a chance to see the falls before, nobody to hurry us. Took 2 o'clock train for Lockport. This was *[Transcriber's note: sentence left unfinished]*

Sept. 3^d. Wednesday.

A very fine day, & we enjoyed although we got very tired. Lockport was alive with soldiers, saw Stephen Van W. & Theodore who is raising a Co. Elizabeth & Alice were there & I rode to Somerset with them.

Somerset, Thursday Sept. 4th,

Very fine. In A.M. cleaned up & rested some. In P.M. called at Jephtha's. War news quite

discouraging. Rebels trying to get into Md. Pope has retreated to Alexandria. M^cC. has command of army at Washington, People have fears for W. We have lost many men & stores, but not 8000 as Pope first reported. The brave Gen Kearney is killed & Col. Webster too. Jackson is near Harper's Ferry.—

Friday, 5th.

Rode to Corners with Theodore & Eliza. Called at Morgan's. E. Wing called. Worked a little, E. in a hurry to go home.

Letter from Anna Barnes, Want me to go Port Royal, The entire Potomac army is in front of Washington.

Saturday, 6th

Rainy. This A.M. E. & I came to Morgans. Made sunbonnets for C. Rumor that Stanton has resigned & Hallock has taken his place & M^cClellan is to be Commander in Chief. If this is true we may well be discouraged. Fighting in the west. We are not successful anywhere.

At Morgan's. Sunday. Sept. 7th.

Windy. Morgan & E. & I have been to Church. I have washed dishes & wrote to Mary & Mr. B.

It is said Gen. Mitchell is to supersede Gen. Hunter, & Cadwallader, Gen. Butler, & Steele, Gen. Curtis—Gen. C. has never been defeated in a battle or skirmish, has shown no tenderness to the rebels & has freed all the slaves who have sought his protection. Marched 600 mi. through our Enemy's country & subsisted on them. These things are enough to demand his removal. Terrible losses on Friday & Saturday the 29th & 30th of Aug. The 11th Mass. went into battle with 240 men & had 105 killed & wounded. The 12th N.Y. had 354 & came out with 115, other regiments in same proportion. The 3^d. Mich. with 290 men came out with only 146, & it is said $\frac{3}{4}$ of these were killed by an

Indian Regiment wh. fired on them by mistake, Pope & McDowell are blamed very much, our loss 5 or 6000. Our wounded were left

on battle field 2 or 3 days, It is sickly to read the details. Gov. Seward in a late dispatch to Mr. Adams says, "Every where the American Gen. receives his most useful & reliable information from the negro, who hails our coming as the harbinger of freedom,"

Wednesday a battle at Bristow's Station, Hooker & Kearney drove rebels back to Manassas & took 700 prisoners, signal victory. Friday at Manassas, & Bull Run & Centerville, Kearney, Hooker & Schurz,

Saturday fighting continued our loss heavy—Monday morning our army commenced retreating, Monday night Gen. Kearny was killed. Rebels have crossed into Md.

Somerset, Sunday Sept. 8th.

Sun. rain. Wind. Sewed all day. E. & Susie & I alone this P.M. The rest gone to Oleott to see a boat launched. No good news. Abundance of fine fruit here.

Tuesday 9th,

Fine, cool, Finished E's dress. Letter from Mary. She is sick with fever, quite sickly in Pine Run & no help to be had. Children have whooping cough. Joe had gone to join his regiment, was at Alexandria. Very likely he has been in these last battles. Poor Mary how anxious she must be. Have written to her this evening, Rebels only 60 mi. from Baltimore now, McDowell is arrested for treason,

Wednesday 10th,

Fine. This A.M. sewed. This P.M. called at Jephtha's. Mary Jane is very low. Went to Alfred's. Company of young ladies there, all scraping lint, Libbie B. sung & played "We're coming father Abraham, &c. & the John Brown song,

Thursday 11th,

Fine. Did various things. Elizabeth & Frances came. Cousin E. went home with F. I intend to go to Abner's tomorrow, Theodore is in Lockport. Stonewall Jackson is making his way

towards Penn, M^cC. has gone after him. Pope is assigned a command in the west,

Friday 12th.

Left Alfred's at 10 & rode in a pouring rain to Abner's. Fine P.M. Company here. Been in the peach orchard. Soldiers feel hard towards M^cDowell.

Wrote to Ella.

Saturday 13th.

Fine. Frances took Cousin E. to Middleport to start for home, I am to wait till I hear from father & Mary. If M. is likely to be sick long & cant have good care, I shall go to her before I go home—Read "Tempest & Sunshine," sewed. Feel very much depressed in

spirits, but this evening a letter came from Mary. She is better so as to be around. The children cough hard, baby is teething too, poor little fellow. I fear it will go hard with him, Joe's mother is with M. She had letter from Joe written at Camp Lyon 1 ½ mi. from Alex. 2^d. Regt. was not in last battle, but they were drawn up in battle

array, & stood through a terrible storm & at night did picket duty on the battle field. At 3 A.M. they began to retreat towards Fairfax.

They were whipped out, sore & stiff, He thinks the fallback[?] to draw the rebels on. He says they fight desperately & have a large force.

The 24th. Mich. had just arrived & camped near them. They looked as if they were just out of bandboxes by the side of the 2^d so tired & dirty just from the battle field.

Sunday 14th. Hartland.

Fine. Frances went to church. Abner is out, & I have been alone part of the day. I am in a hurry to be at home now. Mary hopes I will not go to Port Royal. My going is uncertain yet. If I do go, I hope I can see her & the children first & get them fixed comfortably at home.

Jackson is about to enter Penn. Why don't our Potomac army prevent him. M^cClellan advances a little. Fighting at Harper's Ferry. Fight near Frederick, enemy is repulsed.

Hartland Monday 15th.

Rainy, Abner left at 2 A.M. for Batavia with a load of peaches. I have finished F's dress, & done but little else.

Burnside at Frederick, Penn. in arms.

Tuesday 16th

Fine. Sewed & did chores. Battle at Harper's Ferry. ~~We~~ Rebels took 15000 prisoners.

After the battle at Frederick, "McClellan & his staff rode into town." I wd. like to have him in one fight.

Letter from Father. He cant tell what is best for me to do, thinks I had better come home first, I feel so disappointed! Letter from Mary, she is almost well, Minnie coughs hard, baby is sick. Mary wants to come home for the winter.

Fine. Wednesday 17th. Letter to Joe.

Frances took me to M. train left at 8. Blind man & soldiers & rowdy chaps &c, Cousin I at Spencerport, C. & children well. Went to Dyer's. Called on Mrs. Barnes, Tea with Mrs. Coleman.

Rochester Thursday 18th,

Called on Mrs. Hurd, ahe has just returned from visit to hospitals at W. & Falls Church. Gave me interesting information, Called at Miss Eton's school & on Mrs. Tibbetts, & Anna B. Perhaps I shall go to Washington to look after contrabands there. Did some shopping, brought Waterproof, &c. Took tea at John's. Great news, We are going to beat the rebels!!

Friday 19th,

Warm. Did shopping. Went to depot at 10. Saw soldiers & runaway horse. The 140th regt. leave at noon. Mr. Griffin is in the 8th. Cav. He is very much engaged. City full of soldiers, excitement & bustle. Dined at Mr. Winans. Mrs. W. & I went to the burying ground. Our lot looks neglected, nothing been done to it this summer. Mr. & Mrs. W. came home with me. Found father quite well, but mother is sick. Things in house look about as usual. Garden overgrown with weeds.

Rush, Saturday Sept. 20th, '62.

Fine. Cleaned and aired clothes press, & arranged things, sewed some, Mrs. & Mr. B. called. Hear that Freda dear is not well this summer. I thought that Revilo wd. take the opportunity while I was gone and bring her down to Harvey's, but he did not. I can see no one that has seen her. It is 143 wks. since my darling was taken from me, the precious one. Does she ever think of me now? Oh! dear.

At Home, Sunday. 21st.

Fine. Father & Mother have been to church, I have taken a bath & feel refreshed. Have wrote to Frances and Mary, & read some. Cousin Jephtha called. The day has not been half long enough. There is so much I want to do. Papers have accumulated & I want to look them over. A journal to copy, letters to write, sewing to do & work in doors and out to be done.

Monday, 22nd. Rose early.

Fine, Worked till 3 P.M. Father been to Avon.

Did various things. Ann Miller sick & gone away. & what shall I do now, I must get ready to go away, but they will expect me to do some of the housework.—
This evening wrote. —

Tuesday 23d.

Fine. Ironed & washed dishes &c, &c. Wrote this evening—very tired. Letter from Joe, he is near Fairfax Seminary, is well, seems odd to have fighting going on & they not in it. Think they are there for the protection of Washington, but I am so glad they are having a chance to rest. They mourn the loss of Kearney. —They are ready to march at a moment's warning —He has not received the dried fruit that Mary sent.

Wednesday 24th.

Rainy A.M. Fine P.M. Father sick last night & is sick to day. I have washed dishes, written to Joe, labelled my specimens & filled up my journal.

Last evening Cyrus & Eliza called.

I don't see how I shall get my work done & get ready to go—

This evening read Democrat. Battles in Md. terrible fighting, great slaughter, on both sides. The rebel army have recrossed the Potomac, & escaped, so there is nothing decisive after all—They thought they cd. ravage Penn. People were alarmed, but Gov.

Curtin called out every able-bodied man. By the surrender of Harper's Ferry then the Rebels took 14,500 men, rations for 14000 for 20 days, 100 tons ammunition, 57 cannon, 14000 stands of arms & 4 batteries of artillery.

Thursday 25th.

Very fine. This A.M. did housework & this P.M. drove new horse to Avon. Called at Mrs. H's. Mrs. H. has had stroke of palsy, & she is very feeble & infirm.

Went to Uncle Ephraim's to tea, got back about dusk.

President made a Proclamation of Emancipation on the 22nd inst, to take place the 1st of Jan. 1863 in those states wh. do not send representations to Congress at that time. It is a Lincoln document, indefinite, disjointed & insufficient too I think. It is too far in the future. Three months at

now are equal to 3 yrs. of ordinary time. There is a wide margin of loopholes for rebels to make it of no effect.—But it has required a great effort on his part to do this much. —I am thankful for it, for it shows that he considers himself empowered to abolish Slavery, & that the Constitution gives him this power.

But the Democratic & Conservative press howl over it awfully, & now calls the President weak, & cowardly & say that he violates the Constitution & upsets his inaugural & his two previous proclamations. Oh the “malign abolitionists” will exasperate our “misguided southern brethren” in their “irregular opposition” to the government. — Well, we shall see what comes of it. And Lincoln has just notified his generals that the laws of the last Congress must be enforced. He sh. have done this immediately on their passage, McClellan said some time ago that he sh. not notice them till officially informed of them. Greely has insisted upon the “enforcement of the laws” & the President has yielded to his demands.

Yet with all my heart I can say “God bless Abraham Lincoln” A serenade was given him & a large crowd assembled, & he made a short speech, so did Chase & C.M. Clay. It is said his Cabinet all approve of his course but Blair.

Friday Sept. 26th

Delightful weather. Marked linen, sewed & did chores. Wrote to Wm. Penn. Papers filled with accounts of the late battles. Sumner only[?] has made an official report yet. His Corps lost 5,208 of these, 860 were killed. Penn. V[?] Mass. Regts. suffered most. It is said our losses will reach 10,000 in killed & wounded, & all directly traceable to the surrender of Harper's Ferry. The rebels are now South of the Potomac, & it is said Heintzelman & Sigel are to cut them off if they attempt to escape.

Saturday 27th

Very fine. This evening took Mother to W. Avon to take train for Mt. Morris, she is to be gone several days. I had a pleasant ride, like to drive new horse.

Called on Mrs. Wiand, got papers. no more fighting in Potomac Army, but fighting in Ky. & in the west.— Read Tribune & World & sewed some. No letter from R. Uncertain as to what I shall do or when I go. But I will keep on getting ready to go somewhere. Gen. Hunter is a Republican, so are Banks, Fremont, Heintzelman & Keyes. Pope was a pro slavery Democrat.

Sunday 28th.

Fine, a perfect day. Wish Mary was here to enjoy it, & have some of our fruit. Father has been to Uncle Jephtha's. I have been alone part of the time. I have written some & read some. W. Phillips speech & Rev M.D. Conway's on 1st. of Aug. are both capital. —

Monday 29th.

Warm. Cloudy. Washed, took up carpet in front chamber, cleaned some & did various things. Read some. E. Daily

& Mrs. Duleia Dailey called. Letter from Mary. She is not very well. Minnie is better, but Stewart coughs very hard yet. She is getting ready to come here, wants to hear from Joe once more before she can decide.

Tuesday, 30

Cloudy. Worked on my Gingham dress & read some. Very quiet here. Dr. B. called to prescribe for father who is not very well. State Fair at Rochester begins today. I have no desire to go.

Wednesday Oct. 1st.

Rainy day. bad time for Fair.

Mother came back from Mt. Morris this morning. I have sewed nearly all day.

Thursday 2^d.

Rainy. Sewed all day on my delaine dress. Letter from Joe, he is well & in good spirits. At Upton Hill, a few miles from Falls Church. Move their Camp often. I shall try to see him if I go to

Washington & take him some things. He says Mary may come here this winter if she chooses. So I shall hurry her up. No particular war news.—

Friday Oct. 3^d, 1862

Rained a little. P.M. Pleasant. Sewed all day & am getting tired of it. Cyrus & Julia called. Hoped to see some of the Somerset folks this week, but they do not come yet. Wish I cd. hear from Rochester so that I can decide upon something. Cousin Eliza saw Freda at the Fair in Geneseo, but did not speak to her. If I cd. have such an opportunity!

Saturday Oct. 4th,

High wind. Squally.— This A.M. did various chores. This P.M. went to Mr. Bigelow's. Heard from darling Freda. The 1st week in July she spent at her Grandpa B's. She was quite unwell, was troubled with a cough. I think she is a delicate child & requires

more & better care than she probably gets. Could I have her with me & nurse her tenderly & carefully what a privilege it wd. be. She has grown but little & weighs only 39 lbs., a few lbs. more than when she left here more than 2 yrs. ago. Last fall she spent a week at R's brother's, O.B's in Groveland. I am told that she said there that "her Grandfather gave her a stick of candy; told her Aunt Libby to give it to her; that Grandfather & Aunt Mary came to see her; that Grandfather & Aunt Mary came to see her, they went to the house & she was not there, & they came to the School House & they would'nt let Grandfather and Aunt Mary see her".—So it seems they can't keep such things from her; somebody will be good enough to tell her all about it as she grows older, & then how can she respect her father? It is 144 wks. since she was taken from us on that cold December day, that last day of the year 1859! What a load of sorrow has been mine to bear since then. For a whole year she was probably not out of my mind an hour at a time.—

Rush Sunday Oct. 5th, 1862

Fine. Father and Mother have been to church. I sat myself down to spend the day in writing letters &c, when I was very agreeably surprised by the unexpected entrance of Sister F & Mary Julia. They had walked from E. Avon, having come up from R. last evening on the cars & staid all night at Mr. H's. F. has been to State Fair. She says as many as usual have attended, but there was not so much exhibited as usual.—I have had no desire to go. All so busy in Somerset that they can't come to see us. Morgan & Elizabeth & Inez & Susie when the horse took fright & they were all thrown out, & Morgan was badly hurt, the rest escaped uninjured. Sis & I have looked over all my Herbarium wh. contains 600 or 700 Specimens, & I had several Specimens to give her. She is about to Commence a Herbarium.

We have taken a walk to the Falls. The Stream is dry & we walked in the beds down in to the ravine. It was very pleasant there. The sun was low in the west, the sky was cloudless. The place was quiet, the fields are all beautiful now, & the trees begin to show the approach of autumn. The cows & horses were grazing quietly in the adjoining field. & "on the hill the golden rod, & the Aster in the wood, & the yellow sunflower by the brook
In Autumn beauty stood.

But tonight

"A frost will fall from the clear cold heaven

As falls the plague on men

And the brightness of their smile is gone

From upland, glade and glen."

Sis has not been here in a long time before, & it seems so good to have her here again, & I have enjoyed her visit very much. I have put up a parcel of things for hospital purposes, & Frances is to take them with her.

& I have had a very busy day. They are to leave tomorrow morning early.

Monday Oct. 6th.

Fine Morning, Cloudy P.M. Rose early. A hard frost last night. The fields were white this morning & it was quite cold. I took F. & Mary J. to W. Avon to the cars. Called at Mr. Hartwell's, glad of a chance to warm. Have done various chores today & am tired tonight. — The proslavery papers ridicule the President's Proclamation but the loyal & leading papers all endorse it, & are jubilant over it, & the general voice is "God bless Abraham Lincoln"! Garrison is thankful for it, but fears that by its being put so far off, the rebels will in the mean time emancipate the slaves & arm them against us. Beecher does not call it a decree of emancipation, but a notice that such a decree will be made on the 1st, of Jan, next, if those states are still in revolt.

Wednesday Oct. 8th, 1862

Hot. This A.M. rode with father to Uncle J's. & staid an hour or so.

Letters from Anna Barnes & Mary, Mary's baby was very sick, has dysentery & has had several fits. She thought it would not live, & I fear the little dear one is not living now. I felt as if I must go to her, & if baby dies bring back his remains, but perhaps he may have been dead several days before I cd. get there, & then it could not be done. But if he dies & is buried there, his remains must be brought here at some time, & if I live it shall be done if possible. M. said to me last summer "she hoped she wd. not have to bury one of her children in Pine Run". Oh! she is full of trouble, so far from her own folks, when she needs their help & sympathy so much. She is not well either, Minnie is better. It is sickly there, & I fear M. will be worse. I have written to M. to day to come as soon as she is well enough. —I have written to Frances to

to go & see her if She can. She will do so if she can.—Father & Mother intend to start for Somerset to morrow & will be gone probably a week or ten days. The Ladies Society in R. want me to go to Washington as soon as I can, I could go in a few days, but I must wait till our folks come back. — I have written to Ella & to Joe, & been to Harvey B's with the letters. I have passed a busy & exciting day & am tired & have headache to night.

Thursday 9th.

Rainy, But father & mother started at noon. I am afraid they will not have a pleasant time. It is very still & lonely without them.

I have been [*Transcriber's Note: Word missing?*] closets &c. There is so much to do. Read Chas. Sumner's speech, "The Policy of Emancipation". Capital, grand, just the thing for the time. He says "without the aid of the Slaves this war cannot be ended successfully". He says "Wherever I turn in this war I find the African. If you ask for Strategy, I know

nothing better than that of the Slave Robert Smalls, who brought the Rebel steamer Planter with its armament out of Charleston, & surrendered it to our Commodore as prize of war. If you ask for successful courage, I know nothing better than that of the African Tillman who rose upon a rebel prize crew, &, overcoming them, carried the Ship into N.Y. If you ask for heroism, you will find it in that nameless African on board the Pawnee who while passing shell from the magazine lost both his legs by a ball, but still holding the shell cries out; “ Pass up the shell – never mind me; my time is up.” And if you ask for fidelity, you will find it in that slave, also without a name, who pointed out the road of safety to the harassed, retreating army of the Potomac. And if you ask for evidence of the desire for freedom, you will find it in the little slave girl, journeying north, whom Banks took on his Cannon.” —

Wednesday Oct. 17th,

Cloudy, cold. Have sewed & done various chores. had headache & feel tired. Had a hard day’s work yesterday. Went to city on cars & back & walked nearly all day in doing shopping & other business.

Indebted to a neighbor’s kindness in getting to Rush & back again, for H. will do nothing for me if he can help it. Do not like to leave the house with hired help, but cd. not avoid it this time. I expect to start for Washington next Tuesday or Wednesday. Saw Mrs. B. to day & made the final arrangements for going to see what can be done for the Contrabands that have sought refuge in W. & vicinity. — I have a great deal to do & to think of in order to get ready for, probably, a long absence from home. I do not like to leave father to go so far away. If he is sick I wd. like to be here. Still, my way seems clear to go.

& then I wd. like very much to be here when Mary comes. I wd. like to be at home this winter with her & her little ones, & father too. It wd. seem more homelike than it has done in a long time, but I shall forego all this at the call of what seems duty. I may be disappointed in accomplishing much good. It is a sort of venture & I may regret that I undertook it. Yet it seems all the while as if the Lord would guide my steps in this, & bless my efforts.

Have letter from Frances, she probably started for Mich. on Monday, to stay with M. until they get well enough to come home. I am so glad that she feels as if she could go. I wd. have gone before this had I not committed myself to the Society.—I am so anxious to hear from M. again. Hope baby is better by her not writing again. Letter from Ella she is not quite as well as she had been. Hope to see Joe when I get to W. but I fear the army will move farther away before I get there.

Mr. Griffin is to leave R. for Elmira to-morrow, & C. is feeling anxious now. So many soldiers try to leave Camp Porter that they are all going to E. for safekeeping. C’s house was in danger of being burnt last wk. Every thing was removed from the

house, & things were lost & damaged considerably. They had a great fright. I can imagine how each one performed her part. I asked Neddy if he slept as sound as usual. He said "No, they took his bedstead down". C. told Mary Julia to get the spoons &c, & take care of them. She took them, went across the street & threw them down, & some were lost, of course. None of them seemed to have much presence of mind.

October. 16th

Rainy, Did housework this A.M. & this P.M. trimmed my black Straw bonnet, Oh! I have so many chores to do, to get ready. Wrote to M. Letter from Mary, baby is a little better.

If he gets no worse & improves a little she intends to start for Middleport next Monday. She is almost down sick herself. & has a great deal to do to get ready to leave, for it is uncertain when she returns or whether she returns at all.—I hope Frances is with her now to help her. I will think that she is & try to rest contented.

Sunday 19th, Oct.

Rainy A.M. Fine P.M. Yesterday went to W. Avon & worked awhile in the burying ground. The grass had not been disturbed in all Summer & it looked bad there. Mother's grave is sunken & the head stone is falling down, & it looks neglected, uncared for.—I have asked Henry to fix it up. but he does not do it. & then when I am away I suppose no one will pay any attention to it. It is a precious spot to me & I hope I can sleep there at last. But how uncertain this is. I called at Mr. Winans & then went to Uncle Ephraims & staid all night. Came home this morning. Since then have arranged paper & written some.

Father & Mother came home Friday P.M. Frances has gone to ~~Somerset~~ Michigan [Transcriber's Note: "Michigan" appears to have been added in pencil] to stay with M. till they get well enough to come home. I am so thankful that F. cd. go. It has relieved me very much.—

Intend to start for Washington on Wednesday.—I do not feel well now. I feel so tired & my head aches, hope I shall feel better before that time. I am growing nervous & anxious.

At Home, Monday Oct. 21, 1862,

Rainy P.M. Have packed trunks & have every thing nearly ready to start tomorrow. I am very tired. I have worked so hard lately that I am almost sick. Did not sleep much last night. I have so much to think of, & am anxious about leaving home so long, father is not well & I fear he will be sick while I am away. If they wd. only write me often, & telegraph if he is very sick, but they may not think

it worth while. But it seems right to go. Letter from Joe. He is at Edwards Ferry 30 mi. from Washington. He thinks perhaps I can come there with the mail boy, who belongs to their co. they are 17 mi. from a Railroad, but he thinks he may come to W. & see me. I am disappointed. He says Mary is most ready to come home, & Stewart is gaining slowly. He did not know when he wrote that Frances is there. Mrs. B. called this P.M. —

Oct. 22^d, Wednesday. 1862

Rain & sunshine Wayland Station

Left home at 9 this morning. Jim brought me to Avon. As I approached W. Avon, a beautiful rainbow spanned the horizon, west. Was this bow of promise for me? I will accept the omen & go on hopefully on my way. Called at Mrs. W's. she sends a package by me to Lewis, whom I shall endeavor to see. She left me at the depot with a kind goodbye.

Train started at 11, but I find nobody that I know. Baggage checked to Elmira & Ticket to Baltimore \$9.00 —A good start. The forests are beautiful. no frost yet, & a brilliant green is interspersed with the most gorgeous hues. Our way is through a scene of continual beauty. When passing through Livonia I cd. distinctly see on the other side of Conesus L. the very house where my darling Freda lives. Would she like to see "Aunty" to day. Oh! that I could know whether she thinks of me yet; & must I go so far away from her when I love her so much! The Country to Corning is beautiful, through Springwater, Wayland &c. but alone I cannot half enjoy it. From Avoca to Bath it increases in beauty. The road runs through Conhocton Valley, some of the hills are beautifully wooded, others cleared & cultivated to their very summits, good buildings &c. This is Steuben Co. Then the hills aspire to mountains, some

covered with evergreens enlivened occasionally with colored foliage, how beautiful! Long Stop at Elmira. Changed very nice cars for those not quite so nice, several growling gentlemen aboard. Soldiers all about, here. From E. the scenery was very fine & night came upon us in the midst of most magnificent views. Reached Williamsport at 9 P.M. & changed cars for those more uncomfortable still. There was a ladies Car, into wh. no gentlemen were admitted unless they had ladies in their charge. The other cars had no fires, & gentlemen were in high dudgeon when drivn[?] into them. One queer specimen refused to leave, & gave them to understand that he had charge of myself who was sitting in a seat behind him. But as the car filled up, he took a seat by me, & cd. not object to it as much as I wished a seat alone as we were to ride all night.—Midnight found us at Halifax & 1 A.M. at Harrisburg Pa. Here was a long stop & a long bridge over the Susquehannah.

Fine Starlight night, we went so slow, & in the mean time my companion became very sociable. He was Frank Phelps, a showman from Elmira on his way to W. to open a theater. A Democrat, a negro hater, a goodnatured, generous, offhand fellow. We discussed his calling, & my own likewise. We represented the Extremes of opinions & ways of doing things. We had regular battle of words, for it was not in him to rise to the dignity of an argument. I shall not soon forget him although I was glad to be rid of him. —We went so slow that day light found us only 22 mi. from Harrisburg at York, Md.

Waited an hour here & the sun rose in the cloudless sky. The first sign I read was "Drake's Plantation Bitters". First negro I saw was selling pies. A wreck car came in, & we found that the cause of our delay was occasioned by a train being thrown from the track in the night, and we soon passed several smashed up cars near a long tunnel. York a quite a place.

A Slave State! how different everything looks, from what I have been used to seeing, large houses, no shade trees, houses mostly brick. 2 stories & basement, on a side hill usually, Davis house, & oven out doors. some ovens quite ornamental, few orchards, poor looking soil, poor fences, poor cultivation. but leather plints[?], for the harness nearly covers the horse. The places we pass through are Sunbury 137 mi. from Baltimore. (Harrisburg 58 mi. from Sunbury) York, Glenrock, Freeland, Parkton where the 140th, Pa. were encamped. White Hall, where there were more soldiers, Monkton, Glencoe, Phoenix, Cockeysville, Texar, Lutherville, Relay, Mt. Washington, Bolton, Then Baltimore wh. we reached at 10 A.M. Instead of being in W. at that time, We passed 3 places where cars were wrecked, long stops at every station. From Glenrock the R.R. is guarded by soldiers. There are many streams & deep gulleys & high bridges & lonely places in the woods where it cd. be dangerous to be thrown from

the track such places were guarded, sometimes by one, sometimes by 2 or 3, or a doz. or a Co. These men looked very lonely, some bad hits[?]. The 1st conspicuous object in B. is Washington Monument. Took omnibus for Barnum's City Hotel with Mrs. Cameron, who was on her way to Harper's Ferry to see her husband Maj. Cameron, son of Ex. Sec. C.—We took breakfast, she invited me to occupy a room with her for no train left for W. till 5 P.M. We went shopping & I saw something of B. It is an immense city. Streets narrow & dirty, houses high, looks like some parts of N.Y. Barnum's H. near Battle Monument's a very fine house 7 stories balconies to the 5th, high, with several Union flags flying from it. Its proprietor is secesh & had a son who was aid to Beauregard. In the drawing room were gay ladies, one sharing her album wh. contained portraits of rebel Generals.—Mrs. C. says she has had regular battles with ladies there. The wife of Gen. Saxe was there, a very gay lady. Mrs. C. is most agreeable

stranger I ever met. She has lived in Toronto, & worked for fugitives, & wished me success in my mission. At Depot, soldiers guard the entrance to every car, fire broke out as we were leaving. Long stop at Relay House 2 or 3 mi. from B. This House & its surroundings look like a fit place for Evil deeds. It is a lonely place, steep hills, a dark ravine, a stream, a bridge &c. We saw 2 or 3 encampments of 2000 men each at a little distance. There was a light in every tent & they looked beautiful.—Cars very coarse & inconvenient. Col. Doran of the 13th, Va. In. occupied the seat with me, a Lieut. & a Sergt. sat before me. & one of the Coast survey behind me. Col. D. was very pleasant in

conversation. He was wounded at the battle of Cheat Mountain, but has recovered & is now recruiting a regt. at W. Phil^a. —He thinks we cannot succeed unless we emancipate the slaves. We reached W. at 9 P.M. Col. D. very kindly assisted me about my baggage, & saw me safely seated in an omnibus, saying “driver, set this lady down at Willards”. which was done accordingly. Penn Av. is a brilliant ~~h~~

scene in the evening. I found myself in a strange city & in a strange house, but I dismissed all fears & had a good night’s rest, wh. I very much needed. — Today I have been waited upon by slaves for the first time in my life I suppose. Waiters at Barnum’s all colored. so are they here at W’s.

Friday Oct. 24th, Washington.

Fine, hazy, air seems full of dust. Took breakfast at 7 & then started on my travels. Looked for 371 13th. St. & after some trouble I found it, it is the residence of G.E. Baker, Treas. of “Freedmen’s Relief Association”. Mrs. B. directed me to Mrs. Dr[?] Johnson’s 374 10th St. near L. where Miss Patten & Miss Doxy board. There are matrons for the Contrabands. They have all 2000 or 3000 been removed from Duff Green’s Row & the old M^cClellan barracks a little out of the city, on 12th St. I went there & saw men to excite my sympathy than I ever saw before in my life. From 5 to 20 in one room, some have fire & some have not, some are in old tents without floors, with old blankets & rags to tie on, & many are sick. Gov^t. gives them these

shelters, rations, & a mil. guard. The Freedmen’s Relief Association provides a Superintendent, 2 Matrons, Miss Patten & Miss Doxy, a physician, medical stores, & some clothing & bedding wh. they get from the North. Gov. is to erect buildings for them before cold weather, & hospitals also. Miss P. has collected the orphans into one room & put a woman in charge of them, several were sick.—I asked this woman if she had rather be here than where she came from? She says “yes, she fared no worse here than she did there, & if she did fare worse she was better satisfied to be here.” At one door was sitting a young women. I said to Miss P. “That is a white girl.” She said no; 5 young women occupy this room, this one was sick, the rest were away to work. All the well ones have to work or else they get no help from Miss P.—These rooms have no chimneys. In one filled with smoke from a fire in the center, were seven or 8 persons & one women with a dying child on her lap. —In some rooms & tents you may see a pile of rags. Look a moment, one of these piles stirs & you discover a human being in it. The N.Y. Tract Soc. has monopolized the Schools, but they do not amount to much. There was no sign of a school when I was there.

Came back to Willards to be in time for dinner but waited an hr. & a half in Drawing room & made the acquaintance of 2 Phila. Friends who have come here to learn the condition of the Contrabands. One was is Eliza Sharpless, the name of the other I did not

learn. I went down to dinner with them & I saw Eliza Gurney, widow of Joseph John Gurney. She now lives in Burlington N.J.—Col. Mulligan sat at a table opposite me. He was in citizens dress, but Shoulderstraps of high rank were all about us. This morning at breakfast I was seated near a live Col. & a Maj!—After dinner I was introduced to E. Gurney. She is a lady of noble presence, we talked a little & she said, “I will see thee tomorrow & give thee a little money.”

Called on Mrs. W. Johnson, where Mr. Channing boards. She cd. not help me at all about a boarding place. Mr. C. was out & I have not seen him yet. Then I tried to find Mr. Hamilton’s residence, & was sent to Sec. Stanton’s house to inquire. So I have come back here to rest all I can. I have walked miles today. I am puzzled to find my way about

this large house. I saw 2 regiments going north. Trains of army wagons are going in all directions. The streets are alive with soldiers, Officers are riding in all directions. But soldiers on the march is to me a solemn procession, I do not enjoy it. The music is inexpressibly sad. I must write to Joe as soon as possible. I fear he is going still further off.

Washington, Saturday Evening. Oct. 25.

Fine day. As soon as possible after breakfast I went to drawing room hoping to see E. Gurney. She did not appear, but I met a lady who came on the cars with me to W. & had a pleasant chat with her.—Went to State Dept. & saw G.E. Baker, Treas. of the Association. Then went to Treas. Dept. & saw H. Hamlin Pres. of the Asso^{tn}. & cousin of the Vice Pres. He thinks Alexandria is the place for me. 500 Contrabands there who are so much worse off than those here, these in W. seem Comfortable. Then went to J. Van Santvoord in Patent Office. When I told him my object in coming he said, “Miss Wilbur, it seems as if God had sent to here just at this time.” He is a Schenectady man, had a long talk with him & Mr. Nichols. Super^{nt} of the Colony here. Mr. Van S. went with

me to find a boarding place, succeeded on the 3^d application at Miss Bohle’s 413 E. St. He introduced me to his Aunt Mrs. Munson who invited me to go with her at 4 P.M. to Harewood Hos. Mr. Van S. also wrote me a letter of introduction to Gen. Wadsworth. Mil. Gov. of Dist. of Columbia. Mr. Van S. engaged a carman whom he knew to transfer all my traps from Willard’s to 413 E. St. This attended to I went to Head Quarters & presented my letter. I soon had an audience with the Gen. Said he “I heartily approve your object. I will endorse this letter & send it to Gen. Banks. He commands Defenses of Washington & this includes Alexandria. He told me just where to find Gen. B. & said “if you want any thing more, come to me again.” I am much pleased with Gen. Wadsworth, he was so kind & cordial & reminds me very much of Uncle C. Swarthout. So I went to Head Quarters of Gen. B. My dispatch was marked “personal” & they gave me attention immediately. I was not asked to see Gen. B. but his Aid soon returned & gave some

very incoherent & disconnected instructions to a young man who was writing at a table near wh. I was sitting. "The Com^{dg}. Gen. wishes Alex. Gen. Slough, Miss W. nothing contrary to Republicanism" &c" were the words as near as I can remember. The young man wrote as follows: "Head Quarters, Defenses of Washington.

Oct. 25th, 1862

General: The Commanding General directs me to enclose to you the Accompanying paper & to express his wish that Miss Wilbur may be made use of in any way, in your opinion, not inconsistent with the interests of the service. Very respectfully

Your Obedient Servant

Richard B. Irwin

Capt. A. D. C.

A. A. A. G

Brig. Gen. Slough

Mil. Gov. Alexandria."

I don't like it. I think Gen B. intended something different from this, but the careless aid did not Express correctly his wishes.

I suppose it is a sort of Commission. Then hastened to my new boarding place. wrote to Joe & Lewis W. dispensed with dinner & went with Mrs. Munson in an ambulance to Harewood hospital on Corcoran Farm 2 or 3 mi. from City. This Farm is all like pleasure grounds, high, uneven, fine carriage roads. Several ornamented gothic buildings for storing hay. The house is not very elegant. This was L.C's summer residence. Hundreds of tents arranged in streets. Dr. Hill, chief, Chap. Meek with tracts. Each ward has a master, some tents look clean & comfortable, but many quite otherwise. 2000 or 3000 sick & wounded here. Many nearly well and able to be about, some of these met us & Mrs. M. might have given away all she had in the ambulance before we reached the tents. She receives supplies from N.Y. ladies & distributes them as these ladies desire. Gov. Morgan furnishes her with an ambulance & mules & she goes all about to the various hospitals.

Typhoid patients by themselves. May have fever

& agree, found Rawson Smith & Son from Wheatland, N.Y. Although not acquainted with them they were glad to see me, Doleby boy from Rochester. The Dead house is a tent near some dark evergreens, one coffin in it, & a bier & stretchers lying near, looked so lonely & sad. No body speaks loud, & they looked so wishful towards, some need bedding, & clothing, others nourishing food. I helped Mrs. M. distribute the things. It was enough to move a stone to see them. Some Rochester boxes had just arrived. Saw a man from Kingston N.Y. These mules go up the hill and down at break neck speed, & a common wagon wd. have been made a wreck of.—Mrs. M. is from Albany, her husband has lived in Honeoye N.Y. Their property is in Ga. & now they keep boarders here. The Emancipation Act freed their Slaves. Dolly, a little thing about 3 yrs. old, a pet of theirs she took with us & the soldiers carried her about, as we went around among the tents.

Mrs. M. said she reared[?] her mother, she was dead & they love Dolly as well as if she was their own child. She is afraid that when Dolly grows up she will leave her.

She is mad at the Eman. Act, & furious against the Abolitionists, & “the nigger sh. not have been allowed to make this war”. &c. —But “she will do all she can to help the poor soldier.”

Sunday 26th.

Pouring Rain all day. Sorted my things, wrote to Mrs. Barnes & Father. Mr. Leighton called to see me. Day entirely too short.

Monday Oct. 27th.

Rainy morning, pleasant day. Went to P.O. no letter from Joe yet, Mr. Channing called. Went to Head Quarters, showed my letter from Gen. B. to Gen. W. & asked him if that is what he supposed Gen B. wd. give me. He said “No, but you go to Alex. & then see me again!” Got a pass from the Provost Marshal for one month, “to go & back from Alex. on important business. — Fixed[?] for the rain & mud. I went into the White House with my coarse garden shoes and Cotton umbrella. Saw famous East Room, it has 8 mirrors, & 3 chandeliers, & a beautiful ceiling, red & yellow damask, & lace curtains. Sofas & arm chairs cushioned with red.

The carpet is beautiful. 2 white marble mantels with grates. Another smaller room is papered with green & yellow, curtains, carpet & chairs to match. Very elegant all. — Then went to rooms of Sanitary Commissioner 244 F. St. then to Mrs. Munson’s, wrote 6 letters, & had chat with Miss Bohle, so tired.

Tuesday Oct 28th.

Went to Alexandria with Mr. C. in boat wh. leaves every hour for 25 cts. River very broad here, cd. see long bridge. This is a drawbridge & a railroad bridge. We cd. see the Capitol, Wash^{tn} Mon, Observatory, Navy yd, Arsenal, Lunatic Asylum, Armory sq. Hospital, Fort Washington on one side. On the other Arlington Heights & the famous Arlington House, Forts Albany & Richardson. Fairfax Seminary, & encampments all around on the hills. River alive with vessels. Alex. is an old dirty town. Saw Marshall House where Ellsworth was killed. Went to old School House, where there are 150 contrabands. The sick have been removed to a fine dwelling house near, wh. has been occupied by Soldiers who have defaced it much.

Mr. Whipple, formerly a Quarter Master looks after these sick as well as he can, although not employed to do so. He showed us this hospital. In the first room we entered were people & piles of rags. A dead child lay wrapped in a piece of ticking, the mother was crouched over a few coals beneath a fine white marble mantel. In another room full of folks and rags, a dead child lay on the floor, behind the door. In some rooms were women & children famishing for want of nourishing food & medicine. No physician or medical

stores are provided. No super^{nt}— They have rations, & shelter. & a few kind men do the rest.

We went to the old Slave pen, & no description can give an adequate idea of the filth & misery here, in some rooms we cd. not stay a minute. I asked a women if she had rather be here than where she came from. She said ‘Yes’, I asked Why? Said she “one of my sons they sold to Alabama, “another to Ga. The hired me out, & when I came home they had sold my youngest, my little one, & then it pears like I did’nt care when I went.” Oh! dear, how long? Oh! Lord how long.

What sighs & groans have gone up to God from this place, how many broken hearts have come & gone from here. This is Birch & Price’s Slave Pen [*Transcriber’s Note: added, it seems in pencil*] wh. may yet be seen on the door. The prison is now used to confine disorderly soldiers, it was full. In that hospital was a white woman, to all appearance & her children had white curly hair—A family of Marylanders live in a part of the house & take care of things a little. There were girls & young women that were positively beautiful. — We visited a colored school kept by Robinson & Parker, 2 rooms full of girls & young women. It appears as well as any white school wd. have done in such a crowded place. Alexandria Heights are west of the city. Here is Fort Ellsworth & the Convalescent Camp, where stay thousands of men. 16000 at one time. I found some Mich. men, 2nd of Joe’s Company. 1000 N.Y. men here. —They fare hard. The rain of sunday made it very uncomfortable. They need blankets & clothes. From these heights is a magnificent view. They overlook entirely the 3 cities, several forts, on each side of the river. Fairfax Seminary once a great Theological

Institution, now a hospital. Encampments all around on the hills, troops marching & bayonets glistening. Most of the hills have been cleared, & the space between the city & these Heights once a meadow probably, is now a base of verdure, part of it as a house floor. The Camp for paroled prisoners is here, & altogether it is a remarkable sight. This was a long walk, & we were glad to ride up from the landing on this side. A secesh woman left the Omnibus in great disgust when a federal uniform entered it.

Wednesday Oct. 29th.

Fine. Went to Headquarters. Saw Gen. W. & told him what I saw in Alex. He said Gen. B. had gone to N.Y. & Gen. Heintzelman was in his place & we cd. get nothing from him. Gen. Slough would not be likely to help us, he said “Oh, these politicians, they are so afraid they will be called Abolitionists that they will not touch this Contraband question.” Thought I had better go to Sec. Stanton, so he wrote a note & I went to Sec. of War. The room was full of men waiting for an audience. I said if he would have

more leisure at some other time I wd. wait. Said he, “It is just so from morning till night, Sundays & all”, good time as any.” I told in as few words as possible what I had come

for. Said he "put it in writing. I did so, stating their wants in Alex. He looked at it & said "it shall be attended to." But I have not much faith in him, he is so important & pompous! Some N.Y. men were telling him of some abuses wh. they wanted rectified. Said the Sec. "I wish the N.Y. men wd. let us manage this war." & sharp words passed between them. I was glad to get away.

Gen W. gave me a pass to Fort Ethan Allen & Camp Seward, & placed at my disposal for the day the Ambulance & driver that are detailed for his use, for when the Gen. is in a hurry he rides in an Ambulance. —Miss Bohle went with me. We went through Georgetown, over the Chain Bridge, wh. is guarded by cannon, the river is narrow here. much of the bed is dry, but the bridge extends from bank to bank. The roads are broken & cut up by Army wagons & are very rough. Our driver was a perfect Jehu & it was only by great exertion that we cd. keep in the seat.

It was a hard road up to the Heights where the Fort is situated. This is one of the best Forts. It mounts 15 or 20 guns, has a trench & an abattis of felled trees, tops outward. Fort Marcy is near. I found Lewis W. & James Root & James Root & Rob^t. Scofield of Chili. They were very glad to see me. I had some things for L. wh. his mother sent to him. Then I had some hospital store wh. I was told were not needed at the hospital, so I left the pickles & grapes with the boys & brought the toast back to Mrs. Munson.—It was a rough ride, but one that I wd not have missed for any thing. I was so tired that I cd. do nothing when I came back. These boys are in 4th. NY. Heavy Artillery, Say, they fare well.

Thursday Oct. 30th.

Fine. Mr. C. called. has a letter of introduction to Lewis McKenzie Mayor of Alex. from Jas. Hallowell. Found I had left my letters at office of Sec. of War. —I went there, & was told they were on the table in his private room, & wd. have to wait till he came out. After a while he came out with Gen. Dix, & went away, & we were told the Pres.

had sent for him and they cd. not tell when he wd. return. I had a seat & did very well, but several gentlemen took it out standing, while waiting an hour & a half. I saw Gen. Cluseret, the foreigner, with orders on his breast, & interesting looking man. When the Sec. came, he was told what I wanted, said he "Give them to her." It was done & I put out. Hope I shall not have to go there again.

Then I took a walk around LaFayette Sq. & the Treasury building. Went almost to Washington Monument, wh. is surrounded by shantys & a cattle yd. Went to the Smithsonian & saw rare curiosities. There was the fur dress worn by Dr. Kane, 6 Egyptian mummies, Things from Sandwich Isl. & Fujie Isl. such headdresses & things as I have seen in pictures of the Savages. Various things from the Indians of the N.W. & from China & Japan. An Aquarium with a Japan Salamander. Com. Perry presented many things. There were birds & birds nests & eggs, beasts, fishes, fossils, minerals shells & marine wonders. Sulphur specimens, Piece of rock on wh. Capt. Cook was Killed. Ball from

Capitol wh. has been struck by lightning. Roman Sarcophagus. —Plank of Redwood three from Cal. Mass of Copper from Ontonagon wh. costs U.S. \$5,674. It was a Sacrificial Stone, & Father somebody tells of a young girl sacrificed on it. There is an immense seal & corals. I must visit this place again. The building is fine, all open & free to the public. The grounds are very extensive. —This morning I saw an artillery train going north, W. It was quite a sight, so tired, but after dinner went to Capitol, long walk there, I had supposed I was quite near it. I did not try to see much but mean to spend some time there & see it all.

Friday, Oct. 31st, 1962.

Did not go to Alex. this morning as I expected. Been to P.O. twice but get no letters yet. Have surveyed the Capitol leisurely inside & out. A police[?] man showed me the new Sen. Cham. & Hall of Rep. — But I went over it all again with a lady & gentlemen, & went onto the Dome as far as it is finished. Magnificent view.

Saw a white marble Stairway, & the stairways of Tennessee Marble of a Chocolate color, & stained glass ceiling. President's Room & old sen. Chamber are locked & I did not see them. New Sen. Cham. & Hall. of Rep. are similar only the Hall is larger. —How elegant, stained glass ceiling. —Old Hall of Rep. has 26 Cor. pillars of Potomac marble. Over the Entrance is the Muse of History in a winged car (marble) wh. J.Q. Adams once so eloquently referred to. Nearly all the statuary is in this hall now. Crawford, "Justice, Law & Order, scales &c. Schoolmaster teaching a boy, wood chopper, Indian, & woman & child. Marble from Lee, Mass. The paintings in the rotunda are 4 by Trumbull.

Viz: 1 Declaration of Independence 1776}

2 Surrender of Burgoyne to Gates 1777}

3 Surrender of Cornwallis to Lincoln 1781}

4 Washington resigning his sword 1785}

5 {Embarcation of Pilgrims by Rob^t. W. Wier, 1620

5 {Miles Standish & his wife Rose, Mr. & Mrs. White. El. Brewster & wife & sick child. Minister Robinson &c, all very fine.

6 Landing of Columbus 1492, by Vanderlyn.

7 Discovery of Miss. River by De Soto 1541—by W. H. Powell.

8 Baptism of Pocahontas 1631 by Chapman.

9 Washington at Yorktown giving orders for Entrenchments, La Fayette &c. by Rembrandt Peale, very fine, other paintings by Healy, A statue of Washington from Va, 1788, in 12th. year of the Commonwealth. Then in niches above these paintings is very fine statuary, groups in high relief. Whole length of Capitol is 751 ft. 4 in. Length of wings including steps 324 ft, Width of wings 142 ft.

Width of old Capitol 352 ft.

Height of dome above basement floor 264 ft. area of ground actually covered 3 ½ acres
The dome is all of iron & is to be surmounted by a statue of the Goddess of Liberty, 20 ft. high, weighing 17000 lbs. It is now in the Cap. Grounds, bronze, made by Clarke at Bladensburg. Cartoon front is very fine. Portico Corinthian columns, all painted pure white, there are Statues of Columbus &

Indians, Minerva & Mars; —At work upon all parts of it, & cleaning & painting it. 1100 sick soldiers have been here till about 3 wks. since. It is an immense & magnificent pile of white marble & acres of marble are now lying near, to enlarge & improve it, it is carved after it is brought here. In the ground East[?] is Greenough's Statue of Washington.—The Justice Entrance is approachd by 65 steps[?]. There is a stone basin with beautiful fish in it. In the grounds are fountains, noble trees, and seats under many of them. It is so warm that people are sitting in the shade here, & children are playing all about. —I staid here & looked it over & over again for fear I may not see it again. — Then went to the Botanical Gardens. Saw Palm from E.I.; Zebra Plant from Brazil; Lovely Lily from E.I.; Fan Palm from W.I., Plantain tree, India; Banana fruit & blossom; Date Palm, Palestine; Rope Plant, S.A.; Screw Pine, arrow Root, S.A. Ginger, E.I. Queen plant & flower C. of G. Hope; Paper plant (Papyrus) of Egypt; like coarse grass—

Bread tree, Brazil; Sago Palm China, &c. Oh! that some of my friends cd. be here with me. Am very tired to night, conclude not to go out again, but get a good rest for the morrow.

Washington Nov, 1st, Saturday—

Fine. Took 11^oclock boat for Alex. with Mr. C. Pleasant ride, went to office of Capt. Wyman Provost Marshal of Alex. Sends letter to Com. Burge as follows:
Provost Marshal's Office,
Alex. Va. Nov, 1st. 1862.

Mr. Burge, You will furnish Miss Wilbur with all the information you may possess in regard to the Contrabands under your direction, & furnish her with any assistance you can to Enable her to visit them. She is authorized by me to act in the Capacity of visitor, advisor, & instructor to the Contrabands. You will also ~~furnish~~ issue to her daily rations of the regular kind.

Capt. John C. Wyman
Met Rev. Mr. Gladwin, who is doing all

he can by way of assisting, in schools, taking care of the sick, &c. Went to Mr. Geo. Seaton's & took dinner, with Mr. Whipple & Mr. G. Went to Wolfe St. Hospital. Saw Mr. Slegt & son, from N.Y. —Went to Convalescent Camp, took a few things to those Mich. boys, talked some time with them. They dislike to stay there very much. Many of

them suffer for want of bedding. Heard an order read for all the members of Hooker's, Slocum's, McDowell's, Porter's & Burnside's Corps to report themselves at head quarters next morning. This looks as if something wd. be done. Met in Alex. Chap. May of the 2^d. Mich. Saw Joe a few days since, & expects to go to his regiment next Monday. Will call on me this eve. in W. & take a package for Joe. Spoke very highly of Joe, says he ought to be promoted. Singular that I met him as I did. Distinguished looking man. In going to Con. Camp saw the 12th & 13th Vt. Reg^{ts}. marching South. Called on Rob^t. Bell. Treated us coldly when he learned our business, wh was to inquire for a boarding place for my self, as we

had been recommended to him. Queer specimen of the Quaker variety. In Omnibus saw Col. Willis of 24th. Mass. acquaintance of Mr. C's. Has been in 10 battles, never received a scratch. I expect to go to Alex. to live in a day or two. Dont mean to be afraid of the secesh. Chap. May does not come. I fear he has forgotten my number. —

Sunday Nov. 2^d, 1862

Very warm & bright. This A.M. went to hear Dr. Gurley, from 2 Cor. 4-18. "For the things that are seen are temporal &c. He refuses to pray for the President, & is notoriously a secesh, & has a secesh audience, there were some Soldiers present, happened in like myself perhaps. He prayed that "our rulers may be kept from erroneous judgment, from misleading prejudices & unwise counsels. "Not a word against rebellion, nothing a rebel or a secesh cd. object to. This P.M. heard Martial music, another regiment leaving probably, saw a large gun going N. to day. Saw funeral leaving Catholic, bearers wore long white hat bands, also the drivers of the hacks. —

Washington, Nov. 3^d.

Cold, Windy, & dusty. City more unpleasant than ever. Always dirty I think. Called to see Mr. C. Then went on 10^oclock boat to Alex. Met two steam boats loaded with Soldiers. Back at Alex. full of paroled prisoners.

Called at Mr. Mays, but they can take no boarder. Called at Mrs. Reed's, Mrs. Ware's & Mrs. Shackelfords. At last went to Mr. Seatons & engaged board, to go there Wednesday. I cant do any better now. What an undertaking! Got back here at 3 P. M. Since dinner, have been out shopping, got a cork to a vial & that was given to me. Am very tired & have a bad cold. —

Tuesday Nov. 4th.

Fine went to Patent Office. Saw Mr. Van S. & Mr. A. Chester & Mr. J Dennis, introduced to an Ohio Gov. Dennis wishes me to receive a box from Cayuga Co. gave me some provisions[?] & took me to the rooms of the Boston Tract Soc. —Called on Mrs. Munson. Went to Patent Office again. Mr. Chester

went with me to see the curiosities, & through the hospital. Such a sight I never saw before. Those interminable halls are filled with beds & sick men. But how nice & clean they all looked. —Mr. C. left me & then I looked over things leisurely. The thousands of models I did not stop to see, but there was a Coat & Epauletts worn by Gen. Jackson at battle of N. Orleans. Commission to Geo. Washington Esq. Declaration of Independence. Original. 2 Rebel Torpedoes from Columbus, Apr. 1862. Diamond hilted sword from Viceroy of Peru. Persian Carpet 30 ft. by 15 ft. from Imaum of Muscat, horse covers from same.

6 Cashmere Shawls red, white & green from Imaum of Muscat. 1840. One of these \$1200. Examined in 1853 & free from moths.

Sabers from Egypt.

2 guns from Emperor of Morocco to Thos. Jefferson. Ivory cane made of single tooth to J. Q. Adams. Treaties & Autographs of Kings and Emperors. —Washington Relics from Arlington House, 1862, an

Sleeping tent (linen twilled) poles & pins, Cabinet, hall Lantern from Mt. Vernon. Vases presented by Vaughn to W.

3 pieces of China presented to Martha Washington by LaFayette. Name of the States on them. Treasure chest of iron. Table & washstand inlaid. China wash bowl. Port manteau used at Y. town, 1781. Andirons, Teapot white & green. Blue & white China presented by offices of Cincinnati. Counterpane. Candelabra from Rochambeau. Coat, Vest & breeches when he resigned his commission 1783. War sword & old leather belt. Writing case used in all his Campaigns. Cane presented by Franklin to W.

Camp equipage, Copper urns, iron saucepan, iron forks & plates, either pewter or iron. Medium Chest. Bellows, Chairs & table. Teaboard wh. he imported from France. Bureau & oval mirror from Arlington House, Silk breeches & kerry vest & breeches, some of them were presented by Geo. W. Custis. Others were brought from them when the Army took possession of Arlington House.

Presents from Japan are 15 silk robes 3 white ones, 2 red ones, 2 plaid ones, & several flowered ones. Screens, Swords, Saddle, bridle & trappings for horse, the last of red silk, fringe $\frac{3}{4}$ yd. long. Saddle tree, stirrups & 2 shields. —

Took long walk round by old Capitol prison & saw prisoners looking through grates. Went to Caspari Hos. & saw Dr. Hurd, showed me through it, looked very comfortable. Called on Mrs. Munson, tired enough. —

Wednesday Nov. 5th.

Cloudy, Left W. on 10^o clock boat. & at 11 was at 69 St. Asaph St. South. Alex Va., bag & baggage. Oh, dear. What a place! How can I stay here. This P.M. I have written some but it is so uncomfortable here. —

Thursday, Nov. 6th.

Cloudy, cold. Called on Commissioner Burge, & Mr. Pierce who is from Rochester, & is a partial acquaintance. —These deal cut rations to the Contrabands. —I went home with a woman. In one of the worst old tenements I ever saw. I

went up stairs wh. were dangerous to mount, in a room lighted only by vents & cracks, were 3 women & 13 children, one very sick, being badly burnt. In another room was a woman & 7 children, some of the mothers were away to work. One said “When Master heard the Unions was coming, he tried to get away all the children & women. Twas in the night while he was putting them into wagons. She took her 3 children & run, without waiting for clothes. One child in her arms was nearly naked. She walked 6 mi. that night in the woods, dragging the other 2 little ones along. Her Master was Jevy[?] Moden[?], Congressman at W. recon youve heerd on him. He said before he wd. let one of his niggers be free he wd. put them into a barn & burn them all up. He told them if they went to the Yankees they wd. starve in 3 days, & they wd. sell them to Hayti.— One woman said she did not wait for a bonnet or anything; she brought away 6 children, 3 of her own & 3 of her sisters who was dead. She fell down twice & hurt the one she carried so that it died after she got here. In another room in the ground floor was an old woman & several children. She wanted some planks

to make a bedstead, she lies on the floor at night. it is damp & her bones ache so in the morning. When I told her about what I had come here for, said she “The Lord bless you, may you live forever.” & an old man that was standing there went into raptures.—I went & told Mr. Burge of this. He said if he cd. get a load of planks he wd. but he did not know that he cd.

I then went to the Slave pen, one quite comfortable room there, it had been scrubbed & things were put away snug. One woman here had 4 children who like herself wore gray frocks, all whole & decent. She was a well appearing person.—

In another room with one window were 20 women & children, several sick ones, a little fire that only a few cd. get near at once. It had a brick floor, was damp & filthy, oh! horrible ! I went into several rooms & staid till I felt sick, then came home to dinner, & since then I have been to see the old woman & took her a pair of stockings. But little can be done for them until they have better places to live in.

These people came with an army when it retreated from Fredericksburg, Winchester, Culpepper & Manassas. They were “walked very fast, & the children tired out, & were afterwards sick from the fatigue & hardships of the march. They say the Union told them to come along, & they were used well[?] by the Soldiers.

Friday Nov. 7th 1862

Cold, windy. Snowed all day. What will these poor creatures do? I have no disposition to go & see them today, for I have no way to relieve them. Mr. Gladwin says he knows of

one place where these people stay where the roof is burnt off, & there is nothing between them & the heavens above. But may these not be all the nearer to the all seeing eye of the Good Father? I have written 5 letters & been to P.O. twice but get no letters yet.

Saturday 8th. Nov. 148 wks. since my darling was taken from me.
pleasant. Snow all gone, very muddy now. Have not seen the wont[?] till to day. I went to Commissarys. Mr. B. has succeeded in getting 3 loads of wood and he ~~wanted~~ wants 20 to distribute at once.—I went to Pitt

St. & went into an Irish hole, 4 children & a sick women. The filthiest children, & filthiest place I ever saw. Met a colored woman who showed me where the Contrabands live.

I found them in places unfit for brutes to live in. Many rooms had no windows, some no chimnies, & fire was built on a pile of stones, & room full of smoke. I went up a ladder to one place & was afraid when I got there that I cd. not get down again.

Some places were nearly full of people, sick children, measles, whooping cough. In one place a young[?] woman lay near a door, nothing to break the wind[?] off. She was quite sick. Said “she had such a misery in her stomach.”—Such buildings as these wd. be allowed to remain in no northern city. Some are merely sheds, may have been stables. But I have come to the conclusion that it is in some of these places where the slaves have lived, for many of these rooms have fire places in them where you may wonder that a fire place was ever needed, for they look like nothing that a human being sh. inhabitant. — Some of them have no windows, all dark when the door is shut.

In none of these was there any thing that looked like a bed. old rags & nothing else was to be seen.— I have seen no place that that I can compare these to, that is, the rooms. You might think that they were old places used to store plaster or something else. but one of them will contain 8 or 10 rooms perhaps, & each has a fireplace. It must be slaves have lived here. I must find out. In one large room lives a woman who has every thing as clean as need be. She is not a Contraband, has lived here a long time & washes for a living. I'll ask her some time.—This part of the city is called Fishtown. There is a railroad here, & men are all about here. It is a miserable place in more senses than one. It is near the river on low ground. —Can I go there again? The thought of doing so makes me sick. To give clothing or bedding to people in such places, wd. be like throwing it away, Dr. Ripley has been appointed physician to these people but he attend to other practices besides, so they dont get much attention. Wonder if this is by order of Sec. of War?

Sunday 9th.

Fine. Cleaned myself as well as I cd. & wrote rest of day. have not been out at all. Several new boarders here, one young man from near Buffalo, came

to get sick friend discharged. On Vt. man came to get his son discharged. —Oh! what a state of things!

Monday Nov. 10th.

Fine, like Indian Summer. Dreamed last night of seeing Frances & she told me that Freda was dead. I was in great distress. To-morrow it will be 140 wks. since I have seen my darling little one, since that heartless woman dragged her from my presence. Oh! dear, will I ever see her again!

No letters yet. What does it mean? This morning called at colored school. This P.M. took long walk. on Cameron St. is the church where Washington used to worship, a very quaint old church, over grown with ivy, & surrounded by a grave yd. gates locked.

Called on Mrs. May, saw several ladies there. —

M^cClellan has been superseded by Burnside. What is up now? Is the way being cleared to make M^cC. Commander in Chief? We have fallen on evil & discouraging times if such is the case, & yet there are men who think that the existence of the nation depends, upon “All-quiet-along-the-Potomac’s being continued in Command of the Army.

Alexandria Va. Nov. 11th. 1862

Beautiful weather. —Some gardens are green yet & roses are in blossom, & chrysanthemum &c. Some of the large 3 story brick dwellings are half covered with ivy. In the summer there must be much here that is beautiful.—1 P.M. no letters yet. I have been to the old school house. I can just make out over the door. “The Washington Lancastrian School July 1812.” —One long room & a smaller one. I saw a coffin taken into the small room. I looked in, a man was lying dead, dressed just as he died probably, he was laid into the coffin by two men. it was closed at once, taken out & placed into a wagon & driven off. No body seemed to care. no funeral service. he came here last Saturday & died last night.

A colored man was teaching some children the alphabet, out in the sun, the women were washing. I cd. remain but a few minutes, the atmosphere was sickening. I took a walk to get refreshed, & called on a family, that I visited last Saturday. The mother sat in the corner washing & nursing a 3 days old baby. She said “it was mighty fretful in the night.” She has been a field

hand, done all kinds of work that men do, lived but a few miles from here. Is the mother of 9 children, & she told me how slave mothers manage with their children. I remarked that all the children I saw were very quiet. Said she, we don’t make so much of them as white folks do, after one month we have to leave them, see them about twice in a day. So I try to have mine get used to it before I leave them. I am broken down. I have had mighty abusements when I have been hired out. After the crops were got in, then they chopped and hauled wood all winter & she has staid & worked all day in March with the snow over her feet. Said I, that is a nice baby. What will you name him? “Abe Linktern, ma’am. He was born in a big time, he is a big boy & he must have a big name.” Old & young master are both dead nobody but grandchildren left, & she is not afraid of them, of

what misery has that women's life been made! I have reason to hate slavery more every day I live. Mr. Gladwin has just come from W. Things are topsy turvy there. Gen Wadsworth is to take the field. The fugitive Slave law has been enforced & a man

& woman have been put in jail & will be returned to slavery in Md. — Gen. W. is gone & there is no help for them. how long, Oh! Lord, how long?

Went with Mr. Gladwin & Mr. Dubois to Convalescent Camp in Ambulance. My first ride in Alexandria. So rough, cd. hardly stay on the seat. 1000 sick men have come from Harper's Ferry. Poor fellows, have seen hard times there, & will see harder times here perhaps, but one of them said they cd. see nothing worse than they had seen. Some of the 108th. N.Y. army among them. one of the 13th. N.Y. where folks I know, from Chili. took tracts & papers, but had not half enough.

Near this is the Stragglers Camp, & the recruiting Camp, & the Camp for paroled prisoners. As we went there we saw in another camp a Conn. Reg^t. in dress parade. They looked fine. We did not stay long. I mean to go again & stay longer & see the Mich. men. Saw one of the 17. Mich.

This evening been to meeting at old s. house, several white men spoke & several col^d. men, one minister on name[?] who has just succeeded, after secreting himself 11 wks, in getting to Alex. He is from near Rappahannock Station.

Told about his conversion. "He was the most onspeakable man till he was brought to Consideration. We left them singing!

"Heavenly land, heavenly land

"Just got over to our heavenly land.

This was all but they kept on singing it as if they wd. never stop. What a scene! The long, wide room dimly lighted. What they call their beds were full of women & children. no noise but coughing. A number had come in from other houses & sat with their bonnets on & this is life in Alexandria!

Wednesday Nov. 12th. 1862

Cloudy. This morning went with Mr. Gladwin & Mr. Whipple to the school house. Oh! such a sickening sight. Many of them were eating. A man died this morning & lay in the small room. A coffin came & he was carried off in 2 hrs. perhaps after he died. I dont like the way Mr. W. & Mr. G. speak to those women. They dont treat them as women, I am vexed & provoked at what I have seen today. Then we went to the house where the sick are. some are getting better.

There were 3 dead children to day. Mr. G. gave orders to a colored man to make a prayer over one or two of them & that was that was done.

I cd. not see any more. I went back & found a note from Joe, saying the sutter of their Reg^t. was here & wd. take any parcel I wd. send, so I hastened with the things to Mrs.

May's, & wrote a few lines to him, but I fear they will not reach him. —Went to Commissary's. Find that my rations wd be.

3/4 lb. pork, or 1 1/4 lbs. beef

1 lb. 6 oz. flour or 1 lb. bread

1 1/2 oz. rice, — 1/2 gill beans

2 oz. sugar — 1 1/2 oz. Coffee

3/4 in. of candle, cake of soap 1 in. square.

Molasses & potatoes are extra rations.

But the question is, how can I make them available? I am not Yankee enough yet to do it. Mr. Burge told some discouraging things about these people. Yet I sh. not be discouraged, for I have ever known that that slavery is not favorable to the development or promotion

of the social or Christian virtues. —Yet I am vexed with what I have heard & seen. While I was there a large number of soldiers from Harper's Ferry passed on their way to the Convalescent Camp, although some of them did'nt where they were going. When I came out some of them were straggling along to weak to keep up, one young man sat down on the P.O. steps. It seemed that I must speak to him. He was of the 108th. Geo. Smith from Irondequoit, & told me of White & Vinton, one at Loudon Heights, the other at hospital at Harper's Ferry. —This has made me homesick more than any thing else I have met. —When I returned found Mr. C. has been here, so sorry I cd. not see him.

No letters from home yet. —

Thursday Nov. 13th.

Letters from Frances & Mary & Mrs. Barnes. All well but baby, he gets better very slowly. M. says I would not know him now. She is with Frances now. Mrs. Barnes writes a cheery, encouraging letter. These have done me much good.

I have called at Mrs. May's to leave a note for Joe, & at Mrs. Kimball's to see if she will take me, but she has no room for me. What shall I do? I cant make up my mind to stay here this winter. Have written several letters. A fine soft Indian Summer day. —No war news.

Friday Nov. 14th, 1862

Fine weather. —Went with Mr. Warwick to Convalescent Camp, saw those Mich. men & left them some pickles. —Went to Stragglers Camp. Found 4 of the 13th. & 1 of the 9th. Charles Smith of Chili, whose parents I know went round with me & we found several of the 108th. from Rochester & W. N.Y. —These last are lately from H. Ferry & all sick. The 13th. were sitting at a table & eating a good dinner. but they were in an officers tent, he being absent. — looked at all the headboards in their burying ground. One grave open ready for an occupant. A large no. of men were just coming in as I left. Is there no end to the numbers of sick men? I looked around on the grand prospect for a while. Those

hills & plains whitened with tents is to me a sad sight. A woman came there to look for a man in the 72^d. Penn. She thought he was among the. H. Ferry men. Had been to H.F. & not found him.

The headquarters here is a brick house, a matron here & I think there have been beautiful grounds around it once. & somebody probably had a pleasant home, & there is a grave yd. near with iron fence, but a part of it is broken away. There is not a fence to be seen in what were once fields. These Heights have been cleared of the trees, & nearly of the stumps. No wood now only what they hack off the stumps. But the 19th. Conn. the Pro. Guard of the City encamped just below the hill have a good supply of wood & the place is a model of neatness. Got a pass from the office of Gen. Slough this morning, & saw the Gen. It is a large brick house on this St. —There were 2 parlors. Two elegant Chandeliers remained, & beautiful portraits & pictures in gilt frames were still hanging there. The occupants have left in such haste that they cd. not take the family portraits.

I came back alone at my leisure & stopped at the Slave pen. Talked with Catherine Jennings & saw some of their sick & brought away a piece of brick from the Pen of “Price, Birch & Co. Dealers in Slaves.” —Went to Commissary’s. Mr. B. tells me that carpenters are at work, repairing some houses for the Contrabands. This is an indication that Gov^t. will erect no new buildings for them. Discouraging. Several new ones arrived this morning from Warrenton in the Cars. I have been talking with a man & his wife. His master moved his fat hogs last Sunday, & Monday he was to take his slaves off. —But these thought they wd. take themselves off. & the others could not believe they were to be sent south. The man reckons they are sorry enough by this time. These folks seem happy. They had to walk 12 mi. to the cars, & cd. bring no bedding & but little clothing.—

Hear that Mr. Griffin is in W. —Those slaves have been released from W. jail. —No particular war news. “All quiet.”

Alex. Nov 15th

Fine. This morning, Mrs. Winsor went with me to the S.H. & Hos. A dead child in the S.H. & a dead woman in the Hos. We did what we cd. to relieve a several poor women & then went to see the old woman who wants a bed stead & has not got it yet. This P.M. wrote and called at Mrs. K’s. —

Sunday Nov. 16th.

Couldy, cold. This A.M. went with Mrs. Winsor to the old Church on Cameron St. where Washington used to worship. It is a quaint old brick building, with a sort of tower at one end, one side of the ch. is nearly covered with ivy. It is ~~surround~~ in one corner of a grave yard, filled with old sunken & broken tombstones, some erected in the latter part of the last century, & others in the early part of this. Fine[?] trees are growing there. The church has been kept in repair & in the paint & varnish are very thick. The windows are small 18 lights of small glass, no gallery, only for the organ & ~~quire~~ choir. The slips are as we

have them now, Except the one occupied by Washington that is twice as large as the others

& in a silver plate is engraved Washington, Pew. We were there early, & sat awhile in the pew. The red cushions look quite old. Government took possession of this Ch. for the soldiers use as the secesh churches here dont like to admit Soldiers.

The Episcopal Chaps. officiate. There was a long service, & then Mr. Bowman read a discourse on Music. it was more particularly for the choir. It showed learning & culture & was a finished discourse. Nothing adapted to the wants of Soldiers in particular but few were there. There were also a few citizens present. When they had a religious governor here, He attended this ch. & his example filled the ch. with Soldiers. Gen. Slough is not a religious man.

This P.M. went with Mrs. W. & her husband to the burying Ground. What sad sights I saw. It comprises several large squares. Each enclosed & with streets between them. The first one we went into has been an old burying place. Many stones are standing, some good ones & of late date, but they have made graves for soldiers here in any

& every part of it. I think they often dig into others. Some of the Soldiers graves have head boards & some are not marked at all. A few have nice stones. The Contrabands are also buried here. The next part we went into had but few graves. Here was a colored funeral. Nice coffin, very respectable looking people, & came in hacks. Then are many old looking & neglected places. A few fine monuments but many common ones & some vaults. Hunting Creek empties into the Potomac near this & it is very wide. but a road is made partly through it & there is a bridge over the middle & deepest part. From this side of the B. Ground we have an extensive view. We see some of the Convalescent Camp. & the other camp near, Fairfax Sem, Fort Ellsworth & Fort Lyon. Not a fence to be seen except that around the burying ground, & none of the land cultivated. Across the Creek the Slopes are bare in some places, & beaten roads are all over the hills. Now & then an old Va. Mansion, trees mostly cut down. They tell me nearly all this

tract was covered with Encampments before the Potomac Army went to Manassas last April. What a scene it is now! In another part of the B. Ground was a citizen's and funeral. There were very elegant hacks & drivers with long black hat bands. Then the sound of muffled drums & martial music came near us. This was a Soldier's funeral. A large space has been enclosed for a Soldiers burying ground, about 100 graves in a row, & there are several rows. Each with a head board with the name of & no. of the Reg^t. except now & then one marked "Unknown". This is a sad sight. The poor fellow that was now brought to occupy the six feet of Va. soil, was a N.H. Vol. I suppose as the Co. was N.H. men. A Chaplin read the service. Three volleys were fired, & the cheap

coffin with its occupant, who died so far from friends, & home, the news of which will make some heart ache probably. 8 or 9 other graves were dug & ready for & before this was over another funeral came & waited at the entrance till they cd. move out of the way, but few men

with this one who had died in a hospital. It was as busy & stirring all about these grounds as it is in the city.—I never saw any thing like it, of course. Oh! Slavery! What desolation, & sorrow it has carried throughout the land.—This evening have been to col^d. meeting.

Monday 17th, Nov.

Cloudy & rainy. Virginia Seaton died this morning very suddenly after an illness of a few day wh. was not thought to be dangerous. The eldest child & in her 15th. year. They feel it very deeply, as they are an affectionate family. —I cannot realize that there is death in the house although I saw her die. She is laid out prettily & placed in an elegant Coffin in the parlor below.

I have been through the Wolfe St. Hos. to day, been through the 3 buildings. Quaker meeting house & oh, oh, dear . no end to trouble & distress. Some so sick that they realize but little, others better, or nearly well. I wish these all knew how well off they are here, while so many in other places are suffering so much. from neglect and other causes. —With Mr. W. & Mrs. W.

went to Fish town. Mr. W. tired out before we saw all the places. Such filthy, dark, unwholesome, disgusting dens & holes as those human beings stay in is a shame & disgrace to a civilized County & all this in a town wh. is in Sight of the Capitol! of the Presidents House!

Have been to Mrs. K's this P.M. & have engaged to go there board at \$7 a week!

Tuesday 18th.

Cloudy, Rainy No letters. Have been out with Mrs. W. for a walk, called to see some women at the hospital who are better. One old emaciated creation sat with her head on her knees. I asked her if she was better? "Oh! yes. A heap better. Said I "you have been taking something that has made you feel better?" "no." Why Mr. W. gives you something every day dont he? 'No'. I said to another, is this woman so forgetful. why does she say so! The woman said Mr. W. gives you something every day. Then she said "I so weak I forgets." I'd stay in the room but a minute or two, the air was so bad. Did'nt venture into the school house this time

There is an unusual stir in the town this morning. Stores are being moved down the river to Aquia Ck. A body of Cars left & went south. Report says our Army are retreating from Manassas, & Stonewall Jackson is coming towards Alexandria. Some of the Colored folks are uneasy & some of the white ones too. I am not sure whether it is best to be

afraid or not. The citizens here wd. welcome the rebels most gladly. I have written most all the P.M. & hope I can get my letters off before the rebels get here.

To morrow P.M. the funeral of Virginia S. will take place.—

Alex. Wednesday Nov. 19th. 1862

This A.M. went to draw rations. Talked with several col^d. people. Virginia Seaton's funeral this P.M. I went with them to their burying ground. The ways of people are quite different from our ways. I am getting used to them however. City quiet today. No particular war news. Intend to leave this house to morrow to go to Ms. Kimball's on Duke St.

Alexandria Va.

November 19th. 1862.

¹¹Diary.

Alexandria Va.

Cor. Duke & Columbia (*sic*) Sts.

Thursday evening Nov. 20th 1862.

Left 69 St. Asaph St. South this A.M. & find myself in new quarters at Mr. K.'s. A large house & full of boarders, but I don't see much of them. This P.M. there has been a pouring rain; how the soldiers will suffer, & those contrabands too who are in those wretched holes & hovels & dens. I have not been to see anybody today. This P.M. unpacked trunks for the first time since I left home. Our Army has left Warrenton & Manasses, & all the stores not needed now have been brought to Alex.— Citizens were not allowed to cross Long Bridge yesterday. Gov^t used it exclusively. Burnside has got beyond Fredericksburg, but we hear to day that there is danger of his being surrounded. This storm is unfortunate for "onward to Richmond." No forward movement till the fine weather was over. Oh! dear.

Friday Nov 21st. 1862

Rainy, & muddy; About 10 went with Mr. Gladwin & Mr. Whipple in an ambulance first to Slave Pen. They are finding out how many contrabands there are in order to report to headquarters, considerable Small Pox among them. Went into the Slave Prison among the Soldiers. What a shame to see so many in the Federal uniform in such a place. There are cells where the worst are confined. There were some dungeons under this floor where slaves were confined, but they were filled up a year ago, & there is a roof over the prison now. What a horrid place. Went to 3 tents where some men live who work on R.R. Then to another wretched place on Water St. Then to a large building on Cor. Columbus & King full of people. Then home to dinner, after wh. a Phil^a. gentleman went with us to Fishtown &c. we went into every place. That is Mr. G. & Mr. W. did, some small pox

¹¹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26002_001 to HC13-26002_075 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1862 to May 13, 1863.

dens I did not go into, but staid outside. The Phil^a gentleman thought they would have to send some lumber from Phil^a. It is obvious to every one that some better buildings should

be made for them, & nothing much can be done until they are removed from these dark filthy places. It has been a hard day's work. The driver was mad because it was cold & rainy & he missed his dinner & he drove like vengeance over the worst places. He thinks "a white man is as good as a nigger if he behaves himself." The streets are very rough, & whenever we had to get out and walk it was very muddy. I am tired tonight.

Two letters from Joe, last one Nov. 12th, Camp near Waterloo, 5 mi. from Warrenton, on the march. Report today that Burnside has been repulsed by the rebels.—

Saturday 22^d, Nov.

Pleasant, cool. Rose early. Left at 9 for Washington with Mr. G. in ambulance. While waiting for it, I sat in Pro. Marshalls Office, & saw the folks as they came for passes wh. were refused to many, for various reasons. It was a cold but interesting ride over Long Bridge &c. This is a railroad bridge & a dangerous one too, for it often breaks down. It is a drawbridge & narrow & when the cars are upon it, it is dangerous for teams.

Just as we got to the covered part, we met 2 reg^{mt} of Cavalry, & had to stop in the mud & wait till they all passed 2 abreast in this narrow way.—They looked rough & cold & hard used, going on to Burnside's army probably.—

We called at Mr. Clark's, & at Gen W's Headquarters. Gen W. has gone home for 2 wks. & Gen Martindale of R. is in his place, but he was out. Went to State Dept. & saw Mr. Baker. Then to see Mr. Van Santwood and Mr. Dennis. Then to Home for Contrabands. They have some new buildings, but from the looks of things they might as well have no Superintendent.— but where the 8th Cav. Co. M. Capt. Smith have been encamped, they were moving to a dry & better place, & had nearly all gone. Mr. Griffin & a few others were there yet, fortunately, but I cd. stay but a few moments. He is well and showed me where they wd. be after this in the new camp. Then went to Mr. Lake's & took dinner. Did not start to come back till nearly dark. When we got to Long Bridge, we were told that the draw was broken and we could not cross in 3 hrs, so the

only alternative was to go round by Georgetown & over the Aqueduct Bridge. Neither Mr. G nor the driver knew the way. No moon, not even a friendly star looked down upon us until we had crossed the bridge & were two or three miles this side of it. Then the clouds began to break away & it grew lighter as we came near Alex. No teams were coming this way but we met several. Mr. G. helped the driver who cd. not see very well to keep the road.—The lights of Geotown & W. & of the encampments looked beautifully across the river. — We came through Ft. Runyon, but it was so dark I cd. not make out much about it. — It was a cold, dark, [?] dangerous ride, but we got home safe

at last about 8 o'clock. — Burnside has had no engagement yet; he is near Fredericksburg.

Sunday Nov. 23^d

Fine, but cold. Have not felt like doing much. I am over the kitchen & it is so noisy that it makes my head ache. I am not sure but I shall get sick of this room. — Wrote letters.

A soldier's funeral passed this P.M. The music was very sad. Only a guard of 20 men attended the remains. Then a citizens funeral, a long procession & in elegant style. Mr. G. called. Has come in conflict with some of the S. House Contrabands, & has had one arrested. I am very sorry that such a thing has happened.

Monday Nov, 24th.

Fine. This A.M. went out with Mr. Warwick and Mrs. W. to School House and brick house & several other places. What destitution & suffering! Letters from E. Wing & E. Wilbur & C. Winans & A. Post & F. Douglass.— This P.M. called at two Secesh houses to beg some thing for a poor woman who is sick & half naked. One lady said “she had nothing for contrabands. They might have staid at their comfortable homes, with their kind masters, & those that brought them away might take care of them. If I had wanted any thing for poor white folk she wd. relieve them but had nothing for colored folks.” The other lady asked “if she was col^d & a contraband, & said she might have staid at her

comfortable home; but she had just given away everything she had & had nothing now to give.” But this lady was more pleasant about it than the other. This was Mrs. Daingerfield. She lives in elegant style.— The sight of the old emaciated black woman had made me brave, but my courage forsook me now & I did not continue my begging Excursion after this taste of the quality of the Secesh ladies.— Called to ask Dr. R. to go & see a very sick woman. He was not pleasant at all & gave me to understand that I need not come to him again, that Mr. G. & Mr W. wd. let him know when he was needed, & that he knew all about this woman, & I cd'nt tell him anything, but at the same time said he could'nt attend to a quarter of them & he needed two men to help him.” I am disappointed in the man. I had hoped to find a humane & considerate & an approachable Dr, but I suppose I must let him alone after this. Mr. G. is sick today. His ride on Saturday was too much for him. I do not feel first rate myself.— I saw 2 funerals, one that

of a citizen, the other that of a soldier. The 2 processions went side by side & the contrast was very painful. The poor soldier in a cheap coffin, in a rude ambulance was attended to his last resting place in Va. soil by about 20 rough looking soldiers with arms reversed, a sad sight! But the citizen was in an elegant coffin, placed in a splendid hearse followed by the mourners in elegant hacks & a large number of people on foot. — Such are the sights in Alex. Called on Mrs. May. Joe is probably near Fredericksburg—

Tuesday 25th

Last night I was severely sick & slept but little. I thought of Typhus fever, & Small pox. Whenever I closed my eyes pale faces in blue uniforms & black faces with all conceivable features were all around me. I feel better to day but have only been to the P.O. Got several papers from home. Mr. Channing called & brought \$20 for the Contrabands.—

Wednesday 26th Nov.

Been to S. House & brick house. So much Small pox I shall be cautious as to where I go. Have written an appeal to Friends in G. Britain & Ireland — This P.M. J. Dennis of W. called with a Committee from the Friends in N.Y. This com. was Wm. Cromwell & Benj^{lm}. Tatham. They wish to learn every thing in relation to the contrabands & are ready to help them.— Mr. Warwick called this evening & gave me an invitation to go to Paroled Camp to-morrow.

Thanksgiving in Virginia!

Alexandria Va. Nov. 27th. 1862

The most interesting Thanksgiving day I have ever celebrated, & it was all so unexpected too. Cold, bright day. Froze some last night. About half past 9 a.m. started for Paroled Camp in Ambulance with Mr. Warwick, Mrs. Winsor & Misses Jennie & Nettie Kimball. I had not visited this Camp before and Mr. W. was to preach there to day & they were to celebrate Thanksgiving. I little thought

such a treat awaited me. I expected to be interested in seeing divine service performed in a Camp & nothing more, but we had been invited to dinner as well. The drive was invigorating, in spite of all the dead horses that we saw on our way. We reported at Headquarters & were introduced to Col. Gabriel Korpony, a Hungarian, com^{dg}. Camp of Paroled Prisoners. We were asked to make ourselves at home in his comfortable tent, & after a little he went with us to see the Hospital tents & store rooms Dispensary &c. We were introduced to Surgeon White, Chief Medical director & Dr. Warner. Then we waited in the tent till arrangements were made for the meeting & in the meantime Gen Slough & Lady arrived. She is a very ladylike person, & he is a fine appearing man.— There are 2000 men in this camp, 75[?] sick, & some on guard, but all the rest were drawn up in a hollow square 2 deep in the center was a large box covered with a

sheet for a table, & Mr. W. was mounted[?] on a bench, boards were laid on the ground & seats were provided for us ladies. About 20 men on the other side of the speaker led the singing. Gen Slough & wife, Col. Korpony & several officers joined in the singing. Before leaving the tent the Col. said he wished every officer to attend the service. One of them remarked that “he had not attended divine service in 7 yrs.” But this same Capt. gave very respectful attention to Mr. W. —The service was very impressive to me. Some of these were rough, hard-looking men, & to see them under such circumstances, the

young & the middle aged reverently listening to the singing, praying & preaching. Before service cheers were given for the President, Gen. Slough & Mrs. Slough. After service an avenue was christened Mrs. Bell Slough & more cheers were given. Col. K. also addressed his men, in language half profane, half sacred, at once solemn & ludicrous. — He reminded the men

of the day, of their homes & their families & although he cd. not do anything in particular for them, he asked them earnestly to behave themselves. Mr. W. gives an instance wh. illustrates his character. He said “damn it, if I hear any of these men swear “I’ll do so & so,” & today as he entered the door I heard him swear. But he said “Excuse me, we have to talk sharp to these folks sometimes. A woman comes here & says “my men steal her wood & her cabbages” & they do no such thing. They come from the other camps & do it, but my men don’t do so.” The first thing he said was “It’s no great pleasure to be a Col. I’ve have not slept hardly anything in 2 nights. I’m always writing discharges, since 5 o’clock yesterday I have signed my name 1200 times.” Col. K. has command of all the paroled prisoners in the loyal states. All discharges are signed by him. A very fine lunch was prepared in the Mess room, & spiced with sparkling champagne. The officers were present. There were

some toasts & some little speeches. Gen S. is a man of few words, but he made a speech & in it said that he never was scared but once in his life & that was when he stood at the altar. he dared not look at the lady. The responsibility he was taking upon himself frightened him. But some make a light matter of it &c. Mrs. S toasted the Col. to the effect “that he might soon wear not only one star but two stars upon his shoulder. Col. K. talked of his wife & Geo. Washington, his little son. Then a toast was drunk to little Geo W. A Mass^{ts}. man made a touching speech to Gen. S.,. Thanking him for the permission to visit his home to see his wife once more before she died. He spoke of his family at home, but still was glad that the Gen. cd. have his wife & boys with him —After lunch Gen. S. & wife left, & then seated in his tent the Col. became very loquacious & communicative, now & then interrupted by a bearer with dispatches, wh. wd. be examined & then the talk wd. flow on. But he told them this morning he sh. sign no discharges to day.

His voice is musical, his accent foreign & broken, but so jovial & genial. He was quite as sparkling as the champagne of wh. he had drunk so freely. Here is a bit of his history. He is an artist. “With these feet of mine I have earned in this country \$100,000. I have no superior as an artist.” And then it turned out that Miss K. had attended his dancing school in St. Louis 10 years ago.—Then he told her how much she was like his Sister Mary, & that he thought it was her when she got out of the ambulance. —Then a long talk about his Sister Mary who loves him very much, & who writes him such beautiful letters, more

like a lover's letters than a sister's. His dear sister Mary is an artist. She is a star. She is expected in W. next wk.—She was a dear sister & a beautiful girl, but one morning it was found that this blooming, lovely girl had gone off with a loafer not a gentleman. His wife is strictly religious & will have nothing to do with his sister now & does not wish him to see her, & his sons are like the mother, but his daughter Gabrielle is like him, & she stole away with him in the night to see his sister Mary.—He gave us to understand that his wife's people & others in Phil^a. would think themselves disgraced if they had anything to do with Mary, & they would in

jure him & bring disgrace upon his name & the cause of the Country, &c. He says there is no better actress than she, & no better artist than himself. He says he is as much Com. in Chief as Gen Halleck, for he commands all paroled prisoners. He talked so much & so fast! At Lunch I was seated by a [*Transcriber's note: blank space is left for rank or name*] Dewhurst a relative of the Duke of Wellington. He is now from Phil^a. & visiting Col. K. who is a friend of his. I heard this gentleman say that Col. K. has been in this Country 24 yrs. but he went back ~~when Kossuth was fighting there~~, & was in the 3^d. Legion of Yagans at Camp Aldershot near London & they were held as a reserve in the Crimean War. He has seen service in Mexico, & is a Cav. officer. Has lived in Phil^a. & has been interpreter to the Courts. He speaks eleven languages —Mr. W. Mrs. W. & myself went & distributed some reading in the sick tents. In the meantime other guests had arrived, Mrs. Leach, Mrs. Thomason & Mrs. Jones. Col. K. wd. be out a while & then he wd. come

& apologize for their being so long getting dinner ready.—At length he entered & introduced Mrs. & Miss Forrest & a gentleman—quite distinguished looking persons. Officers were out & in the tent & they were very affable & sociable.—At length dinner was announced & we went to the mess room. Three tables were set. Col. K. presided at one, the Pres. of the Mess at another & at the 3rd [*transcriber's note: space was left for a name.*] Grace was said by Mr. W.—And this was an officers Thanksgiving dinner in Camp! I must say I've eaten better dinners. The Turkey was not cooked, & few people like raw turkey. Some things were well enough—justice was done to the wine by officers & guests, & if Col. K's tongue did not move the faster for it then I'm no judge.—Ever so many toasts were drank & a few speeches made. Capt. Chamberlin of Mass. made the longest one, called this a contest between civilization & barbarism & hoped we should yet see a school house on every hill in Va. I think he wanted to say the word slavery, but had not the courage to do it.—Among these officers but little allusion was made to the object of the war, & no opinions were given. Their camp life was about all that seemed to interest them—& all they seemed to know. There were no news discussed, no one

could tell any news, or seemed to care for any. Col. K. invited Mrs. & Miss Forrest, who board at the Marshall House with him to dine with him. They were distinguished looking persons, richly dressed. Col K. called on Miss F. for a song, & after some hesitation she sang & very beautifully too. Then she was toasted & cheered with 3 hips. She is a public singer & furthermore I know not.—The dinner progressed slowly, we got as far as the pies; the cakes & fruits were ordered, but Col. K. said we sh. have to skedaddle pretty soon or be left in the dark. there was no way of lighting the room. Then our immediate party skedaddled forthwith. The Col's tent was all this while guarded by a Rochester soldier with whom I had some conversation. Found an Liv. Co. man, & one Kentuckian. he said he was the only one there, & I had some pleasant talk with him. He eagerly received the tracts I gave him & said he had saved some to take home with him. The camp is laid out very nice & evergreens planted throughout the streets. There is Slough Av. & Hooker Av. & Miss Kate Chase Av. & Mrs.

Bell Slough Av wh. was christened today. services were held in Lincoln square.—Mr. Warwick seems to be very much liked then & the Col. proposes him for Chaplain. The sick had Oysters & Pies to day, but I think the rest of the soldiers had nothing extra. Poor fellows. If what was spent for the wine that these officers drank had been laid out in something for all the soldiers to remind them of their homes! Oh! I do pity them, & felt that it was hardly right for me to enjoy myself all day when there is so much suffering around me.—Col. K. rode to city with us, & he called at Mr. Kimball's.—He invited us to come again & his ambulance wd. be at our disposal anytime.—

I little thought one year ago at my quiet home in W. N.Y. that I sh. spend the next Thanksgiving under Va. skies, at the seat of war, & take my dinner in a camp with officers of high rank wearing Eagles & stars & bayonets guarding us the while.

Friday 28th.

Letters from Frances & S. A. Ferris. Mary is not well yet.—Got ever so many papers. Been out several times. Called at Prince St. Hospital to get vaccinated but Dr. Bigelow had no virus to day. Do not feel well. Water is so bad I cannot drink it.—

Saturday Nov. 29th

Did not feel well this morning & have not been out to day, rested & written some. Drank a cup of tea for the first time in ~~my~~ life 20 yrs. perhaps. I cannot drink the water; 1500 Cav. left here yesterday. A spy was brought in here to day by 25 cavalry. I hardly hear a person speak respectfully of the Government, & nobody shows any enthusiasm for the Union. The Northerners that are here have come to make money out of the war, & I believe that is all they care for it.—If the President does not come up to the mark in his Message to Congress next Monday, I shall be discouraged.

Sunday Nov. 30.

Fine, mild. Went with Mr. Warwick & Mrs. K. & daughters to Paroled C. to attend worship. Col. DeK. said "he expected a good deal of guests," but only 4 or 5 besides us

were present. The services were interesting. The men did not all come at first, and the Col. was vexed. After

service he scolded them & then asked their pardon, and they cheered him. Bible expounded from an ammunition chest! We visited Commissary's Dept.—“Sister Mary” was there, looks some like Miss K., not a striking likeness.—

While sitting in the Col's tent, I hear & see a good deal behind the scenes. Hear letters read & dispatches dictated, & various other things said & see them done.—

Col. DeK. wishes he was a Cromwell. He wants to be in the field. He wants to fight the rebels, & subdue them with fire & sword. He thinks them very bad.—Don't like the tenderness with wh. they are treated.—But he thinks our Country will be divided, & we shall be ruled by an Emperor in 2 or 3 years.—He is very interesting in conversation. One poor fellow was dying. Mr. W. & the Col. visited him several times. Col. is very kind. The camp is kept clean.—We then went to Convalescent C. but did not stay long. Ever so many new men on their way there, a forlorn looking place, & a dirty place too. They must be neglected sadly.

7000 prisoners are expected at the paroled camp soon. But Col. De. K. says he has clothing & rations for them. The Col. don't stay out there nights. He stops at the Marshall House Alex. —Says his throat is bad &c. Officers don't like hard fare I find.—

And this has used up the day. I was intending to go to Col^d. church. But I thought a chance to go out there wd. not happen every Sunday. I wd. like to have come back as soon as service was over but we were expected to stay to dinner & the Col. wd. not excuse us. A soldiers dinner, but it suited me better than the Thanksgiving dinner. —Just as much stir that way to day as on a weekday.—Oh! What a place this is. —Just after we returned a soldier's funeral passed with its solemn music.

I wonder how they are at home. I wd. like to see them a little while. It was 152 wks. yesterday since my darling Freda was taken from me. If I cd. hear directly from her that she is well & happy!

Alex. Wednesday Dec. 3^d.

Weather very mild & pleasant, yards green yet & chrysanthemums & roses in blossom. For 3 days past have not visited much. Small pox nearly every where. Poor creatures! White folks will hate them worse than ever. Yesterday Mr. Van Santvord & Mr. Chester from W. called. I called on Mrs. May. Joe can't get pass to come here.

Today Miss May called, have sent some things to Joe. Wonder if he will get them this time? He is well. Prospect is they will go into winter quarters down there. Letters from Sarah Jane & Cousin Kate & Miss Howland. Glad to hear from all these. I wish I had time to write more letters.

Sunday ~~Nov.~~ Dec. 7th. 1862

Wintry weather. Ground white with snow. My room is not comfortable today. On Thursday had a kind letter from Anna B. Read part of President's Message, & felt so discouraged. Proposes Emancipation in the year 1900. The poor man. I am sorry for him. The hopes of millions depend on his Message to Congress now. Oh, dear.

I think his Proclamation for the 1st. of Jan. next will be made if no effort before that time comes. The rebels will be represented in Congress, & then of course they will have it their own way. The Pro. Slavery Democrats have been so encouraged by the late Elections, that they are about ready to defy the government.

Friday was rainy & snowy. Went to W. with Mr. G in an ambulance. Pleasant ride to W. only on Long Bridge met the largest drive of cattle I ever saw. It was a dangerous meeting too. In the pushing & crowding our horses were in danger of being hooked, & there was no way for us to escape. Went to Columbian Coll. 2 mi. out on 14th St. to find Arthur Arthur Ayer, but did not succeed. Went to Carver Hos. & to Stone Hos. but could not find his name on any of these registers. Here are acres & acres of Hospitals. Col. Coll. is 4 or 5 stories. Shrine[?] Hos. is a large building. Carver Hos. is barracks, a great many in number, and there are a great many tents besides. What a sight it is!

Called at pro slavery Dr. Samson's. He is a friend of Mr. G's. Went to Mr. Lake's to spend the night. It stormed so we concluded not to go home, but sent the ambulance back.—

Yesterday morning with Mr. G. & Mrs. Klock I went to the Capitol. Congress was not in session but I went around, saw the President's room & went on to the floor of the Sen. Chamber, & observed it particularly. Saw an elegant painting, "Westward the Course of Empire takes its way." How elegant everything is.—

The Dome & statue by rigid economy (?) [*Transcriber's Note: ? in original*] will cost only \$900,000. The statue costs \$25000, & is by Crawford.—The marble for the enlargement costs \$1,000,000.

I saw a new regiment but cd. not learn where they were from. A fine looking one. Made various calls & waited in the cold &c. Saw an artillery train going towards the river. There is great stir in W. It must mean that the army is going forward. Came back on boat, just escaped being left. The little black mules went on the River jump. How such driving must use up horses, & mules. What skeletons of horses & mules we do see before the army wagons.

Saw Capt. Wyman on the boat. Said he "Miss Wilbur, I received your letter." I tried to think what he meant, for I cd. not recollect writing to him. "Your letter to the President reached me." Then I was frightened & said "I hoped it did not offend?" "Oh, no" said he, "& the requisition for barracks has been granted." Was I not glad & encouraged? My letter was intended only for father Abraham, but he laid it before Sec. of War, & he sent

it to Gen. Slough, & Gen S. sent it to Capt. W. who looked pleased when he told me of it.—

Called at P.O. & saw Stannard & Palmer, two Mich. men from Con. Camp. They want to get away from there so much, been there 2 months. I told them I wd. help them if I cd. So I went to Mrs. May's & found out when the Dr. of that camp cd. be found. So I went to Cameron St. but he had not come from Camp yet. Waited till 5 P.M. & went again & have been agreeably disappointed. Dr. Jacobs is a com-at-ible person, very kind & friendly & conversed freely about himself & things at the camp. He thinks our soldiers are treated with neglect & injustice

& said he stays here because he can do them good. He is about to leave on account of ill health. He gave me to understand that he wd. attend to the cases of these 2 men, & I cried for joy. I feel so well paid for my efforts. Don't mind the 2 long cold walks at all. Letters from Mother & Mary Julia. All well. C. was to leave for W. Friday morning, & should have been in W. yesterday, & wd. see me to day. but the weather has been so cold & blustering that I think it has hindered her coming. It will be too bad if I can't see her if she comes to Washington.—

Mr. G. has been here & says those poor creatures at the pest house have no wood, but I gave him no money. I don't wish Government to think that we are going to furnish them with wood, although we shall have to do it in some cases.

Bronze door for E. front of Cap. is designed by Rogers, ornaments emblematic of Conquest & Navigation, Columbus &c. weighs 20,000 lbs. Is now at Munich.

Tuesday Dec. 9th. '62

Very cold yesterday & today. The boat was frozen up yesterday & did not run. Night before last it is said 6 men were frozen to death at the Convalescent Camp. Had letters yesterday from Mary J. & Joe. C did not start on Friday.

Joe is near Fredericksburg, at one end of a bridge guarding a battery, & the rebels only 500 feet from them at the other end. He is disappointed in not getting a pass to come to Alex.—Got the room at 63 St. Asaph St. all ready to put goods in. Today no mail has come north of Baltimore. Took a walk with Mrs. W, Miss Hall.—Called on J. F. Barkley, Union man from N.Y.—

Friend Randolph from Phil^a called & left \$1 with me for the Contraband cause.

Wednesday Dec. 10th.

Bright, mild. Letter from J. & Ella. She is quite ill.—Mr. Needham called with goods from Washington. Letter from Mrs. Channing.

Invitation from Col. De K. to go to Mount Vernon. Went on Gov^t. Tug Clyde, a very nice little Steam boat. A half doz. ladies & 2 gentlemen made the party. Landed a German

lady at Fort Washington. Her husband commands the Fort, wh. mounts 107 guns some en barbette & some casemates. It is in a commanding position at a bend in the river, wh. is very broad all the way from Washington. Not a ripple on the river. Saw 3 boats with soldiers. One had a regiment on board, going to Aquia Creek. Mt. Vernon is a mile or 2 from Ft. W. wh. is 8 mi. from Alex.— We stopped a while but could not land. We all supposed we were going to the house. We were within half a mile I think & had a glass to look through & this had to suffice this time, but I mean to go there yet. The trip has been delightful. The day so fine, the broad, beautiful river, & the scenery all new. I enjoyed it exceedingly.—Col. De K. is very kind. This evening he is in the parlor

below, insists that he has seen me in Rochester & at Niagara Falls.—

Col. [*Transcriber's note: space left here for name*] is with him. But I have no patience with sensible men who will spend hours at a time playing cards. I did not tarry long below, for I enjoy my own room best.—After I came back from Mt. V. I called at Mr. S's & went for my rations &c.

Been reading that the enlargement of Capitol required 19,403,799 bricks & of cement 46,941 lbs. Whole quantity of marble has cost \$1,014,000. 60 monolithic shafts for E portico & corridors, N.S. & W. porticos will require 40 more shafts. What a vast expense! The work has not been stopped at all; the Contractors have gone on at their own risk.—

Thursday Dec. 11th, Alex.

Fine weather. This A.M. unpacked & distributed goods at No. 53 St. Asaph st. Boxes filled with excellent clothing for men, women & children, from Friends of Philadelphia.

Letter from Mrs. Green of Homer, who has 2 boxes ready to send us.—

Mrs. Winsor vaccinated me to day. Small pox is spreading among whites as well as colored.

Three citizens funerals passed here this P.M. & there have been 3 soldiers' funerals from Wolfe St. Hos.— Fighting at Fredericksburg; shelling the town.—

Friday Dec. 12th. 1862

Delightful weather. I am glad for the poor soldiers. Letter from Frances. She is full of trouble. Mary & Minnie well & baby almost well. —4 Contrabands dead to day. Mr. G. attended their funerals. I am afraid to go among them much at present. I am troubled. I cannot fix my mind on anything. Called on Mrs. May, who is as anxious as I am. Mr. W vaccinated me again. Tried to sew but I cd. not do much. After dinner, I saw 14 omnibuses & 17 ambulances pass. They were empty. I thought

they might be taking soldiers from hospitals to the Con. Camp, wh. wd. be in my opinion a very wicked thing. I started out & found they were taking them from the Hospitals to the Depot, to be sent to Philadelphia, & to make room here for the wounded they expect

from Fredericksburg. This seems like war in reality. We suppose they are fighting there now. Mr. G. had ambulance ready & Mrs. W, Mr. K. & Nettie & I went with him to Con. Camp. Stopped at Slave Pen by the way. Went into the prison. Oh! what a wretched sight. The hardest looking men that I ever saw among them. A damp, filthy place. They were sitting & lying around. One was in a cell for murder, & 2 for robbing the mail at the Con. Camp. The last insisted that they were innocent. The murderer said he did not mean to kill the man. it was done in self defense & unintentionally. Then the filthy Camp! it is awful to have to stay there. Saw Stannard & Palmer. they have had no Examination yet. I am disappointed.

From the brow of that hill there is the finest prospect I ever laid my eyes on. The river was whitened with sails. They gleamed beautifully in the setting sun. The Capitol, the cities[?], the encampments, the forts, the river & Hunting Creek, the hills! but to enjoy it one must not think of the misery around us. I have seen more misery to day than I wd. like to see in a lifetime. On our return we saw the soldiers just leaving on the cars. I am so glad for them. This A.M. 3 regiments passed through here from W. with music. There is a great stir.

Sat. 13th.

Warm. Letter from Joe. he has been promoted to a Lieutenancy. Been to see Capt. Wyman. says there shall be in the barracks cupboards, tables & benches. Small pox increasing. Fighting at Fredericksburg. town shelled & partly burned. Many of our poor fellows killed.

What anxious hearts there are all over the country. Wish I cd. hear from Joe. Col. Tate & Col. De Korponay here this evening. Mr. Warwick & Mr. Van Dusen also.

Alex. Sunday Dec. 14th

Quite warm, hazy.—Went with Mr. Warwick & Mrs. Winsor in ambulance to Paroled Camp. Col. De K absent. —Attended Service on Lincoln Square. Did not stay to dinner.

Mr. Sumner & Mr. Wilson visited these camps yesterday—We went to Convalescent Camp. Saw Col. Belknap & Gen. Slough, got tickets for Serg^t. H. Stannard & John A. Palmer to be examined on Tuesday. They hope to get discharged. I shall be so thankful if they can get away soon. But the other poor fellows that I cd. do nothing for. Oh! dear. They feel so bad.—Col. B. & Gen. S. both agree with me that it is too bad to keep men in such a place, & in such a way. Col. B. said they will discharge after this 60 a day. But the worst cases must be attended to first. No wonder these men are

sick with hope deferred. I learned considerable today about the way things are done here, and I am more disgusted than ever. These men are treated with no more consideration than dogs or horses.

I am sicker than ever of war.

Service in Dr. Smith's tent, full of hard looking men, but I think they were nearly all religious. Most all of them sung. They held prayer meeting this evening. When this was over in the tent, a funeral was just leaving, & Dr. S. was going to the grave with them & wished Mr. Warwick to go. So our ambulance formed a part of the escort to the grave. The drum made solemn music. The man's name was Burrows of the 14th N.Y.—Dr. S. conducted the services. The "Shining Shore" was sung. Mr. W. prayed. It was an impressive scene. Three volleys were fired over the grave, by 8 men. & the soldiers turned away from the 18 open graves which are ready for their occupants. How many have been filled to day I know not.

They are on the 7th row of about 100 each. Many a poor fellow will sleep here & his friends not know where he is buried. All the while this was going on, hundreds of men were standing on the brow of the hill at the Con. Camp, & looking at the proceedings. It is quite a distance off but in plain sight. Quite a no. of them who are well enough to walk went to the grave.—Two ladies rode away from cemetery with us, one the Matron of the Lyceum Hospital, the other a Mass. lady.

At the depot saw cars filled with soldiers going north, to hospitals probably.—
What a day this has been. How much misery I have seen since 9 this A.M. And all the while have reason to think a battle is in progress at Fredericksburg. We hear that many have already been killed. Oh! dear, how many anxious hearts there are to day all over the Country. And where is Mary's husband? Oh! how she feels now, for she knows as much probably as I do here.

cold. Tuesday. Dec. 16th.

Yesterday it was like summer. Last night it rained, and now it is quite cold.

I called on Mrs. May, who is very anxious.

This A.M. took another look for my scissors. I don't like to have things stolen from me. I don't like to keep things under lock & key. but I am obliged to do it. This P.M. a woman came to me to have a girl removed who has small pox. Went to find Mr. [?] & W. Saw Mr. Burge. Mr. Pierce has small pox, but he has good care. Have been to the barracks. There is no plan nor calculation about them. I am disappointed & confounded, & astonished that nobody has seen to it. Went to Capt Wyman, who says he will go with me tomorrow & things shall be arranged differently. If I had known before they begun them, I cd. have had them much better. What a place this is to do any thing. I supposed Mr. G. knew about it.

Coming from there I saw an ambulance containing 3 coffins driven towards the cemetery. Contrabands I suppose. Then a soldier's funeral; & while at the barracks, there was another soldier's funeral, & afterwards I saw a citizen's funeral. The overseer at the

barracks said he had seen 12 & 14 pass them in a day, & this wd. not include what passes on Duke St. I think there are funerals here from morning till night.

Last night 500 sick from Sigel's corps passed through here on their way north.

To night report says Burnside has recrossed the Rappahannock. How discouraging! & here the rebel sympathizers enjoy it. Our loss has been great. 10,000, it is said.—

Wednesday 17th.

Terrible accounts come in from Fredericksburg. Men here this morning directly from there.

Letters from Aunt Mary, Ruth Ann, Sarah Jane & B. Latham.—
Have been to Dr. Holmes embalming rooms.

Saw two bodies that have been embalmed 10 days. Soldiers in their coarse uniforms & in the government coffins. Price for embalming is \$30. To enclose a body in box lined with zinc \$18. I think it best to be prepared for any emergency.

Made several calls. Miss May called. No particular news for us.—

Thursday 18th.

Cold, clear. This A.M. went with Capt. W. the Pro. Mar. to Quartermaster's & made some new arrangements about the barracks. Called at various places & went to barracks. Went to Lyceum Hospital. Mrs. Winsor gone with Mrs. Donovan to the battlefield. I think of going with Mr. G. tomorrow.

C. Kimball has just returned from Falmouth. He saw some of the fighting. 1500 of the wounded have come to Washington.

Report that McClellan has superseded Burnside.—Rumors of all kinds. Oh! what a state of things, where will it end?

Alex. Va. Friday. Dec. 19th. 1862.

Cloudy, cool. This morning went around to the room, & started to come home thinking I sh. get back without seeing a funeral or any other sad sight, but on looking down Duke St. I saw ever so many soldiers coming. I soon found that these were the slightly wounded coming from the landing, 2 boats having arrived, & these were going to hospitals.

Then I looked over to the Bap. Ch. Ambulances were standing there & they were carrying in the wounded. A corpse lay in the porch, right opposite the door, & 8 men have died in this hos. in 2 days. I saw a number of Ambulances unloaded. Then I went towards the Depot to see what was going on. Cars were piled full of soldiers & regiments were marching towards the cars, going South I suppose to take the place of those wounded who are now coming away from Falmouth. oh, dear! oh, dear! I went on to the Washington St. Hos. What numbers they were taking in here. The first man I spoke to had belonged

to the 2^d. Mich. Reg^t. & he told me that was not in the fight, but one man had been killed by accident.—Then I felt better. A nurse asked me to go into her ward. There were but 2 men in it & these men were nearly well. I was there an hour & saw the beds nearly all filled up. One with an arm off another with a leg off, one shattered with bullets & so on.—All day long the ambulances have been busy bringing them to the hospitals. Between 3 & 4 this P.M. I went with Miss Hall to the Landing. Oh, such a sight. They were moving some of the worst cases & the men looked more dead than alive.

The ambulances were driven slowly, & the men were moved carefully, & laid tenderly on those clean beds. One man said he had not been in a house since last spring. These poor fellows will be glad to night I am sure, to have such comfortable places to lie in.

They all say they have been well cared for, they have plenty of blankets & were in houses or tents. Some were removed from F. Saturday night & others Monday morning.—But during all this day I have not heard a groan or a complaint. But I have seen faces distorted with pain. Some of these men were very dirty, but now I suppose they are

all washed & have clean clothes, & lie on clean beds. I little thought once that I sh. ever witness such sights as these.—

Saturday Dec. 20th. '62

Very cold. This A.M. called on Dr. Spencer & Col. Tate & Capt. Wyman &c, &c, I do not like to make such calls when officers are busy. But Dr. Ripley does not attend to these poor people, & he must be removed. 6 died at pest house yesterday & 7 day before.—With Mrs. Hall went to Grace Ch. Hospital. Found Jas. Mears of Rochester. A No. 12 scholar, was wounded with a shell on his head & his right arm is paralyzed. I must go & see him again. One rebel soldier there.

This P.M. wrote to sis & sewed a little. Three soldiers funerals have passed here, & another with a Co. of men & music passed in sight of here. An officer, I suppose.—This eve^{ng}. talked with Mr. K. on the “nigger” question & politics. He is every inch a democrat. There is a great commotion in the country. Seward & Son have sent in their resignations. There are

fifty rumors afloat about the Cabinet & the army. People are very much moved.

Sunday Dec. 21st.

Cold. This A.M. went to colored Bap. Ch. Heard Mr. Warwick preach. I am disappointed, for neither Mr. W. nor those who prayed remembered the slave nor the freedman. Called at Grace Ch. Hos.—Saw J. Mears & wrote a letter for him to his sister.

Col. De. K. & Col. Tate here to dinner.

About 3 P.M. went out & saw in a moment that 53 St. Asaph's was on Fire. It took fire on the roof, & ought to have been put out in a few minutes, but this is a slow place. The water was frozen. The hose was rotten; the things were all taken out a guard was placed over our things & I think none of them lost. It is a double house & half of it was occupied

by virulent secesh. The Union folks were quite willing to see this burn and the secesh having a spite against our half of the building, it stood a poor chance. The result is

the building is ruined, & it is not likely it will be repaired. Col. T. & Col De K. were on their way from here. Col. T. had to leave & gave the command of things to Col. De. K. who had occasion to send about 20 men to the slave pen.—There was a great crowd in attendance. So I have seen Alex. in a new aspect. Seen it at a time when there was a mingling of secesh & Union. Well it was subdued after awhile. We got a room to put our things in for the night; & what next, remains to be seen.—It is very unfortunate for us for we had got 3 rooms cleaned and ready for use.—

Monday Dec. 22^d. 1862

What a hard day's work I have had. First, went with Jennie K. to office of Pro. Mar. Gen. Col. T. says if he can find rooms we shall have them. Have been to the barracks & find a bad state of things there, obtained a guard for the place. Been to Mr. Doherty & told him what we want about the barracks. They speak me fair, but

it may not amount to much. Too much else going on to attend to the wants of contrabands. Mr. G. is getting discouraged, his appointment as Super^{nt} dont come yet.— Things don't look very promising now for us.

Tuesday Dec. 23^d.

Warm. This morning Miss Maggie Hall of Elwood, N.J. & her friends left Alex. Mr. G. has gone north too. Mrs. Winsor does not come back yet. I miss her very much. Mr. Warwick was waylaid Sunday eve^{ng} by some ruffians & beaten badly; since our reverses at Fred^{bg} the secesh have been elated and feel bolder than ever.—Capt. W. called this A.M. He gives us the use of the brick house on W. St. Small pox there now. I have run to day till I am very tired. Been to the barracks. I think they will not make them as we propose.

Mr. May has come home. Joe is well.

I get no letter nowadays.—Foolish enough to go to Circus this evening. Am vexed with myself for doing so. such nonsense.—

146 wks since I have seen my little darling, & when shall I see her again. I wonder if she ever thinks of Aunty now?

Dec. 24th. 1862.

Very mild. This morning went to Quartermaster's to see him about barracks. Mr. Clark listened to my enquiries & suggestions & then went to the barracks. I met him there & we talked over the plans I proposed. they are to make alterations, & will follow my suggestions. Went to brick house. Woman with small pox was taken away last night. Saw

2 women on the other side of street. Mr. W. said one of them was broken out with small pox & wanted a place to go to. He told her to run & catch up with the Ambulance that was going to the pest house. I told her to go into a house near there where there was a boy having it & so near 53 St. Asaph St. that at the fire hundreds of people must have been exposed. Mr. B. says a case was sent here from the Maryland side of the river a few nights ago & he found him sitting on the steps of the store in the morning. This evening helped trim 2 Christmas trees for Col. De K who is to present them to Gen. Slough's children.

The petted favorites of fortune! how well they are looked after. We have just received 2 bbls. of Ind. meal & a bbl. of potatoes from N.Y. & these we are to distribute among the Contrabands for Christmas. There is so much small pox I cannot go among them. Have an invitation to dine at Paroled Camp tomorrow.

Alexandria Va. Christmas 1862.

Dense fog this A.M. but it cleared away mostly in the P.M. Very mild. Firing guns & crackers, as if it were the Fourth of July. Went round to see Mr. W. says 2 small poxes in S. House must be sent off, & ever so many drunk.—

Post Office closed, & not many people work today. The Hospitals are trimmed with evergreens, & the ladies mean that the soldiers shall have a good time.—At 11 A.M. went with Mr. K's family & others to Paroled Camp to partake of a Christmas dinner with Col. De. K. & the officers of the mess, & it was a very good dinner. Turkey cooked well & all nice. Choice wines, champagne, toasts, & speeches were abundant, & all went off very

pleasantly. Col. Tait, the Pro. Mar. Gen. was present. Mrs. Hall, a German Capt. & wife & child, &c. &c.—Then a social chat for an hr. or so. When they adjourned again to the Mess Room for playing games, wines, cakes & bonbons were provided, & all seemed to enjoy it very much. But I understand no games. It was nearly sundown when we left & I have had quite a pleasant day, considering—There are fireworks this eve^{ng}. & it seems like a regular Fourth of July. A great many drunk, soldiers & others, & I presume the Slave Pen is full tonight.—Southerners make a great deal of Christmas. They, negroes & all, think it the greatest day in the year. Col. De. K. boards at the Marshall House, & this morning he missed all his wardrobe that he was not wearing, & a field glass wh. cost \$125.—This is a great place!—Mr. K. has lived here since last spring & he says he has not been down town in the evening more than 4 times since he has lived here. He does

not consider it safe to go out in the evening. The streets are not lighted & it is a fit place for deeds of darkness.

Letter from Frances yesterday, all well, Mary going home last Friday.—

How I wd. like to see them all & my little darling too.—This evening Mr. Warwick, Mr. Whipple & Dr. Warner called. There are ever so many boxes for us at the Express office.—

Sunday Dec. 28th. 1862.

Very fine & warm. Went to Washington Church; dull, dry services. Col. De. K. & Col White dined here. Mr. Needham from W. called.—Have fixed up some things for Joe, to send by Mr. May.—

Friday Mrs. Winsor returned from Falmouth. She has had an interesting experience. Had our room cleaned & whitewashed ready to move our things in. Letter from Joe. Several boxes have come for contrabands yesterday. Called at Chap. May's, Pro. Marshal's &c. Mrs. K. went with me to barracks. Letters from S. A. Ferris & Miss Howland, & Angelina.

Alex. Va. Monday Dec. 29th. 1862.

Delightful weather. Slept as soundly last night as if the rebs were not making a dash upon our lines. Commissary stores were removed to boats & pushed out into the river, & the cattle were started for the Long Bridge. A party of Stewart's Cavalry upon Fairfax scared the city here. They took possession of Burke's Station & seized the telegraph at 4 P.M. & read our despatches. One was that we had a large force here & also at Fairfax & this frightened them off—There was skirmishing yesterday at or near Centerville. This was a bold move and we are never prepared for them.—Letters from Mary Julia & Mrs. Barnes & Mr. Green.—C. intends to come to W. next Saturday. Called at Mr. May's & at Pro. Marshal's, &c. Worked at rooms nearly all day. Two boxes have come.

Tuesday Dec 30th.

Spent large share of day in distributing clothing. Called at various places & walked a great deal. So tired.

147 wks. since I have seen my little darling. Oh! That I cd. know how she is & whether she is happy & if she thinks of Aunty.

Wednesday Dec. 31st. 1862

Alexandria Va.

Cloudy, cool. Went to the barracks, two buildings nearly done, & they are going forward to my mind. Went to Grace Ch. Hos. to see Jas. Mears & take a letter to him from his sister. He is better. Went to our room & gave out clothing. Hear that 150 col^d. men that were out chopping for Gov^t. have been captured by rebels. Things are very unsettled between here & Centerville, but we can't get any reliable accounts. I try to apologize for this state of things, but it is hard work to do so. It provokes me to see these pro slavery Democrats evidently pleased with our reverses. I think there are some in this house who sympathize quite as much with the rebels as they do with the North. They make the worst of every thing, & put in circulation reports calculated to discourage

our people. My soul is vexed every day. We seem to have made no progress in the War for a year past, & it is very discouraging. Friends of the Government are very anxious but I think it will come out right at last. The wicked will not always triumph.

New Years Eve. Oh! That 1863 might prove a year of Jubilee to this oppressed race. There are many anxious, hopeful hearts tonight among these people & among their friends. But will to-morrow bring liberty to the slaves in the rebellious states? I fear that in some way they will be cheated out of it. I am not sure that the 'contrabands' here are safe. Capt. Wyman says there are no slaves here.—I am afraid there will be disturbances to night & tomorrow. There is a rowdy spirit here that will do almost anything, & some of the colored people keep watch night, & I fear they will be disturbed. Capt. W. says he will have an extra force on duty. But some of the soldiers act very meanly towards

the colored people. The poor creatures! They are beset on every hand—

Col. De Korponay boards here now; he is quite ill. He has always been accustomed to watch the old Year out, & pray the New Year in. A Hungarian custom.

One year ago I was at my lonely home, & kept the day sacred to the memory of my precious Freda B. —I wd. like to be there now & see Father & Mary & Minnie & Stewart

Three years ago today, my darling little one, the motherless child, was taken from these arms, from her happy home at Grandpa's, all unconscious that she was not to return to 'Aunty'. I have suffered an age of misery since. But time & distance has blunted the edge of my grief, & the active, busy life I am leading now does not allow me to think much of the past. It may be for the best, for there is a great work to do here, & I wish to devote all my energies to it. I feel that I am working for an entire

race & for all time to come, for to improve them here is to do them good everywhere. What & where shall I be when another year comes round! Years are so full of events at the present that I hardly dare think of the future.

Alexandria Va. Jan. 1st. 1863

Thursday. Bright & cold.

We watched the old year out & welcomed the New Year in. Between 12 & 1 there was some firing. There was the sound of bugles & a band of music played beautifully. No disturbances. To day has been beautiful. Went round to Mr. May's, & to our room twice & distributed goods. Two boxes from ladies in Homer.

Not much business done here today. P.O. closed most all day. It has been a broken day & I have accomplished but little. Hope it is not an indication of the rest of the year.

Mr. Pierce called this evening. Has recovered from small pox. How discouraging people talk about the war. I wish I knew what the Pres. is doing.

Alex. Jan. 2^d. 1863, Friday

Very fine.—It is better than I feared. The President takes back nothing from his Emancipation Proclamation. But in his Proclamation of Jan. 1st, he says all negroes that are able may be used in the service for garrisoning forts, manning vessels &c. —he enjoins upon these people to abstain from all violence unless in self-defense, & when allowed to labor faithfully for reasonable wages. He calls it a fit & necessary war measure to put down rebellion, & believes it to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity. I thank God for this; but rejoice with fear & trembling, for it has been delayed so long, that fresh difficulties will attend it, & the Dem. Pro. Slavery party has grown bold & defiant, & will use every means to make the Proclamation of no effect. The Herald talks so wickedly, that I wish it cd. be suppressed. —No letters today.

Have been to the rooms & distributed clothing to a great many needy ones. Called at Mr. May's —& also to see an old colored woman. Intend to go to W. to-morrow.

Saturday. Jan. 3^d.

At 9 o'clock went to W. on boat. Called at Mr. Lake's, & at P.O. Mr. L. cashed my draft. Saw Mr. Van S. at Patent O. & had a satisfactory talk with him. Called on Miss Bohle for the last time probably.—called at Mr. Munson's, & at Willards to see if Charlotte was there.

Went to Dr. Breed's, & had lunch. Mrs. B. is a very pleasant woman. —Started for boat, but thought I wd. just go into National & inquire for C. I found she had been there with another lady, but they had gone out. I waited, & after awhile C. & Mr. G. came having just returned from Alex. & left Frances there. What a pity. I was too late for boat, & F. was over there alone, so I must stay here tonight. All well at home. F. came very unexpectedly to me & herself too.

Gen. Butler, wife & daughter are here. We went into the parlor. He came through, went on to the balcony & spoke about a minute & a half. Then he came in & was in the room 15 or 20 mi. & was introduced to various people. He has done nobly in N. Orleans, so of course he must be recalled.

[?] King called, a mean, pro-slavery anti war democrat.

Sunday Jan 4th.

Went with C. & Mr. G. to Gen. Martindale's Head Qrs. to get pass to Falmouth.—Went to War Dept. & to Willards to see Tucker, but cd. get no pass. —At noon took boat for Alex. Frances had become very impatient. In P.M. went to Cemetery in Ambulance with Mrs. K. & others. Then went out towards Fairfax Sem. & where the Con. Cam. was. It has been removed some 3 or 4 miles worth, & some barracks have been built there. In evening called at Mr. May's, & at School House where they were holding meeting. Frances much interested.

Monday Jan. 5th. 1863.

Called at the room & at Capt. W's office to get pass to go to Ft. Albany &c. Col. De. Korponay let us have his Ambulance & Frances, Mrs. Churchill & myself, started to find the 8th N.Y. Cav.—We went out near Fairfax Sem. to Bailey's Cross Roads, where we stopped awhile, & a man gave us a shell wh. the rebels fired from Munson's Hill at our troops who were encamped about here for several months in 61.—Munson's & Upton's Hill are about $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. from B's Cross Roads. No buildings here but a B.smith shop. All else has been destroyed. Bailey's house is a little distance off.

Then we went on to Arlington Mills, through the woods & were followed by a train of Ambulances carrying sick soldiers; it was a picturesque sight. The country on the Heights is naked, & desolate, as far as Hunter's Chapel. Here the soldiers are quartered in good log huts. We saw Forts, Blenker, Craig, Tillinghurst, Richardson &

Albany. The ride so far was very interesting. Between the Heights & the River, 3 regts of Cav. are encamped. We went to the 8th N.Y. Griffin & C. were there. We had dinner & then drove to Arlington House. G. & C. went on horseback. We got some things from the garden, went through the Hall. All the pictures that are left are in the Hall. Gen. Abercrombie's headqrs. are here. In a building near was a family of negroes. They were Gen. Lee's slaves, but he freed them before he left. They said this place was once very nice. The situation is very fine, the noble woods around it have suffered considerably by the ruthless hand of war. We went back, saw some Cav. drilling & then went by the dirt road home. Never enjoyed an excursion more than I have this. C. was going on horseback to W. with G.

Tuesday.

Rainy P.M.—I went this morning to Capt. W.'s & F. went to boat to meet C.—I came back

& found them at our room unpacking the Rochester bale which had just arrived. Also 2 bales from Wheatland & a barrel from Mrs. J. Root. Then we went to the Wolf st. Hos. After dinner Mr. Warwick went with us to Paroled Camp. We visited the hos.[?] tents. It rained so that it was very unpleasant. Visited in evening with C. & F.

Wednesday. 7th.

Went to School House. C. & F. thought they saw awful sights. Mr. Whipple went with us to Marshall House, & we saw the spot where Ellsworth was killed. We brought away a piece of wallpaper, just as any other fools wd. have done. Met Col. Tait who told us of a Museum over the Market. we went there. A police man opened the sanctorum for us. There is the bier on which Washington was carried to the grave, & Lafayette's saddle, & Revolutionary Flags & many curious and interesting relics. They are covered with dust, & the labels are torn off some of them.

I must go there again —We went to Mansion House Hos, Washington St. Hos, Prince st. Hos, Grace Ch. Hos. & Bap. Ch. Hos. Went to the Embalmers too. At 4 went to boat with C. In evening called on Mrs. Munsell who came from Falmouth this morning, has seen Joe. he is well but cannot come here. Mrs. M. thinks we can go there. We shall try. Have been getting ready this evening to go to W. in morning, &c.

Thursday Jan. 8th. 1863.

Left Alex. at 9. Found the Portsmouth at 6th st. but not the Capt. Went to National Hotel did not find C. Went back to boat. Capt. agreed to pass us along. Dirty boat. No accommodations, no comforts. Cold. fire in one cabin only, but we thought we could endure it 3 or 4 hrs. Stopped at Arsenal & took on 100 boxes ammunition & a gun Carriage. This hindered so long, that we did not reach Aquia Ck. till after dark. The river is beautiful. We saw Ft. Washington & Mt.

Vernon, & High Pt. & Indian Head & Freestone & Cockpit Pt. & Pohick Ck. & the Occoquan, & [*Transcriber's note: blank left*]. Magaw Commander of the Potomac flotilla, & his wife, showed us where the rebel batteries were & all the places of interest. Coast survey stations are all along the river.—Boat crowded & the dirtiest place I ever saw. We had a supper of bread & butter & coffee & it makes me sick now to think of it. The Cook was gone & a fireman got the supper, & Frances eat of it!! Oh! such a time, & such people as were on board that boat. The worst specimens of Society are in circulation now, but there were also some interesting people on board. There was a merchantess of Falmouth, been to Alex. for goods. An Irishwoman going to see if her husband was dead or alive. Then there was a showy woman who absorbed the attention of 2 men, & no lady wd. speak to her. There was the Virginian wife of the Commodore, one quiet, sensible lady who seemed to know what she

was about, & a Mrs. Milne, a nurse in Sigel's division, from near Stafford Court H. She had been to W. for supplies. Her husband is cousin to Admiral Milne, Eng.—She has had an interesting experience. Lieut. Lapham was with her. There were some men belonging to Meaghar's brigade. The officers wore green plumes, & they were fine looking Irishmen. They discussed Byron & the Drama & the Opera &c. & [?] on the merits of their favorite prima donnas &c.—Too late for the train to Falmouth. Some went to Belle Plain but for the most of us no alternative was left but to stay on the boat wh. pushed out into the river and lay along side the gunboats all night. No houses at Aquia Ck. excepting warehouses.

Falmouth. Va. Jan. 9th.

Awful night, did not sleep a wink. Shall never forget being on the Potomac all night. Cd. not get to the wharf time enough to take morning train. had to wait till noon. Were not allowed to leave the boat at

once because we had not a written pass. So afraid we cd. not go on. The guard came on board first; then an officer. Then a Lieut. who went with us to Capt. Hall the Quartermaster. Capt. H. sent for the Pro. Marshall & I told them that we came on Mrs. M's verbal pass. Told them who I was and why we wished to go. We obtained a pass, and we went on our way rejoicing. Only baggage cars and these full of folks. We had seats however. The whole country shows the results of war. Huts & tents. For several miles before reaching F. there are encampments. Men, horses, wagons, tents can be seen in every direction, many of these in the woods. At Falmouth Station left the cars, went to Maj. Miller's tent & enquired for 2^d Mich., and if they cd. furnish us an ambulance? No, but we cd. go to the Phillips house to Gen Sumner's Headqrs & they cd. tell us. It was quite a walk up a hill. Fine views when we got there. Burnside was here during the battle on the 11th. Dec.—They were just

sending some ladies over with a flag of truce. They lived at Fredericksburg. They left in an ambulance. They also furnished us with one to go to the 2^d Mich., about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile off. We drove round to Gen. Wilcox's Headqrs. & then to Co. D. & found Joe's tent without any trouble. He was out on drill but they sent for him & he came in a few minutes. He looks very well & was very glad to see us. It was about 2 P.M. & we must leave next morning, so Joe got an Ambulance & we went off to see all we cd. Mrs. M. went with us. We went down the road that Joe's division went to the battle. He explained all their movements. The railroad bridge was destroyed by Burnside after Pope retreated last summer. The middle of it is broken away. On one end stand our pickets & on the other end the rebel pickets. We were within speaking distance of the rebels. We saw several wearing the blue overcoats of our soldiers. Quite a gathering just opposite us.

The walls of buildings are shattered, & the steeples of churches. We cd. overlook the whole city, but few buildings have been burnt. Joe told us where the pontoon bridges were laid, & where the 2^d. Mich. crossed & where they were posted. This gave us a realizing sense of the war. Pickets are posted near the river, & on all the hills & knolls, & reserves pickets, behind the hills, a whole Co. together sometimes. The river is narrow but not fordable here. The opposite side has high banks. This side is low flat, for a little way then a rise, then a level, then a rise again, then a vast plain wh the 2^d. Mich. have cleaned it up and encamped. They are half a mile from Burnside's Headqrs. The prospect from this elevation is very fine. We see both sides of the river & the rebel camp fires & fortifications beyond the city. We saw an artillery drill, & the cannon formed in line of battle, horses taken off & all just as if they were going to fight; Fine parade ground, grand place for an army.

Had a good supper in Ma. Bonine's tent, or log room I mean. Good fireplace & big fire. —Spent the evening in Joe's tent, wh. is small but nice & comfortable. Lieut. Cragic occupies it with him, & they have a cold. boy to wait on them. Joe gave us a shell sent by rebels at the battle, it fell in the midst of some Mich. men but hurt none of them. Gave me a tea cup too. He brought away a rocking chair for his tent. Mr. Bradley & Fletcher called. Mr. B. said he was not an abolitionist, but is one now.—Slept in Mr. May's log room very comfortably on a bed made of pine boughs.—The sight in the evening is fine. The Camp fires light the whole horizon. Union and rebel fires make up the panorama. It is a grand sight. Bands were playing most of the evening. At tattoo we went to Mrs. May's. Could hardly realize that I was in the midst of the 'Grand Army of the Potomac.' I am glad that I came here. I wd. not have missed this sight for anything. Pleased with Joe's appearance. He is very much improved and we have reason to think he has retained his

integrity, his religion & his morality, and he is one of the few that camp life has not injured. How gratifying this will be to Mary and how devoutly thankful we all sh. be. Oh! That he may escape danger and return to his family again. We will continue to hope for the best.

Washington. Saturday. Jan. 10th.

Left Falmouth at 8. Took leave of Joe on car. He wanted to come to Creek with us but had no pass. —We were in mail car & had good seat. Several sick soldiers brought in & the corpse of one just brought from Fredericksburg.

At Aquia Ck. got pass to W. A great many people going to & fro. Costs nothing to go on government boats & roads —Such a bustle & so much going on at Aquia. I suppose all the supplies for Burnside's army are brought to this place on boats & then transferred to cars. Boats were loaded with men, cattle & stores of all kind. It was interesting. They are enlarging the wharves & the warehouses. Came up on the mail boat Wilson Small. Quite a decent boat.

One of the sick men died on the boat. His papers were examined, & it was a sad sight. To die without friends in a crowded cabin! Mrs. Jelly from Detroit had been to Fredericksburg to get the remains of a brother. He was killed in the battle 4 wks. ago & buried 2 mi. from Fred.^[s]. 5th. Mich. men buried him & these went with Mrs. Jelly & disinterred the remains & brought them on a stretcher to the river. They were sworn not to reveal what they saw. This is the first instance of the kind since the battle. She was taking the body to W. to have it embalmed.

Reached W. at 2 P.M. in a pouring rain. Frances, Charlotte & I went to White House. Saw East Room, Blue Room & Private parlor & little Tom Lincoln. Went to Patent O. to late to see anything. Mr. Hallowell sent us in his carriage to National. Rained so we cd. do no more. Good tea. We were hungry enough to eat raw dogs—Griffin came. he expects to leave Monday morning for Belleplain.

Mr. Pierce called & was oh! so drunk. Maj. Falls called & he was oh! so drunk. They staid & we listened to their senseless gabble

until Mr. G. cd. endure it no longer & he led them from the room. Maj. F. said "he wd. call again when was sober." Mr. P. realized that he was drunk. It was a ludicrous & disgraceful scene.—Mr. G. said half the men, mostly officers, in the rooms below were drunk. It is shameful. No wonder our army does not succeed.—At 9 Mr. G, C, F, & I went to Mrs. Russels to supper.—A drunken soldier in the st. interfered with us. I asked Mr. G. to knock him down & we came near getting into a fuss. Oh! such a state of things.

Sunday Jan. 11th.

Slept pretty well last night, but think we were put in the wrong room, for our door was tried in the evening. & a Captain's traps were lying around. Had good breakfast.

Mr. Lake called & F & I went with him to Capitol to hear Mr. Stockton preach in the Sen. Cham. At 3 P.M. left C & F & went to boat. On my return called at Mrs. May's. She came from Falmouth this A.M.—So tired.

Monday 12th. Jan.

Went to room & to barracks, to Mansion House Hos. & to Wharf, but boat had gone, so I must try again to get my Sontag. Saw Mr. Burge, & he was so drunk! Called at Mrs. May's.

Jan. 13th

Went to room, sorted & arranged things. wrote to Joe & put up things for him & went to Mrs. May's.—Mr. Gladwin returned. Am so tired tonight.

Jan. 14th.

Went to room & worked awhile. Went to Grace Ch. Hos. & to Mrs. Munsell's.—Mary Mears called. Also Mrs. H. Jacobs. She is sent by N. Y. Friends to be matron of the contrabands here, & they wish her to distribute the goods they send. Mr. G. called.—Went to the boat & got my Sontag. Wish never to see the Portsmouth or the Capt. again.—

Things do not look as promising as they have done. I am annoyed & perplexed.

Thursday, went to rooms & barracks & in P.M. rested. Called on Col.

Alex. Friday. Jan. 15th. 1862 [*Transcriber's note: Date in original, should be 1863*]
Went to W. with Mr. G. in an ambulance. Called at Mrs. Munsell's, & Mr. Needham's & Mr. Lakes. Went to Capitol & spent 3 hrs. in Senate. Heard a little debating by Sumner Hale & others. Heard Henderson of Mo. make a speech in favor of Emancipation in Mo.—It was very interesting. Cold ride. did not reach home till after dark.
Our Army is crossing the Rappahannock.

Saturday 17th.

Went to see Capt. W. —Not a very satisfactory interview. He seems to think we are asking too much for the niggers, & objects to making bunks in the rooms. Thinks they might sleep on the floor as they always have done! I feel disheartened to night.

Sunday. Jan. 18th.

Filled up my diary, & wrote in journal. Called on Mrs. W. & on the Col. spent evening in parlor very pleasantly, full of company. Hear that there is fighting near Fredericksburg.

Monday Jan. 19th. 1863.

This morning went with Mr. & Mrs. Thayer, Mrs. Marshall & others to Slave pen, & barracks, & School House & School, & rooms. These Mass. people are much interested, & quite Anti Slavery folks ____

Capt. Wyman called to say that we can have bunks in the barracks, &c.

This P.M. went with an ambulance load to Ft. Ellsworth. Lieut. Spear showed us all around, & explained things, gave me a canister shot. There is one 100 pounder parrot gun. Shoots 5 mi.—& many other large guns. There are 3 brass field pieces wh. were used in several Mex. battles. There is a bombproof below the surface, wh. will hold 1000 men. It is very nice & comfortable here. The garrison consists of 200 1st. Wisconsin. We saw them drill. We drove around by Fairfax Sem. & then over a very rough road to Convalescent Camp, 3 or 4 mi. from Alex. There are 65 buildings. Each will hold 104 men. Some of them are finished & the sick are being moved into them to day. There are acres of tents.

It is a remarkable sight. It is like a vast city. one might get lost in it. We did not stay long. I must go again and stay longer. Came back by Ft. Albany, & out near Long Bridge. Got home about dark. Had a very pleasant ride.

This evening I have been in parlor awhile, & have written some.—

Tuesday 20th.

People don't behave very well, great many arrests. Reports of fighting near Fredericksburg.

Mr. G. has tried my patience sorely today. I am disgusted with things in general & people in particular. Spent pleasant evening in parlor

Wednesday 21st.

Severe rain storm. What will the soldiers do? Nothing further from Falmouth. Letter from Joe dated 16th, was well. Barrell from S. A. Ferris. Dr. Bigelow from N.Y. has arrived. Went with us to barracks & slave pen. Oh! such people!

Thursday Jan. 22^d.

Rain all day. Been out considerable. Have had my patience tried severely.
This evening German pianist here. Grand playing.

Gen. Fitz John Porter has been found guilty of every thing he was accused of, & he is dismissed from service. Hope McDowell will be removed the same way.

Jan. 23^d.

Letters from Frances & sis & Eliza Wilbur. F. & C. had good time in W. after I left them, & got home safe, found all well.—

Intend to go to W. tomorrow.

Saturday. Jan. 24th. 1863.

About 10 went to W. on Steam Tug Clyde, with Col. De. K., Maj. Raphael, Lieut. Wattles, Mr. Kimball & family, two Mr. & Mrs. Thayers & Marion, Mr. Patterson & Mr. Van Rensselaer & met Mrs. Marshall there. 16 in all. Went to Smithsonian, saw many interesting things. I shall not forget Native & crystallized sulphur from Sicily, Septaria from Texas, Cinnabar (sulphate of Mercury)

weighing 400 lbs. & Tubipora Syringa from Feejee similar to a specimen that I have wh. was found in Brighton, N.Y. There were Condors & Rhinoceros Hornbill, & eatable birdnests, & Hair of all the Presidents except Lincoln. Armadillos, owls, Eagles, Turtles, seals, Marine specimens &c. &c.—Went into the Stanley Gallery of Indian Paintings, & into the Philosophical room. I weigh 107 lbs. & measure five ft.

Well, then we walked to the White House & attended the President's Reception wh. is held every Saturday from 1 to 3 P.M.—I shook hands with Abraham Lincoln & Betsy Lincoln. The Blue Room was so dark that I cd. not see them very well. I hardly knew it was the President when I was shaking hands with him. I did not know that he was there till he took my hand as I passed along. Oh! Pshaw! I mean to go again & see if I can't do better.—Went through the Conservatory.

¹²People of all classes but negroes were present. Some very elegantly dressed ladies, & some very commonly dressed. I think the President held a white glove in his hand.— This over we all went to Metropolitan to dinner. A great deal of ceremony & parade. Left at 5 P.M. & reached Alex. at dusk. Very pleasant on the river to day. Very agreeable company, & I have enjoyed it very much.

This is quite unlike giving out clothing & looking after sick contrabands, but I think I am entitled to a little enjoyment. No encouraging news. The storm frustrated the intended movements of Burnside's army.—

Sunday Jan. 25th.

Yesterday it was 170 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me. 3 weary years have passed since then, & she is nearly 7 yrs old. Could I know whether she thinks of me still!

¹² Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26002_076 to HC13-26002_150 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1862 to May 13, 1863.

Monday Jan. 26th. 1863

Letter from Joe. He is vexed at the failure last week. Glad he was not in it, Sumner's Division did not move then. Mrs. Jacobs ill, called to see her. Mrs. Dennis called, went to barracks. Pleasant company in parlor in the evening.—Banks ordered to Washington, Butler to N. Orleans & Heintzelman to the front. Burnside has resigned & Hooker placed in command.

Tuesday Jan. 27th, 1863

Rainy all day. Emma's baby died this morning. I went to order a coffin to be sent here at 3 P.M. Then I called to see Mrs. J. & before I got back that baby had been taken away. Yes, before it was cold the men came with a coffin, put the baby into it & drove away, & the poor mother didn't see it after it was laid out. Mrs. Churchill dressed it and & laid it on the floor in an empty room. Mr. K. wd. not let it be laid upon a table,

& had left it only a few moments, when they came for it, & Mrs. K. said "They might as well take it then as at any time, & it was not pleasant for the boarders to have a dead body in the house." The husband & father stood by & saw it done & dared not object, & poor Emma does not know this evening that her baby has been taken away, but expects to see it before it is buried. I think it is an outrage; a sham & disgrace to a house containing civilized folks. If I had been here they should not have taken it till P.M. No regard is paid to the feelings of colored folks. They are nothing but niggers! I have been to the barracks twice, to the Pro. Marshall's 3 times, & to the room 2 or 3 times &c, &c. This is a great people, I am thoroughly disgusted with things in general.

Received bandbox[?] by express, & once again I have a new bonnet. But I do not feel like wearing it.—

Wednesday 28th.

Snowed all day. Very wet, went in ambulance to Quarter master & to room. Cleaned my room & did various chores. I have been so angry, so indignant this evening! I have learned that very mean scamps may clothe themselves like gentleman, & wear eagles & stars, & that white rascals make it their business to destroy the virtue of ignorant & unsuspecting colored women & girls.—I only wonder that they have any chastity, any self respect left.—Yesterday I was almost ready to day that I should flee from this place. Now I feel that I will stay if possible & fight against the great wrongs wh. are constantly inflicted upon this people, & if I can be the means of saving one of them, I shall be paid for so doing.

Thursday evening Jan. 29th.

Snow melting, very sloppy, bad walking. Went round to see Mrs. Jacobs, she is better,

went to room & gave out 76 garments. The poor creatures! This storm adds much to their discomfort.

This evening I was invited to go to the circus but declined. Once is enough for me. After supper went into the parlor, & met _____ [*Transcriber's Note: Underscore in the original*] & was led into a conversation wh. gave me an opportunity to free my mind as regards the treatment of colored people in general & colored women in particular. I was excited, & perhaps I have said too much. But I am quite sure that the one it was intended for took it. I didn't stop to count the cost nor calculate consequences. Well, the Good Father will protect me, I will trust him.

Sunday Feb. 1st. 1863.

Friday went in 2 P.M. boat to W.—very muddy. Went to Dr. Breed's & staid all night.—Met Anna Hopper Gibbons, Miss Sedgwick, Miss M. Robinson, Miss E. Howland, Mrs. Webster & Dr W. & Capt. [*Transcriber's Note: Blank left in original*] Super.

of Contrabands in Alex. All very nice pleasant people. Came back Saturday at 11 with Mrs. R. & Miss H. & Mrs. W. & Dr. B. & Capt. Went to room with them & to S. House & barracks, & Slave pen & prison. Those ladies thought it one of the most interesting days they ever spent.

This A.M. was fine, but this evening it is rainy.—Went to Co^l. Bap. Ch. with Mr. Thayer & Mrs. Marshall. Heard a medley of curious things. This evening been to School House with Mr. & Mrs. Thayer & [*Transcriber's Note: blank space*] Fitz Patrick. Leland talked awhile, & then they sang various negro songs. The real plantation music, which I had never heard before.

Alex. Monday Feb. 2^d 1863

Very fine. Went to Washington on 9 o'clock boat. Called at Dr. Breed's, Staunton Hos. (but Mr. Channing was not there) at Mr. Lake's, at Patent Office & saw Mr. Poler[?]. Met Mr. Gladwin & F. Dennis & B. Latham. Travelled through the mud till I was tired, & went to Capitol. Staid in House from 1/2 past 12 till 4 P.M.,

Mr. Stevens Bill for raising 150 Regiments of negroes was taken up. Wilson of Iowa made a good speech upon it, was interrupted by Wickliffe of Ky. & Cox of O. Then followed in a long speech, wh. nobody seemed to care for. These [*Transcriber's Note: blank space*] succeeded in getting the floor & talked against time to prevent Stevens from speaking. He wished to have a vote taken on the bill today. It is stretching democracy too far to allow such enemies of the government to talk, especially Wickliffe of Ky., Cox of O, & Vallandigham &c —I had to leave before anything interesting was done, & took 5 o'clock boat for home, got back here about dark, & am pretty tired to night, an unsatisfactory day, have accomplished but little.

Feb. 3^d

Very cold. Went to Grace Ch. Hos. & was surprised to learn that James Mears was dead & that his remains had been sent home this morning.

I had supposed he was getting well, But after his death, the bullet was found in his brain.

Capt. Wyman has been removed. What shall we do? I feel that we have lost a friend. Gen S's doings no doubt, & he has done it probably because he has found plans for the improvement of the poor freedmen here.

Wednesday.

Been to Room, & Barracks, & Slave Pen & Prison twice, took some clothes to some needy soldiers. It is a horrid place. B. Latham been here.

Bill to raise negro regiments has passed the House. Freezing weather. The poor creatures have crowded round our door to day, & we have given out considerable.

Thursday.

I wish Mr. G. would use these poor creatures better.—Mr. James Redpath called. Has been converted, & does not believe in the

John Brown doctrine now, so Mrs. J. tells me. I do not like him. Hope he will not be made superintendent here.

Friday 6th.

Assistant Sur. Shaw & wife have come here to board, I hope they are persons of character enough to help make our business respected & useful

7th

Took walk with Mrs. Thayer & Mrs. Marshall & called at Provost's office.

Called at Grace Ch. Hospital, soldiers are so well supplied with everything that I can give them nothing.

The Maine man improves slowly, an Indiana man interested me considerably. He was in the battle of Phillipi, wh. was the first musketry fight of the war, I remarked that the only victory M'Clellan ever gained over the rebs. before he was made Com-in Chief was when men disobeyed his order. Said he, "That's so, it was at Rich Mountain

He tried to keep the men back, but they disobeyed him & went over the breast works & gained a victory" This man was there.

172 wks. since my little darling was taken from me, oh! dear.

Sunday 8th.

Went to Col. Bap. Ch. with Mr. Thayer, nothing to say about the sermon. Called Capt. W. (spent evening in parlor) Boarders changing all the while.

Monday 9th

Went to W. on 9 o'clock boat. Called at Dr. Breed's & on Mr. Van S. Went to Capitol, sat an hour in the Senate. Passed Bill for Col. orphan asylum. G. Davis of Ky. opposed it.

Went into the House. Canal Bill lost, such confusion I left in disgust.

10th.

Went to barracks & Quartermasters. In P.M. went to Convalescent Camp with Dr. & Mrs. Shaw. Mrs. K. & Mrs. Marshall.—

Worst road I ever saw. Not half so many tents as formerly, have gone into the barracks, 7,103 enlisted men there. Col. M^cElvey in command. Did not get out of Ambulance, Mrs. Marshall's husband has come from Falmouth.

11th

Mr. & Mrs. Marshall went with me to Room & S. House. They are both genuine abolitionists, am sorry to have them go away. Letter from Joe, was to leave next morning for Ft. Monroe, I am sorry to have him go still further off. Miss Wheelock called. She came from Falmouth this morning.

12th

Mrs. Jacobs sick, Dr. Shaw sick, Mr. G. away. Mr. W. has helped me some. Given out 130 pieces of clothing. Col. De. K. has returned from Phila. No particular war news.

Feb. 13th, Friday 1863

Barracks all ready but stoves. Called to see Col. Wells, the new Provost. Called on Mrs. Jacobs.

Letter from Mary, she is lonely & discouraged because Joe does not get a furlough. Mr. & Mrs. Thayer have returned from Falmouth.

14th

My stock of goods is getting low. This P. M. had a thorough cleaning up, & spent evening in parlor, feel better.

Letters from Mary & Mary Julia; Father has been sick but is better. 173 weeks since Freda was taken from Grandpa's, poor, dear child.

15th.

Headache all day. Visited in parlor some. Mr. Bradley & Mr. Hazen here. Mrs. Churchill has left in disgust. She & her husband have been here a long time. Curious facts develop themselves daily,

Mrs. C. & her dog Rose. She brought this dog from Eng. (She is now from Laporte, Ia.) Well on a certain day it fell out of the window (in 3^d story) & it was injured so that it died. Mrs. C. was inconsolable. The next day, she asked Mrs. K. if she thought Col. wd. let Robt. get up the ambulance & take her down & have the dogs picture taken? The Col. was asked & said 'yes.' She took Rose on a pillow with a white cloth spread over her, & I dare say got a satisfactory likeness. I did not see the photograph. The night after Rose died Mrs. C. could not sleep until she got up & took her dead dog into bed with her. Mr. C. buried it. I don't know where. Mrs. C. cried several days. The fools are not all dead yet. Great People!

16th

Called on Mrs. Reeves with Mrs. K. & Mrs. Thayer, & then went shopping, prints from .25 to .75 cts, sheeting from .45 to .50 cts, that formerly sold at 12 1/2

Tuesday 17th,

Snowed all day. Very wet. Letter from Joe mailed at old Point C. His division into encamp at Newport News, it is discouraging to take the back track.

18th.

Rainy all day. Bad time for soldiers. What awful roads. 4 bbls. nice things from Mass. Called to see Col. Wells for first time, & talked over the contraband affairs. He was quite pleasant, but his "heart is far from us," I know.

19

Gave out 160 garments. Mrs. J. confined to her room yet. New Provost Mar. in W. too.

20

Been in every room on cor. Washington & Wolfe St. & took the senses. 115 persons in the 2 houses. Sad sights, enough to make one sick of white mankind. Went to School House. 5 families there

including 19 persons, & about 50 men who have no families. Called on Mrs. Jacobs. She is better. Mr. & Mrs. Thayer & Marion left. I shall miss them very much. Jennie K. came back from Phila. Boa[r]ders nearly all gone. Mr. K. sick.

21st. Feb.

Gave out 70 pieces. Went to barracks, school room & office finished. Went all through the large house on cor. King & Columbus. 101 col. persons & 19 whites, some of the latter of dubious character.

Dr. E. Church of the 26th. Mich. called at rooms, & old Rush acquaintance Mr. Lightfoot of Red Hill spent an hour at our room. Oh! such a specimen, one of the Chivalry, tipsey of course, Himself & family have had small pox. Wife died, coffin made for himself, could get no

help for awhile, at last got a colored woman, & he thinks \$10 a month a great price to pay her, he has 165 acres & a large house wh. cost him \$5000. He says "These col. folks are slaves yet. They have had no free papers from their masters yet." My Northern blood will not keep cool to hear such talk. Oh! dear, when will it end?

Letter from Joe, he is at Newport News. Well & was glad to leave Falmouth.

Says he is willing to go through the war, but thinks it will have to be fought at the west.

Sunday 22^d Feb.

Tempestuous, snowed. Cold, windy. Like a northern storm. Oh! the poor soldiers. Regulated things & cleaned up generally. Would like to know how they all do at home.

174 wks. yesterday since Freda was taken from those who loved her so well.

24th. 23^d Feb., Sunday, Monday over leaf. Snow several inches deep. Some sleighs out, & such sleighs! The jingling of bells has a wintry sound. Saw the Provost this morning. He does not please me at all, but I am vexed with him. He answered me so short that I cried as usual. And Mr. G. vexed me too, we had quite a spat, but he has been as meek as Moses ever since. They seem determined to give these poor people no chance, & then get all out of them that they can. They mean that all those people that possibly can shall pay rent for the barracks. It hurts my feelings very much. When I said to Col. Wells that "I was sure that the President & Sec. Stanton did not intend that these barracks sh. be rented, but that they were intended for the poorest of these people, the helpless & incapable, the widows & children &c. He said "it makes me no difference to me what

the Pres. or Sec. S. thought. I shall have the buildings rented, & I shall have them filled up immediately. I mean to have these people all go there, & live by themselves." It makes me sick. I see that my plans for the improvement of these folks will all be thwarted. Neither Gen. S. nor Col. Wells believe in the negro at all. They do not seem to have a single spark of humanity about them.

Been through 63 Cameron St., & in several tenements in Pitt St. Some small pox. —The way that some of these men & women live make me very sad. But I pray that I may never for a moment forget that these women have been more sinned against than sinning. That I may ever be patient with them, & reserve my indignation for the white villains who take advantage of the ignorance & helplessness of the slave woman. The time has gone by when

to raise her hand against a white man in defense of her chastity was an offence punishable with death. I shall teach them this fact, & I trust I may be the means of doing them good.—

Monday 23^d

Some sleighs out. Sloppy.

Wrote to Mrs. Earle.

The stoves have come, & are all put up. Col. Tait, the Pro. Mar. Gen. has been arrested for giving passes to secesh. He says it is for being so gallant to ladies. He gave passes to Mrs. Thayer, Mrs. Marshall &c. to Falmouth, & that is beyond his jurisdiction. What next?

Wednesday 25th,

This is next. We hear that Gen. Slough is under arrest. I know not for what. But it is said that the removal of Capt. Wyman has something to do with it. There was an indignation meeting called here in relation to Capt. W.'s removal.

I have this to comfort me – if one Provost can be removed, so can another. Letters from Angeline & S. A. Ferris. All well in S.—& S.A. F. intends to come soon & make me a visit.

With Miss Wheelock called on Mrs. Reeves.

Explored an alley off of Henry St. Curious developments. Some contrabands here rent secesh houses \$4 & \$5 a month.

The free colored & former slaves here are more ignorant & stupid & wicked than the contrabands, I think.

26th. Memorable day.

Dr. B., Mr. G., & myself had an audience with the Provost Mar. in relation to contrabands. He ignores Capt. W's orders & permissions. He orders certain houses to be vacated by contrabands immediately, & tells Mr. G. to superintended their removal to the barracks, says the poorest may be moved first, & then

others that can pay rent & 16 persons must be put into each room, because 16 soldiers could occupy such a room. How inconsiderate!—The north house on W. St. is to be fitted up for a hospital. The south house is given to the surgeons, Mr. G. Mrs. J. & Maj.[?] W. for their use.—I wish I cd. see the least spark of feeling about Col. Wells.—I think he means to show no favors, & has evidently condescended very much to admit me to a consultation. They would be lords of creation if they could.

27th.

Letter from Mrs. Barnes. Society approves my course & speaks very kindly, & encouragingly. Went on an exploring expedition with Mrs. Grinnell. Begun to move families in to the barracks. “Aunt Mary” just from Falmouth has been here this eve. Chap. May & family have come to Alex. Trunk broken open.

28th.

Went to Pitt St. with Mrs. May, & to Room & Barracks &c, I am very, very tired to night. Wrote to Mrs. Burns & cousins Kate & Cornelia.—

Alexandria, Va. Feb. 28, 1863. [*Transcriber's Note: Preceding written in large penmanship at bottom of page*]

Diary

Alexandria, Va.
Cor. Duke & Columbus Sts.
March 1st. 1863—

Wild weather, rain, sunshine, wind.

One year ago to day I was making arrangements to go to Port Royal, but did not go after all. Dare say it was all for the best. I have now been from home 4 months, I would like to see them all, but it may be 2 or 3 mo. yet before I go home.

This A.M. went to the Chapel at ~~The~~ The Freedman's Home to attend meeting there for the first time. Mr. Parker spoke to the people & Leland took part in the exercises. Rev. Dr. Anderson, Capt. Weston & Mr. [*Transcriber's Note: Blank in*

original] Consul to Hayti present. Mr. G. there & made some remarks, I am discouraged if this is to be the kind of teaching & preaching these poor, ignorant people must listen to. Is there no man

to help them? They do not have what they need now. Moral instruction is more needed than anything else & they get but precious little of this. wish I was capable of talking to them as they need to be talked to.

Whether Mr. G's religious teaching & Leland's intellectual training is better than none at all, is a question with me.

Well, I will try to do my duty to be patient.

Monday Mr. 2d 1863

Got a pass & went on 8oclock boat to W. Called at Dr. B.'s & then walked to the Contraband's Home away up to 2 St. I went through mud & mire. A sorry looking place there. Could I stay there? Miss Howland & Miss Searring[?] are actively at work & are the right sort of persons I think to do these people good.

The location is very bad, right in the mud. A great deal of sickness there, a good deal of small pox.

Went to the Capital & spent an hour & a half in the Senate, But a few members present. Warm & uncomfortable.

Went into the House and heard the roll called so many times that I learned it partly. I was so tired that amid all the confusion I took quite a nap.

Came back on 5 P.M. beat tired out & have a bad head ache——

Tuesday 3^d

Rain & snow. This is the sunny south! Worked at room awhile. Wrote to Frances & Col. Wells. I have asked him to not allow more than 12 persons to be put in a room. I wish he was a more compatible[?] man so that I could talk to him.

It is 150 Weeks since I have seen my darling Freda, & now it is months since I have heard from her. How long! Oh! Lord, how long?

Wednesday Mar. 4th, 1863.

Cold. Windy. Went to W. on 10 A.M. boat. Went directly to Capital. Heard a few remarks by Bayard, Trumbull Howard & a closing speech by Doolittle,

Session closed.

President's Proclamation calling the Senate to convene again was read.

The senate went into session again Sen. Foote presiding, he administered the oath of *[Transcribers' Note: Blank left in original]* to the new, & the re-elected senators, Buckalew of Penn., Bowden of Va. Reverdy Johnson of Md., E.D. Morgan of N.Y., Sumner of Mass, & Chandler of Mich. Then they adjourned till tomorrow. A great many people present. The House does not sit again at present.

I went into the President's Room. The Marble Room, The Supreme Court Room & a Reception Room, How magnificent!

Called on Mrs. Lake & came back on 4 o'clock boat.

Thursday 5th.

Been at room nearly all day & given out considerable.

Mr. Burdge has returned & puts on airs. Mrs.[?] G. put off to Gen. Slough for redress, & the Gen. tells Burdge that if he sees him drunk again he will arrest him. B. is quite crest fallen.

Dr. Shaw & wife have left the Scott house. Mrs. S. does not like it here.

Friday March 6th. 1863.

This A.M. washed my collars &c.

About 1^o clock Joe Van B. came & stayed only an hour. Took dinner & I walked to the Express Office with him. He has a furlough of only 15 days & is going to Mich. too. He expects to be in Rochester tomorrow night. He is very well, won't Mary be glad though? Letter from F. she sends a very pretty collar. Mrs. Hartwell, Abner's mother is dead.

Mrs. Jacobs called, she is like myself very indignant that Dr. Bigelow

should say he means to take all the orphans out to the small pox hospital at Claremont & have them kept there.

Is it my duty to remain quiet & see such an outrage perpetrated on these helpless little ones? Will no man come here who cares for these people? is every one determined to prey upon them? We'll see.

Saturday Mar. 7th.

Raining, &c. Muddy!

With Mrs. Jacobs I went to see Gen. Slough, who says Dr. Bigelow has nothing to do with the orphans & that Mrs. J. & myself may carry out our plan of placing them in a room at the Freedman's Home & hiring a competent & reliable person to take care of them.

Box & Bbl. arrived from Rochester. Went to the Home to meet the women & try to organize a sewing society. But none of them came, it is so rainy, oh! dear.

Alexandria, Sunday, March 8th

Rainy yet, what will the soldiers do?

Head ached all day yesterday, kept as quiet as possible to day & I feel better.

Have done a few chores & written some.

This P.M. it cleared away & with the two Mrs. Worthens I went to the Chapel. Dr. B. spoke to the people a little while. They had been kept, some of them, since 9 o'clock in the morning & were tired out. I wish Mr. G. had common sense. I think he does the people more hurt than good. His ways are so disagreeable, & he is so unreasonable &

harsh with them, so unfeeling & all the while he is talking about “sacrificing his life for them”. Wearing himself out for them, from pure humanity.” & so on & so on, such orthodoxy as his I can’t endure.

Sat in the parlor between 4 & 5 & saw the colored people going home from church civilly, & peaceably; some white rowdies & soldiers attacked a colored and & used

him shamefully.

“My ear is pained. My soul is sick

“With every day’s report of wrong & outrage

“with which earth is filled.

Both yesterday P.M. & this P.M. I have seen 20 or 30 persons, men & women, refugees from Dixie, having just arrived under guard & on their way to the Pro. Marshal’s office. They have probably been starved out in rebeldom, & are glad to get within our lines & some will profess unionism to save themselves.

Spent the evening in the parlor with the family & Col. Dr. K.—the latter a singular specimen of humanity. He presides at the Court Martial which is now sitting here. Col. Tait’s case has gone to the President.

On Tuesday Beecher is to be tried for disloyalty, drunkenness &c. What next? Slough is to be Brig. Gen., Col. Dr. K. says “The reason he has no star is because he talks so much.” He little thinks I know the reasons.

March 9th.

Fine. Mud drying up fast. Called at Mr. Seaton’s to hand him some Money from Col. De K.

Then went to Ex. Office to get charges refunded.

Then worked at room till noon.

After dinner went with Mrs. Jacobs to Pro. Marshal’s, had another talk about renting rooms. I have reason to think that Mr. Gladwin means to have every room rented, & let the poor ones take their chances, & he would like to have them pay for the coal. A very needy man to day asked for a room. He chops wood & sometimes can’t get \$2.00 a day, & Mr. G. told him “That was too much”. His family is very destitute, & they have had a hard time, oh, dear! I have been to the Home, & what I hear from the people there makes me heart sick. They are wronged in every way & & by every body nearly. I’ll expose these abuses & see that they are remedied if possible. Met the Provost there. He thinks he will withdraw the guard entirely. I am very willing.

on very return[?]. About 30 refugees from Richmond were leaving the cars, & I walked along with them. I asked a woman (There were men, women children, & 5 babies) why they left there, she said they cd. get nothing to eat. Another said there was provision there

but it cost so much they cd. not buy it, & calico was \$2.50 a yd. When I asked her if she was a Union or a Secesh! She did not know what I meant, but when asked if she was a confederate, she said, no. They say they cd. not get away before & they came now with a pass from the British consul. I don't exactly understand it. They are a forlorn looking set.

We hear this morning that last night Three rebels came to Fairfax Court House & entered the sleeping room of Gen. Slaughter & carried him off with his guard. Our folks ought to be ashamed, but they were guided by traitors no doubt. Have an invitation to go to Mt. Vernon tomorrow.

Tuesday Mar. 10th.

Rainy, snowy. Got ready to go to Mt. Vernon, but could'nt get a tug to day, am not sorry for the day has been so unpleasant.

Worked at room nearly all day. Gave out 110 pieces sold to amt. of \$25. An unusually busy day. I am very tired to night.

Wednesday Mar. 11th, 1863.

Fine day. Cool. But it has been a day of exquisite enjoyment for me. I have been to Mt. Vernon & paid my devotions at the shrine of the "Father of his Country." The house & the tomb are alike interesting. The vault is of brick, in the outer part are 2 marble sarcophagi, coffin-shaped. We reached through the bars & got some pebbles. There are 3 monuments near the tomb, all in memory of the Washington Family. We went to the Spring house & drank the purest water that I have yet tasted in Va. This house is of brick on the side hill, but everything shows signs of decay.

The house is occupied by Capt. Hurlburt, Misses Tracy N.Y., & Mackam Phila. – The guide & gardener &c, is Wm. Ford, a colored man in his 50th year, born on the place when Bushrod Washington lived there. His family is at Gum Spring 2 mi. off. John A.W. was the last proprietor, a degenerate descendant. His, the guide's, proclivities are said to be secesh. The situation is very fine. –but the house is a plain affair. Pretty good probably for the day in which it was built, but how unlike the houses of the present day, that is, first class houses. I got a piece of the stone floor of the piazza, & a half a shingle from a low roof. In the hall is a book for visitors to write their names if they leave money in a box on the table, if they don't pay anything their names will be erased. Over this table in a glass case is the key of the Bastille, wh. was presented to W. by Gen. La Fayette. The only furniture in the east Parlor is an old sofa & fire dogs. A fire was built for us in the corner fire place of this room & here we par

took of the refreshments brought by the Co. There is a W. Parlor containing a large globe & a defaced picture over the mantle of the corner fire place. The dining room is very large. Here is a marble mantel carved in Italy & presented by Sam^l. Vaughn of Phila. to

W. It is very fine. There is a Harpsichord which was a wedding present from W. to his adopted daughter Eleanor Custis, (Mrs. Lewis) & the chair and cushion belonging to it. There are 3 tables, a tripod used by W. in his surveying tours, a knapsack, a medicine chest, and a sort of haversack, & a broken platter. We went into the room where he died. Here is a bedstead precisely like the one he died on. There is nothing else in the room. On the iron back of the fire place are his coat of arms and initials. This is a south chamber & the view from it is magnificent. These are all the rooms wh. are shown to visitors. Two pegs behind the door upon which, I suppose, he hung his hats.

After paying \$2.00 we were conducted to the garden. The green house was burnt a few days since, & now there are ruins & rubbish, there is a large garden, & in it is the largest bay I ever saw. There is a rose bush wh. was there in the time of W. & oakleaf Hydrangeas brought from Napoleon's tomb.

Not a single leaf of any thing is given away, but we all succeeded in getting something.—I have a little flower pot & a root of bay in it. One gentleman stole the former for me & another the latter.

There are several houses, one for the gardener, one for the butler, one for the kitchen & pantry, &c. We went into the last & such a kitchen. The other houses were for slaves. Several bells still hang on the great house on the end next the kitchen & outbuildings. The roof of all the buildings are painted red. There is a weather vane on the house. The interior of the house looks more like old times than any thing I have seen lately. There is some ornamental work. The 16 sided mill is 3 mi. off & Pohick

Church where W. attended is 7 mi. distant

At 4 P.M. we started for the boat. We went on the steam tug Monitor wh. went within a half mile of the wharf, & then (after having exchanged our small boat for a larger one belonging to a brig lying near Ft. W. & wh. held 17 persons) after a pleasant row boarded the tug wh. laid then till our return. We stopped at Ft. Washington Md. two mi. from Mt. Vernon & examined that. The 1 Co. 16 Indiana garrison the Ft. have been only a few days. This is a strong fort. The walls of masonry & in a commanding position on an elevation at the bend of the River. We went into the casements & the store rooms &c, &c. Saw the dress parade & the band &c.—

It was dusk when we reached Alex. It was so cool that we sat in the wheel house & the little cook room. But all agreed that the excursion was not only interesting but very delightful. Dr. Buker[?] & wife from Me., Dr. Wood, Dr. Hazen, Mich. of City Hotel & 2 nieces, Miss May & several others, Miss Wheelock

If some of my friends could have been with me I should have been perfectly satisfied, but I am enjoying too much alone.

Letters from Cousin E. Wilbur, I wish she could have been with me, also S. A. Ferris.

Thursday, 12th –

It has been cold & squally, like northern March weather.—I labelled my specimens from Mt. V. & Ft. W. Cleaned up a little, hope my bay & ivy will live in the little pot.

Worked at room till noon.

Mr. Whipple's wife has come from N.Y. very unexpectedly to him, but they are very glad to meet again.—

This P.M. Miss Jacobs & I have explored 4 houses near the R.R. & wharf, though one is an old planter mill, & we ascended by a ladder to rooms in the upper part of this. Saw some miserable places, But few of them are willing to go to the barracks; they have various objections to going, even a family in a dark cellar are not willing to go. I wish Gen. Slough & Col. Wells were obliged to go into every one of these rooms & stay an

hour in each. It might correct some of their notions, & I wish Mr. G. was obliged to live as these people do, until he would quit saying "they are all pretty comfortable."

Friday 13th.

Went to Pitt St. & visited several rooms. Miserable, filthy place, visited two families on Water St.

Called at Mr. May's & Mrs. Marshall's. Rochester Irish woman called for help. Very cold, & I have been out a good deal. Pretty hard day's work & I am so tired if the rebels came tonight I cd. not run.

Saturday 14th.

Worked at room most all day, & got very tired, but went to Chapel in evening, to meet ladies & try to organize a sewing society. They did not come till half past 8, & then but a few. They are so slow. Staid till 10, Mrs. Jacobs is to be President. Mrs. Marshall V. Pres. Celia Jackson Secretary & Miss Wilbur Treasurer.

I am disgusted with Mr. Gladwin's management

Letter from Cousin Kate. All well in Q. Uncle C. has been to Columbia Co. Cousin Sally Anne Lape died in Jan. of throat disease. Cousin C. Post has a little boy.

Alexandria, Sunday Mar. 15.

Very cold. My room has not been comfortable to day. This P.M. & evening it has hailed & snowed, & thundered & lightened. Remarkable storm.—I cleaned up some, read a little, wrote a little, labelled some specimens, but have not been out at all.

Letter from my friend S.A. Ferris who has given up coming to Alex. Too bad!

Monday 16th

I am dispirited to day & a little lonesome. My room is cold & uncomfortable. Been out twice.

Tuesday 17.

It is 158 weeks since I have seen my little darling, more than 3 yrs! – Oh, could I know whether she thinks of me any more. Box from Wheatland. – Last night it was feared the secesh would rise. There was an extra guard.

This evening been to ‘Chapel’ with Mr. & Mrs. Martell & Mr. Evans & Mr. [Transcriber’s Note: Blank in original] , to see the [?] weddings, 4 couples had been living together according to the laws wh. Slavery sanctions, but we tell them that now they are free, that Religion & morality require them to conform to the laws of the land. The room was filled, about 20 white persons present, & two colored ministers. After the preaching & just as the Ceremony was to commence the floor settled and & a beam overhead gave way, and such a panic has not been seen since the flight from Bull Run. There was a rush to the door & windows, 4 windows were dashed out, & one bride groom went through & landed with his nose in the mud & the sash over his neck. Many of them thought the secesh had attacked them. Mrs. Jacobs thought murder was going on, & she rushed out of the house. Those that didn’t rush out, rushed to the corner where the white folks were, & I was lifted off my feet more than once. When I found the alarm was not caused by fire, I stood my ground.

I do not blame these people for being alarmed, for they know they are surrounded by enemies. After the cause of the alarm was explained most of them returned & when order was restored the ceremony went on. One of the brides wore a bonnet & shawl & looked very well, two wore thin white dresses wh. looked rather the worse for wear after they came in out of the mud. One wore a knitted hood, another a lace ruche.—Eliza Washington a middle aged deformed woman on crutches wore a woolen shawl, flowers on her head & a bridal veil of green gauze rather faded. Her bridegroom wore on his left shoulder a bow of white ribbon with long ends, all the men wore white gloves.—We shall not soon forget this evening. Mr. G. was mad because the guard did not prevent the people from rushing out, but they did not know but the building was on fire, & that the folks ought to come out. I should think the soldiers wd. hate Mr. G. he is so unreasonable. I wish he wd. better. It was dark & very muddy, & I got my feet wet. Mrs. Martell sputtered like every thing.

Wednesday Mar. 18th. 1863.

Rainy. Tired this morning after the excitement of last evening.

About 2 this P.M. I was made glad by the unexpected arrival of my friend S.A. Ferris from Dutchess, as I had given up looking for her. We have been to the Room awhile, & called at Kitty Verry’s & had a chat with her, then went Grovener House Hos. & ~~Wolfe~~ Washington St. Hos. Took a long walk, my room is uncomfortably cold, too bad, for I wd. like to make it pleasant for S.A.

Thursday 19th.

Very cold. Disturbed last night by alarm of fire & several cat-fights in the passage. Started at 8 this morning & went to the Cemetery. Then to the Slave Pen & Freedmen's Home. Then we succeeded in getting into the Museum. An old citizen was present with us & he gave us some interesting information about the relics. This P.M. called on Mrs. May, & at Wolfe St. Hos.—Accident on A. & O. R.R. 4 soldiers killed.

Went to the Room to warm & rest. So tired to night. Sally Ann intends to leave here tomorrow & I am going to W. with her. She is afraid to stay in Alex. any longer.

March. 20th. Friday.

Snow & rain. Left Alex. at 10 with Sally Ann, went to W. & engaged board at Mr. Lake's. Went to the Capitol & grounds & took a leisurely survey. Went into the Library for the first time. My friend enjoys & appreciates it all. Went to Green House too. After dinner called at Dr. Breeds. Saw Abby Gibbons, Miss Howland & others. Pleasant evening at Mrs. Lake's. Mr. Wells has brought many relics from the battle fields, & he gave us each a bayonet from the field of Antietam, also an apricot stone from the tree that Washington hacked with his hatchet, & would not lie about it to his father. This tree is in Fredericksburg where Martha W. monument is. So it was not a cherry tree after all.

Saturday 22. 21st Washington

Snow, rain, cold. Went to Smithsonian & staid about 2hrs, 1st. time I had seen the Library. It is the most beautiful room I have seen. Then to the Patent O.—saw some prisoners from Richmond, union men who had been confined 17 mo. because they were Union men. Went to White House, saw E. Room & Green R, & Tom Lincoln & the Conservatory, &c. Woman & girl from Penn., so verdant! Got back to Mr. L.'s at 3, wet, muddy & tired, But well satisfied with what we had done.

Sunday 22^d. Washington

Bright, warm. Mr. L. Sally Ann & myself went to Unitarian Ch. & heard Mr. Channing, I have heard him when he pleased me better.

After dinner went to Dr. Breed's & had a pleasant call. Tired enough when we got back. Pleasant visit this evening.

Monday 23^d.

Sally Ann left on the 8 A.M. train. Mr. L. & I went with her to the Depot, I wish she could have

staid longer, But I am thankful that she came at all. Came to Alex. on 11 A.M. boat.

Things at Scott House pretty much as usual, only Mrs. Martell went off this morning & left her husband. Went to Slave Pen, & Home & to the Room, I have so much to do.

Tuesday 24

Have done no work at room to day. Emma was taken suddenly ill, I went for the Dr. & on my way saw a wild Indian, belonging I think to those who are in W.

Miss May called. The army has left Newport News, & is now at Baltimore on the way to join Rosecrans in the West, I am sorry to have Joe go so much further off, & Mary will feel bad too.—Mr. May has gone to join the Regt.—

Wednesday 25.

Letters from Sis & Mrs. Coleman, went with ladies to Wolfe St. Hos. Have unpacked goods & worked at Room most all day.

Am very tired to night,
Mr. G. tries our patience.

Mar. 26th Thursday.

Mr. G. tries me exceedingly. I have begged him to admit some very poor families, & have been to the Pro. Mar. about it. Col. Wells says “These people lie to you[?],” & thinks Mr. G. will do it up right. He says these people are a lazy set, & don’t earn the wages they get. Mrs. Jacobs & I went to the school & to the Slave Pen. We saw a sight & learned facts that make us sick at heart.—

“There is no flesh in Man’s obdurate heart.” We visited some of the families, & as I was standing at a door waiting for Mr. J. to come out. I saw that the Shower Bath was in operation, several soldiers were standing near & they seemed to enjoy it. In a few moments the door was opened & out came a naked negro man & passed round into the open Pen where colored men are confined.

I asked a woman if such sights were common? She said ‘Yes’, & that “Women were stripped & showered there too”. I could hardly credit this, but it was confirmed by others too. I was so indignant that I found myself stamping with rage. I walked towards

these & asked if they were Union soldiers? “Oh yes,” & are you kept here to do such work on this? I am told that women & stripped & showered there too. “Oh! We never shower white women.” I said color had nothing to do with it, they were women. Said one, “They are not women, we don’t call them women”, I said, they are more women than you are a man. Said he “I’d like to have you talk to the Lieut.” I said I’d like to see him. He was called out, & I asked if it was true that women were stripped & showered there? He said it was, but the order had been revoked, that soldiers were showered too. I said but these are women, it is not a decent punishment, & is not calculated to make them any better? Said he it is not calculated to make them any better. I thanked him for admitting so much, & said I was glad the order had been revoked. Mrs. J. walked away when she heard the upstart orderly say “They are not women” for she feared she might say something & be arrested.

The knowledge of this painful fact has made us almost sick, & discouraged. What favors can

these people expect from a Pro. Mar. who would give such an order as this?—
This Shower Bath is outside, near a pump where perhaps 600 people go for water. It took a pro-slavery democrat to give such an order as this. Capt. W. would [?] have done this.—

Friday 27th.

Went to Room, Slave Pen & Home. Letter from Mary, all perfectly well. Joe's unit visit has done her a world of good. She hopes he will come back at the end of 3 yrs, & buy a farm. Poor girl, I pray she may not be disappointed.

Went away down King St. & called at some secesh stores. Great many secesh out lately.

Saturday 28th.

Unpacked box from Rochester, new cases of suffering & destitution come to us constantly.

It is 179 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from her Grandpa's & from the friends who love her so well, I can imagine how these slave mothers feel when they are liable to have their children torn from them, & are powerless to protect them. Oh, God, pity them!

Alex. Sunday Mar. 29.

Went to Slave Pen & talked with Chloe Ann Mason, one of the women who was showered last Saturday a week ago, she says she was just in there for fighting with Matilda Alexander.

The first night she & another colored woman were showered. They wore their chemises down to the door & then they were dropped off. There were two candles & the Lieut. Barncels[?] told the men to stand back, but the guard was there. All that lived then had a chance to see the operation, Chloe says that day she was in a room where there was no fire & her limbs were numb to her knees, & she was allowed to go into the other room to warm, & the white women begged the Lieut. to let her stay there & he did for 5 days. No water closet, only a small tin bucket wh. a soldier emptied once for them. The rest of the time the contents were thrown in the ashes of the fire place. He swore at her & called her vile names, & would not let her see her sick child which was in the same building. Chloe lives at the Slave pen.

If the women could be imprisoned in some other place, & all the families be moved from this place! I shall try to bring this about. I went into the Sabbath School at the Chapel. Then I called on Mrs. Munsell[?] & told her about the Slave Pen. She is a S. Carolina woman but she hates Slavery. She cd. hardly credit what I told her, & wants to go & see it.

Dreamed of Freda last night. The darling!

Monday 30th. Alex.

Fine. Called on Mrs. Munsell, who with her husband & 'Mrs. Col. Close' went with me to the S. pen. We saw all but the rooms where the women are, & these he said he cd. not

let us see without a pass from Pro. Mar. He is down on N. Yorkers, & sympathisers with the negro, he is a Virginian, & is thought to be not wholly loyal. He talked a good deal & I talked too, & apologized for speaking to the guard the other day as I did, & told him I should have gone to Col. Wells, & I thought he, the Lieut., accepted the apology, But he asked our names, but mine was the only one he wanted, & he looked malicious when he asked it. We left these in writing. He knew Mrs. Close.

Well in about an after [*Transcriber's Note: as written in original*] I returned to my Room a sergeant called with a note from the Pro. Mar. saying the Lieut. in command at the S. pen had informed him that I had interfered with his guard in the discharge of their duties, & I was requested not to do so any more.

I came to my room and wrote a letter to Col. Wells giving a precise account of the affair, letting him how indignant I felt on learning such a fact, & that must be my apology. I said if I had thought I was resting under a misdemeanor I would have reported my self at once, but I had supposed the Lieut. accepted the apology I made.

If Col. W. had troubled me any further, I wd. have published the fact, & all the best part of community would have been on my side, I am sure.

This is my first conflict with the military. What would Michigan mothers think if they knew their sons were kept here to strip women & put them in a shower bath.

This is a disgrace to our civilization, & a wrong done to our soldiers, it stands to make brutes of them.

Alex. March 31st. 1863.

The Anniversary of my dear Mother's Death, 29 years have we been motherless. How much of sorrow I have known since then. It is 160 weeks since I have seen Freda, & 3 or 4 months since I have heard from her.

Letter from Joe, mailed at Louisville Ky. Very well. Had a good visit at home & good luck, met his regt. at Baltimore & went on with them. They are pleased with the idea of going west, hoping to accomplish something now.

April 1st.

Mr. G. tries our patience beyond endurance. He has taken possession of a room that I have had cleaned for Mrs. J. & myself, & says Col. Wells told him to do so, I have told Mr. G. that no gentleman wd. do as he has done. Procured a pass & went to W. on 10 A.M. boat. Called at Judiciary sq. Hos. & left can of jelly for Henry Barnes of Mass.

Went to Patent Office & saw Mr. Van Santvoord, I told him how things are here, & he said we wd. go & see Watson, Assist. Sec. of War.

Mr. W. requested me to write a statement of the [*Transcriber's note: end of page*]

~~Returned~~ Went home with Mr. Van S. & spent evening in writing.

Thursday Apr. 2.

Not much sleep last night, wrote till nearly 11 this A.M. Mr. Van S. assisted me in preparing the paper, & then he took it to War Office.

At 1 P.M. Mr. Van S. went with me to see Mr. Watson, had not reached my paper yet, I wonder if it will amount to anything?

Mr. Van S. went with me to 4 P.M. boat.

Woman had canteens of whiskey tied around her waist under her skirts. Was arrested on boat.—Miss Howland & Miss Seaving have been here to day while I was away. Went to room awhile.

Friday 3^d.

Spent most of day at room. Mrs. J. gone to W.—Dr. Church called.

Miss Wood (Oneda Estelle Du Bois) from Gonaives Hayti called at the Room, & I went with her to Home, & Parker's School. Capt. Wyman is made Pro. Marshall again, now we'll see!

Alexandria April 4th.

Cloudy, cold. Nettie Kimball was thrown from a horse this morning, & is injured perhaps fatally. Her skull is fractured, & she has been unconscious all the time since. She was riding a circus horse, & was accompanied by her equestrian tutor, & this was her first riding in the street. She left the house with Mr. Whitby, in high spirits, & in less than an hour she was borne through the streets on a stretcher, her face covered with blood. I have been with her most of the day.

Mrs. K. is so ill that she cannot see her. It is a sad house.

Sergt. Stannard & John A. Palmer called here this P.M. The poor fellows are in the convalescent camp yet. I supposed they had left long ago. It is too, too bad.

It snows this evening. It looks wintry enough. It is 180 wks. since my little darling was taken from us, the precious child!

Sunday Apr. 5th.—

Snow fell last night to the depth of several inches, it is now melting very fast. Sat up all night with Nettie, who needs much care. Other watchers were May Johnson, Charlie K. & Mr. Travis. Drs. give no opinion. Had a talk with Dr. Bigelow about contraband affairs, also had some conversation with Col. De. K.—he is going away & wishes to be reinstated in my good opinion before he leaves. I look upon him as a grand ruin; the wreck of naturally a noble man. The love of strong drink is the root of almost every evil. I am told that Col. De. K's Commission has been taken from him, for inability. I don't quite understand it.

This morning I slept. This P.M. I have been with Nettie. She remains the same. The Drs. have done nothing for her. Old Dr. B. thinks there is a chance for her to get well.

Monday 6th.

Been to Room nearly all day. Those people are wronged in various ways & come to us for aid. Mr. G. is very hard with them. Mr. Day & Mr. Turner from W. have been here. Mr. Whipple has been round with them. They have been through the rooms at the Home, & at the School.

April, Tuesday 7th.

Sat up all night, other watchers, Miss May, Miss Padgett, Mr. Travis, Mr. Hazen, Charlie K., & after 1 o'clock Mr. Babbitt. Had another patient to watch after 1 o'clock. Miss P. the secesh young lady was taken suddenly ill, pain in her side, cramps, &c. She thought she was dying, the rest of us were not so credulous. The house was quite disturbed for awhile. Mrs. K. was alarmed. Dr. B. was sent for, & he came with all speed, & cupped Miss P. on her chest, after which she became easy & quiet & slept some. Mr. Travis is a natural nurse, besides having

some acquired skill. He has been here nearly all the time since Nettie was hurt, & is a tender, gentle nurse. His skill was brought into requisition on this interesting occasion, & his ministrations & manipulations were decidedly original. A most useful young man!—Miss May & myself took turns with Mr. Travis in watching the young rebel, whose father refuses to take the oath of allegiance, But Mr. T. evidently regards the young lady as the embodiment of perfection. She has never been to W. but 2 or 3 times in her life, & has never been in the Capitol, & never a mile out of Alex. on this side of the Potomac. I think she is a fair specimen of the intelligence & enterprise of the secesh in Alex. "The refuse of secession" as somebody says.

This affair of Miss P. take it all in all, was the most ludicrous scene I ever witnessed. I think I have not laughed so much in a whole year as I did last night.—None

of us can look each other in the face today, without laughing, Dr. B. looking grave only by making a desperate effort. It seemed to be the general impression that the young lady made about half of it. The tenderness of Mr. T. was touching in the extreme. He told all about the lady & her family, & also his own family. He is a very nice young man apparently. A Methodist & intends to engage in the ministry when the war is over. He came out last dinner with Anderson's Zouaves, was in the Peninsula, & wounded there. He is now head clerk in the Pro Mar's Office.

He has given me a peep behind the scenes. Says "about 2 persons have tried to prejudice Col. Wells against me, & they have succeeded. "But Capt. W. is coming back, then my turn will come & it will be alright."

Nettie has spoken several times. I slept awhile this morning, then went to Home & to Pitt St. This P.M. slept awhile, Mrs. J. called.

Wednesday 8th.

Worked at Room in A.M. Called at Mr. May's. Wrote Report for Society. During the months of Feb. & Mar. I have sold 448 pieces & given away 942 pieces. Sold those pieces for \$279.—

Total receipts have been \$520 from Soc. & others for goods.

“ Expenditures “ \$257

Thursday 9th.

Worked at room. Letter from Frances. She does not not like their new place. I am so sorry for her.—

Nettie K. is improving, Mrs. K. has been in to see her for the first time. Called on Mrs. Worthen.

Friday 10th

Worked at room & posted my books. Sat up nearly all last night & feel miserably to day. Read “Atlantic”, fine articles in it.—Read Butler's speech at Cooper's Institute. Very fine. I think he is the most able man that has come to the surface yet.

Alexandria Va. Apr. 11th.

Fine, warm. Sat up half the night, & slept till ten this A.M., went to room twice. Miss May called this A.M. Mrs. Worthen called this evening.

Sunday 12th.

Fine. Warm. A.M.—Went to Washington Ch. with 2 Mrs. Worthens. Rev. Richmond of Milwaukee preached from Is 63^d. Chap. He left no one in doubt as to his opinion. Made no concession to secesh, flattered nobody, although there were Eagles & Stars among his audience. Left the sins of the Jews 2000 yrs. ago & preached of the sins of this day, of swearing, intemperance & licentiousness in particular. Looks forward to the time when the “black curse shall be removed.” He sees the dawn of a better day, a light in the east, a gray streak in the morning sky; wh. is the Emancipation Proclamation.—The audience were much pleased. I think it is a new kind of preaching for this latitude. Alex. in particular.—We sat in Washington's Pew.

Once I came near saying Amen!

But was I not glad to have Gen. Slough hear this?—This P. M. went to cemetery with the Mrs. Worthens. Rainy, & we hastened back.—Col. Worthen says the troops in the vicinity of Alex. are ordered to move to the front, & to night the heavy tread of armed men is heard in the streets. This has a solemn sound at night. It tells of haste & secrecy, & the opening of the spring campaign. Report of the Com. on the conduct of the Army of the Potomac is making a profound impression. It is all against M^cClellan. It shows him to be thoroughly incapable to lead armies.—

Miss May & Miss Wheelock & Mr. Bradbury & Mr. Hazen here to night. No need of my services. 10 P.M. & it is raining. How bad it will be to march. The roads had just got dry.—There are many anxious hearts now all over the country.

I feel quite unsettled myself. Shall be obliged to find a new boarding place soon, at least this is probable.—

Fine. Cold. Monday 13th. 1863.

This A.M. called at Mrs. May's & Mrs. Worthen went with me to F's Home. Called at Mrs. Dogans & at Billy's, & to see Mr. Pierce.

Quite a stir in the streets. When the army is in motion it changes the appearance of the city at once. Somehow I feel discouraged to day, & depressed in spirits.

Discouraging news from Charleston. Nothing accomplished yet.—

Tuesday 14th, April.

Frost last night. Very foggy this morning. Fine today. Japan quince in blossom, & one other flowering shrub, peach trees

No letters for several days. Have my friends forgotten me? Went to room & worked awhile. After dinner went to Pro. Mar's office. to see what cd. be done for a woman who has worked for a secesh family & they refuse to pay her.

Then Col. W. spoke of two documents that had been received from Sec. of War, & said I had done him great injustice. I had said that which was untrue, &c.

He says "it will be fatal to you Miss W."—Perhaps it will, & that I shall be sent away from here, but I can take nothing back.

He denied saying what he certainly did say, that "it made no difference what the Pres. or Sec. of War intended, he should rent the buildings." But I am too tired to dwell on this subject. I have been this evening to the Chapel with Mr. Babbitt & Mrs. Worthen to hear Miss Wood give a lecture. She is from Gonaives, Hayti; was a slave in Alabama, made her escape to Ohio, & succeeded in obtaining an education at Oberlin. For 4 yrs. past she has been in Hayti, teaching school. She spoke of Hayti, of its advantages & disadvantages. She sang two pieces, one of her own composition.

I wish I could have an hour's conversation with Col. W. I think I could convince him that he is doing me injustice. But a public office with a doz. men in it waiting, is no place for an explanation, especially if a person has their mind made up before hand as Col. W. evidently has.

April 15th, 1863. Wednesday

Rained all day. Oh! What a time for the army to move. Several regiments passed here this morning, to embark for F. Monroe, I am told. They looked forlorn, & the music sounded solemn. Have been over to room twice.

Went to Home & talked with the people in 10 rooms, some of the men have worked for 6 or 7 mo. & had no pay. & Mr. G. tells these even that if they don't pay they will be turned out.—Amanda Bell had 25 scholars & got 50 cents a month apiece for teaching them. Mr. G. told her that he would take care of the scheme & pay her \$5 a month. She objected at the injustice but feared to do otherwise than acquiesce.

Women have told me that not only were two women ~~were~~ showered on the 21st. Mar., but in Feb., 3 were showered, & two were put in at once, & last fall there was a

large tub, near the pump, & women were stripped & put in there & subjected to great indignities, & water thrown on them, & a great many women have been showered

since the Bath has been there. I do not suppose Col. W. will believe anything of this, as he insists that “only one woman has been subjected to this, & there was nothing of the woman about her but her sex,”——It makes me almost sick to know these things.—— That Slave pen seems to be a den of iniquity even yet.——

Thursday 16. Rainy.—

At room nearly all day. Gave out considerable. Col. was at White House yesterday. Mrs. Lincoln sent Nettie an exquisite bouquet. Well, well.—

Friday 17th.

This morning called at Mr. May's, & Mrs. M. went with me to Mr. Massey's, with Amanda Coats, to ask them to pay her. She has worked for a Secesh family & they refused to pay her, & the Mr. Rudolph then[?] threatened to shoot her if she left, so she came away with her children in the night, & was afraid to go back for her pay. I went to Col. W. with this statement & he ordered the person to pay this woman or else appear at his office.—

This morning we saw Mr. M. first. I told him my errand, & he said the woman did not stay a month, & he didn't owe her any thing, & perhaps I didn't know that the negress lied, & much more to the same effect.

Then Mrs. Massy came, & said that Amanda worked for her a month, but she did not tell her how much she wd. pay her, but she didn't earn much &c, but at last said she wd. pay her \$3.00 if she would come next week, that she had a hard time to get along, had but two persons boarding with her now.—She wd. like to see Amanda, but when I went to the door for her she was gone. On my way back I saw her & she went back to say to Mrs. M. that she wd. not take up with no 3.00. Mrs. M. was angry, & they began a regular quarrel, I told A. to stop.—Then I went to Col. W. again & he said take what you can get, & I have told A. to do so & Monday we are going again. She was afraid to stand near the door to wait, for they “might shoot her out the window”,

Evening. Went to Slave pen & Home, & saw several sick persons, to school. Mr. Tewksbury & Baldwin there, from N. Eng. I wonder that Dr. B. does not have those sick persons just into the hospital.

Called at Mr. May's, saw some things Mr. M. got from the garret of Arlington House. A Latin Dictionary with brass clasps which belonged to John Custis, Martha Washington's father in law & 3 letters one from G. W. P. Custis to a man about renting a farm, 1803. One from M. L. Custis to her daughter, 1827. A family letter, one from J. E. Johnston, at Gov. Island N.Y. 1831 to R.E. Lee Cockspur Island near Savannah. A young man's letter about various things, rather queer. Mrs. M. also got a tent pin, stirrups, & 3 pieces of

crockery.—Ella May went with me to buy photographs of Slave pen. Marshall House, Wolfe St. Hospital, & Washington Church.
Called on Mrs. Worthen, & Nettie who is much better. Letter from Frances, all well.
Have written to her, this evening.

Saturday 18th.

At room most all day. Letter from Ella. We hear this evening that the 142^d. & 143^d. N.Y. Reg^{ts}. which left Alex. Wednesday morning have been lost many of them by the sinking of the boat in the river, it being over loaded. If this is so it is one of the saddest things of the War.—Mrs. Worthen went to room with me.

Sunday Apr. 19. 1863.

Very fine, warm. Mrs. J. called this morning. Been to our Room & into the hospital. A woman died last night & I feel that she died from want of medical care, & nursing. It is a week since Dr. Bigelow has been to the hospital to see these people. Graves, a medical cadet looks in nearly every day, but does very little for them. A good house & every thing necessary is provided by government for these sick people, & only five women have been here yet.—There are sick persons enough to fill this house, but they are not brought here.

Dr. B. is attending to secesh patients, securing an outside practice, I think. It is a shame.—I called on Mrs. Whipple, & called again at hospital with Mr. B.—Letters from Ella Mary & Mrs. Winans. Mary is in pretty good spirits, & they are all pretty well.—Hear that Freda dear looks well, reads in 3^d. Reader, & can sing too. Yesterday it was 182 weeks since My little darling was taken from me, the dear one.

This P.M. have been to Church (Catholic) with Mrs. Worthen & Mr. Babbitt. A tiresome performance, nearly 2 hours just as good as lost!

April 20th. 1863.

Raining. This morning Miss May here, the Mich. 26th. left at noon to go down the River.

The report of the sinking of a boat is not so.—Went to hospital to see the sick woman. The corpse lies there yet in the room with a very sick woman. — They tell me Dr. B. came yesterday P.M. But what neglect & indifference is shown towards ~~towards~~ these people.

Went with Amanda to see secesh woman but she was not at home. Called at Mrs. May's & on Mrs. Whipple, Mr. W. has succeeded in getting his discharge & his pay, & we are glad for him. At 3 P.M. an Ambulance was sent for the woman, & a coffin for her, but there was nobody to help put her in the coffin or take it out.—The driver went in search of help, & Mr. Burdge sent two men, to move the body it was a very offensive operation.

—& there was lying in the room, all the time a poor sick woman. Several good rooms in the house, & yet these sick folks are not put in them.—

I cannot help blaming Dr. B. for neglect. Mrs. Worthen spent part of evening with me, Becky very sick, poor girl! She has watched Nettie & worked until she is exhausted, I think.

Apr. 21st

Cold & blue.—Went early to room. Went with Mrs. May to Mrs. Massey and asked again for Amanda's pay. Mr. M. was very pleasant & gave me \$3 for Amanda & I gave her a receipt &, that was all,

I had rather not undertake anything of the kind again, but these poor people have been treated often in this way, & there is no one to defend their rights for them.

Staid at room most all day.

This evening went with Mr. Babbitt to hear a lecture by Chap. Bowman. It was astronomical & mythological, & it was attended with music vocal & instrumental. It was in one of the elegant parlors of the Wolfe St. Hospital, for the amusement of soldiers, But there were several outsiders present.

The evening is very fine. There is a new moon, but on going out I saw it over my left shoulder, & I find I am superstitious enough to think of it, & yet I claim to be free from superstition as any body.

Wednesday. Apr. 22^d. 1863

Very fine. This morning wrote to Mrs. Marshall. Miss May called. I went to the Home, met Robert Dale Owen of Ia. & Col. M'Kay of N.Y. who are employed by Gov. to learn the state

of the contrabands throughout the country. They are going on to N. Orleans. They were in Mr. G.'s school, & Slave Pen, then to our hospital & room. Then Mr. Whipple with them to the Wharf & Fishtown. Mrs. Jacobs & my self are to go to W. to morrow & meet them at Willards. They want more information about things here.

This P.M. have been with Mrs. Worthen Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Chase & Mr. Babbitt to the museum, to the Home, to the Slave Pen, & then to the famous "Bruin's Slave Pen" on Duke st. beyond the Stone Bridge, & we had to get a pass to go there. We inquired ~~the~~ where it was, a colored ~~near~~ woman was standing near the house. & we were told to go through a yard to a house where a white family lived. The Sherriff of Fairfax Co. Mr. Roberts has possession of the house. Mr. Bruin & wife are in Rebeldom. His grown up daughters & sons are not allowed to occupy the house, but they live next door.—The lady of the house when we called

very kindly showed us around & unlocked the pen & jail. There is a large 2 story red brick front, containing very pleasant rooms probably, the back part is the jail, two large

rooms with iron bars across the windows, the lower room for men, & the upper for women, no fire places. The pen back of the house is a ~~yard~~ larger space enclosed with a plank fence 20 or 30 ft. high, very secure, & a brick floor. — ~~All the fences~~ Around the yard is a high, tight board fence, spiked at the top with wrought iron nails. It has been a well kept place, & as Kitty said yesterday it looks like a gentleman's country house, stylish front, but there are dungeons below, with green sods above & they could see hear people walking over their heads. Matilda Washington has been shut up in this jail. She told me about it to day. When we came away the Bruin girls & boys came out on the walk & looked at us, & stared & looked as long

as they could see us. I regret now that I did not speak to them. We might have thought them pretty young women, but knowing they were a slave trader's daughters they looked to me like monsters. In the pen I picked up a staple & a bolt. It makes Mrs. J. feel very bad to see such places. She thinks how her children & brother were sold. Oh. how she has suffered.

We came back feeling well paid for our visit. This day has been full of interest. At the Slave Pen this morning Mrs. Jacobs found a pair of handcuffs, & Harriet Moden gave me a chain, such as are used for the ancles, & a woman showed me how it was put on. A volume might be written about what I have seen to day. If God has patience I suppose I must be satisfied to wait. But to think of Northern men & Union soldiers employed as they are now at Price & Birch's Slave pen. It is a shame.—

Alexandria Apr. 23^d. Thursday.

A pouring rain nearly all day—

This morning Mrs. Jacobs & myself went to Provost's Office & got passes, & went to Washington on 10 A.M. boat. Mrs. J. was ordered out of neither ladies cabin or cars. We went directly to Willards & found Mr. Whipple in conference with Robert Dale Owen & Col. McKaye. Mr. Nichols & Mr. Croffut[?] present. (also Aristides of whom more hereafter) Dr. S. G. Howe was ill & we did not see him, but we saw Mrs. Howe. They questioned Mr. Whipple, then myself. Mrs. J. endorsing what I said, & afterwards she gave some of her experience.

This morning on my way to the boat I took from the P. O. a document from the War Department, marked 'Official'. I have been expecting this for several days, & I knew not till I got seated on the boat, whether this paper contained an order for my removal or not. It proved to be a letter from the

¹³Assistant Sec. of War, acknowledging the receipt of my letter to Sec. Stanton & enclosing ~~the~~ a copy of Report of Col. Wells to Gen. Slough, upon the reception of a copy of my letters to Shanton & Watson

I am fortunate in receiving it when I did, for I have read the whole correspondence between us, so these Commissioners & I think they rightly appreciate the matter.

They advised me to acknowledge the receipt of this document & say that I am ready to substantiate all the charges I have made, but wish to defer further action until the Sec. of War, shall have heard the report of these Commissioners.—

R.B. Owen & M^cKay are very pleasant persons to deal with, but I regret that I could not see Dr. Howe.

They ordered a lunch for us, & afterwards, a carriage to take us 3^oclock boat, & Aristides accompanied us, He is a young Grecian, an attendant of Dr. Howe. Came

from Greece about 10 yrs. since, & a year ago went back on a visit. He is an interesting person, & a descendant of Aristides the first.—This is quite chapter for me.

Walked up from the boat & got very wet, wrote a letter to P.H. Watson, took it to the office then went to see Mrs. Whipple & to the hospital. Those women seem to need nourishment, & they must have it.—Oh! how it rains!

Mr. & Mrs. Worthen left to-day in disgust with Mr. K's conduct towards them, I am so sorry to have her go, wonder if it will be my turn next?

Miss May called this evening. Nettie is improving very fast, & Becky is quite well.

Friday 24th,

Pouring rain all day. Mr. B. went for chicken, gave .75 cents for it, & I had broth made for those sick women.—They seem famishing for want of something, poor creatures.

Mrs. Jacobs called. Had long talk with Betsey, must send her history to Anna Barnes.

Alexandria Apr. 25th. Saturday.

Fine, windy, cold. The mud has dried up very much. But what a time it must have been for the Army.—Went out early, bought stationary & went to hospital, & called on Mrs. Whipple. Wrote from 9 till 4. Arm feels lame. Letter from Mary, she is ill with ague, & feels very uneasy. Father is quite unwell too.—Mrs. Jacobs called, & Josie & Ella May too. New boarders here—Dr. B. gone to N.Y. with the Commission. Oh! what a schemer, what a grasping man! I am told he would like to be superintendent here. What a misfortune it wd. be to those people. I am afraid some unsuitable person will be appointed, & that the Commission will be imposed upon. The papers are very interesting. Mrs Dickinson is lecturing on 'politics' & making quite a sensation in the country. Even the Herald praises her. The 9th. negro Regt. is being raised in Louisiana.—

¹³ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26002_151 to HC13-26002_184 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1862 to May 13, 1863.

Sunday P.M. Apr. 26th. 1863,

Fine but cool.—Mrs. J. called this morning. Went to chapel; was smoked out. Lizzie's pot boiled dry, & we were enveloped in smoke, after it was dissipated the meeting went on. Mr. Gladwin chained the attention of the audience by his rare eloquence for nearly an hour. What teaching! I only wonder that the people know anything. I was not prepared to take notes. It was very ludicrous throughout.—Called at Mr. Whipples. Named Mathilda W.'s new baby, Julia Wilbur Washington! Only think of it. She shall be my protégé.—Walked to Mrs. Dogan's but did not find Mrs. Jacobs.—went to hospital.—Wisit with Mr. B.—Emma is better. Seen ever so many people to day, still I feel lonesome, perhaps more than I have done before.—I feel unsettled. I must leave this house, even if I remain in Alexandria. Well, well!

Alexandria Apr. 27th, 1863,

Very fine day! & a busy day for me. Early this morning I went out with Mrs. Jones. First to 68 Prince St. to get some tea for some sick women. Then to the Home & school, & to the Slave Pen. & Railroad, & to our Room & Hospital. Then Mr. B went with us to the wharves to get some oysters for the sick, but cd. get none. & they have been so disappointed for they had their mouths fixed for them & "Aunt Sally" said she came from an oyster county, from near Norfolk, Then I went to room & had a general overhauling & cleaning, & came back tired enough, but I found here Mrs. W. Johnson, Miss Donelson & Mrs. Leighton, just from W. I took a "hasty plate of soup" & started on the rounds with the ladies. Went to Home, & into several rooms, & into Leland's school. Then to Slave Pen. Then to the Room & to Parker & Robinson's school & to Mr. Hill's school. The ladies

left for the 4 p.m. boat, expressing themselves much interested in what they had seen. Mrs. D. came to see about getting 6 orphan girls to take to R. Island, but there are none ready yet.—

I came back so tired I had to take a rest, & do not feel like doing much this evening.

Apr. 28th.

Fine morning, I went out early to Home. Met Leland going to depot. Ever so many of these people arrived this morning, & there has been a great rush to find kinsfolk & friends. I went over to the mess house where they stopped, & oh! so many children. One woman came with 6, expecting to meet her husband here, but is told that he is dead.—Dinah Bevry[?] finds her daughter & 5 grandchildren, & Aunt Minty her sister & 3 children & Hannaha Harriton[?] finds her old mother & so on.—This is the first arrival I have seen. It has almost overcome me. Some are wild with joy,

(Provision very scarce)

others grieving because they cannot find their among them. They are mostly from near Warrenton, walked 10 or 12 mi. to reach the cars, left in the night, one woman said she toted two children, & the soldiers were good & toted some of their things for them. We put them into a new room for the present. I took their names & number. 4 men, & about 30 children the rest women, 40 in all.—They tell me that a number more went on to W.

I went to see Mr. Burdge about rations & coal &c.— Came round to the Room, & so home.—I hear things that make me sick.—Persons that I wd. think better things of, seem to have no scruples about filching from Government.

Evening

Miss May called at noon & we went into the cupola & saw as well heard the firing from a new fort not far from Ft. Lyon. The flash & smoke first, afterwards the report.

I would like to see Ft. Lyon or Ft. Ellsworth in full blast, firing at the rebels.— Wrote a while. Then went to P.O. & the rain having abated I went up to the Home. Oh! so muddy up there. The new people have had no rations yet, but they have some coal. I hope Mr. Burdge will not neglect them.—Mr. G. went to W. yesterday & he has not been here to day.

Leland goes on alone with the school. Mrs. J. came up & we went to Slave Pen. A woman dead there. No Dr. for five days—in another room a sick woman sleeps on the floor, has no bed in particular, in a room at the Home is a man who has been sick 3 wks. & has no bed. What shall we do? Have done no work at room to day. My head, heart & hands have been full.—Gen. Banks is accomplishing something in the west, Gen. Hooker is moving. There is a general stir among the troops.

Alexandria Apr. 29th, 1863

Fine & warm. This evening looks like rain.

Went to home & succeeded in getting Underwood & Linda to come to Scott House & take up some shrubbery. This took till nearly noon. Went up there again with Mr. B. Learn that about 30 of these people came in last night on the car, about 10 o'clock, & Mr. Gladwin drove them away. There is a large vacant room, & they know not where to go. That man should be drummed out of town. he is inhuman to say the least. Many have had friends among these newcomers, but they were driven away & now we know not where to look for them.—Came back, & after dinner went to Home again with Mrs. Jones, & I helped get out the vines & shrubs, & at 4 P.M. was so tired that I came home to rest. Mrs. Jacobs has seen Col. Wells to know if these people can remain in those empty rooms, as Mr. G. says they can't stay there,

He says those that I put into a room yesterday must leave, but Col. W. says they may stay—He Col. W. told Mrs. J. that he did'nt believe that Mr. G. drove those folks away from the Home at 10 last night. This is the way he has talked to me heretofore.—Visited in

Nettie's room awhile.—We hear that Hooker has crossed the Rappahannoc, & that the rebels are on this side, &c.

April 30th, 1863. Thursday.

Fine till about 4 P.M., then rainy.—Warm. Called on Mrs. May, then to Room, & to the Home with Mr. B.—set out some more trees. Paid Underwood & Linda \$1,75 for their work. Wanted to have room cleaned there but Mr. G. rather objected to having any work done there to day, as it is a National Feast. The stores & shops are closed today,. Secesh have had to observe it too, good! I could not afford the time to go to church, but I would like to have gone.

Mrs. J. & I went to the railroad & found 2 women & 4 children who knew not where to go. We took them to Home & asked Mr. G. to admit them wh. he did. One of these women had a child about 20 mo. old. which is as white as any body's child. Its father is in the Northern Army. After dinner went with Mrs. B. to see Emma, who left here a few days since, & now has a room of her own. She is quite well now.—Took walk to Hunting Creek, got shells for mementos of the visit, found ourselves outside the Pickets, the 153d N.Y. but they did not hinder our return. From the bank near the creek there is a very fine prospect, Fairfax Sem., Ft. Ellsworth, Ft. Lyon, Ft. Worth, & several others, the Virginia Shore for a long distance, an extensive view of the Md. shore, & the broad, noble River, dotted with transports, their white sails gleaming in the sun. It was a glorious Panorama. How I would like to go to Ft. Lyon!

Met 4 or 5 white rowdies on their way to Provost Mar's under guard. These scamps had been to the small pox hos. near Hunting ck. & stoned it & fired pistols through the windows. When I got home I was too tired to go to Home again, but went over to see Mrs. W. & rested awhile.—

Met Mr. G. this A.M. at Home & talked with him about putting the new people into the rooms. He is very wrathly because I put those folks in a room while he was gone.—

Letters from Frances, Eliza Wilbur, Mrs. Thayer & Mrs. Marshall. F. says "come home, come home." All pretty well—No further war news.

Alexa. Friday, May 1st. 1863,

Foggy morning. Fine, warm day.—

Went to hospital with [*Transcriber's Note: blank in original*]

Then to School House & left Mrs. Jones at Parker's School—Mr. Robinson preached last evening, stopped on his way home with some of his people & stayed a few minutes later than 10 °clock, he was in his own yard, when he was arrested & taken to the Slave Pen. How unfortunate!

But he was released this A.M. & came into school about 10 °clock.

I went to Home to see about cleaning room used[?] for wood & lumber. Mr. G. came while we were removing them & asked if I had any orders to do this? I said the room was for my use & I was going to clean it. "Not unless I see fit to let you have it," rejoined his lordship. "The Pro. Mar. wants you to do without it if you can." I can't attend to this thing now. There is so much to be done." &c.

"Mr. G. I have waited long enough for this room. It must be cleaned today. I can't do without it, have you any objection to my moving this lumber out?" "Oh, no, put it in the next room." Then I came back after setting the women to work, & after dinner Mrs. Jones went up there with me. I found 3 boys there already, & Lucinda scrubbing them up. They are brothers Jim, Harry & Tom.

Then back to Room with Charlotte & Jimmy for some things. Then with Mr. B. & Mrs. J. to Mansion House Hospital. Mr. Hazzen showed us the house, which

is interesting for many reasons.

A part of this is the old Howard Mansion built in 1754 of materials brought from England, on the stone steps of this House Washington received his commission. The room used for an office now was occupied by him. It is a paneled room & ornamented with stucco, in the Mt. Vernon style.—

An immense building 4 or 5 stories high has been built in prox. of this.—Last summer there were 600 sick men here, but very few now, 50 perhaps.—

Every convenience & comfort is provided. There are storerooms for 3 hospitals, dispensary, &c, extensive preparations for cooking & meals.—A library & reading room. I can hardly begin to enumerate the interesting things about this house. It is so gratifying to know that the soldier is so well cared for. A Melodion has been sent there from N.Y.—Prayer meetings are held nearly every evening —

I brought away a piece of the wall proper of the Hall. It was an interesting visit

Very tired when I came back. Mrs. J. sat with me awhile. I told her about Freda & had a crying spell of course. She has had 4 "mothers" & had several spells of keeping house for her father. I have had but 3. Some of our experience has been similar. She is from [Warsaw, Ill. near 4 miles from Keokuk—Lately married Capt. Jones of the 19th. Conn. & is here on a wedding trip to stay awhile—Two boarders, Mr. & Mrs. Kirby, are here again. The secesh elements rather predominate lately.—Called at Mrs. May's this morning.— I am getting pretty tired.

May 2d. Saturday,

Very fine. warm.—Went to two hospitals to get work for a woman. went to our room & hos. Mary, who has been sick so long died last night.

Miss May went with me to the Home. So much to do up there, & it is getting to be so warm. Julia Wilbur Washington is doing finely—

As I was about leaving there was an arrival of 2 distinguished looking gentlemen. They were John Hodge of British Honduras, & Mr. Henry Anderson of Jamaica, W.I., formerly of London.

Both are in the employ of the government, & are sent by Mr. Adams to confer with Mr. Seward in reference to the Emigration of negroes to Honduras. It is a negro colony civil & military officers all negroes. The colony is self-supporting, very flourishing, & well established.— These gentlemen are much pleased with their interviews with the President, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Pomeroy &c. Mr. Seward is non-committal. I invited them into the Orphan's Room, & answered many inquiries about the people here. Then I rode over to the Room with them, to see Mrs. Jacobs. As bad luck wd. have it, Mr. Gladwin was there too. They spent nearly an hour with us. Then Mr. G. went to Old S. House with them, & from there was going with them to see Gen. Slough & Col. Wells.—They are pleasant gentlemen, & think they will come again.—Sold a few things & went to dinner—Went to Provost's office & got pass to Mt. Vernon. Started at half past 2 with Mr. Babbett, Capt. Jones & wife, & Miss May. The carriage was probably made in the year one,

& the harness at the same time; before we had got to the 1st. corner, something broke. They tied it up, we went on & it kept breaking, I chanced to have some twine in my pocket, wh. proved invaluable.—It has been a delightful P.M. & evening. We crossed Hunting Creek Bridge. Soon the road was so bad that we alighted & walked up a long hill, & found some wildflowers that were new to me.—A poor looking country, now & then a house left standing, occasional ruins, or a few bricks surrounded by daffodils & pear trees, tells of where the homes of Virginian gentlemen have been, What desolation follows in the track of war. On the heights near Ft. Lyon is a house built by Lord Fairfax it is said.—

The road is very bad in places, sometimes quite difficult for the horses to pull through the mud, & they are very rough too.—We pass near where the 2^d Mich. was encamped in the winter of 61-2, The 2d Mich. built Ft. Lyon.—Miss May has lived in camp & knows the history of some of the houses that we pass.—

As we approached the John A. Washington estate, we saw two teams ploughing & some men planting corn. & several cultivated fields & some fences, poor ones though. The barns are only apologies for such, & the houses look forlorn.—As we near Mt. V. the road is through the woods. We entered the park between two old ruinous lodges, which are in sight of the house. On the road to the house we found trailing arbutus & near the ice house we dug up violets & myrtle & strawberries.—got grape cuttings at the tomb, but I presume they will not grow for me. Saw several colored women. Then Capt. Hurlburt met us, & showed us the house & garden for the moderate fee of [*Transcriber's Note: Left blank*].

He seemed to watch us closely, but there were two flowerpots less in the garden when we came out than when we went in.—The dwarf magnolia is in blossom, also hyacinths &

spisea[?] & the red but or Judas tree. We could not linger to moralize or philosophize, as the sun was nearly down. It was after 5 when we got there & we thought of the bad road after dark,

But we left by a much better way, & all went smoothly for two miles, when the road through the woods became narrow & rough. The carriage settled into a deep rut & the horses stopped & re-fused to budge an inch. Here was a dilemma, it was growing dusk, we alighted, but no persuasion would induce them to go on. No house was near, & it was a question whether we should not have to remain in the forest all night, exposed to guerrillas & prowling[?] rebels.—Mr. B. & the Capt. lifted the carriage out of the ruts. Mr. B.'s persuasive powers were exhausted, then he tried the whip & the woods resounded for a time, after half an hour of alternate coaxing & whipping they concluded to proceed, & behaved afterwards like the good grays that they are. I feared most that the old carriage would be broken, & I had no more strings, by the way. Well, well, it was very provoking, but Mr. B. did not get angry as most men would have done, & when he whipped them it seemed to be from a sense of duty. There was not the slightest indication of temper, & Capt. Jones kept cool too.

The road was mostly good all the way home, & it was a charming ride. The moon is nearly full. The prospect was fine as we approached Alex. The River looked like liquid silver, lights glimmered from the Md. hills beyond. All was quiet & beautiful. The forts on all the Heights lay sleeping in the moonlight. Miss May & Mrs. Jones sang patriotic songs. Pickets are stationed all along on H. Ck. Bridge. We got home at 9 P.M. Had Supper at 10, & went to bed feeling pretty tired.—I do not expect to have many more such good times. Oh! how much Frances would have enjoyed it, I think we rode about 20 mi. & were gone 6 hours.

Vegetation is coming forward rapidly.—

Sunday May 3d, 1863,

Quite warm, like summer, left off my flannel. Cleaned up thoroughly, but have felt too tired to do much. Indeed I feel used up. It has been a week of excitement & activity, & going to Mt. Vernon was the straw on the camel's back, although I enjoyed it so thoroughly. I was awakened in the night by some un-

usual commotion at the window, wh. I had left open a few inches, & soon the window the lower half was pushed in & fell on the floor, & a dark looking grimalkin bounded in after it. But I reproved the feline intruder with so much vehemence that she was as much frightened as myself, & made her exit with about as much rapidity as she entered. About a dozen cats held carnival last night in the passages above & below, they made the night hideous. If Sally Ann had been here last night, she wd. have thought the rebels had her sure, so wd. Charlotte. I am thankful I am not as easily frightened as some people. Pierce

& Burdge have been arrested. Hooker has addressed his army & there has been fighting near Fredericksburg.

Last night about 9 Capt. Mosby with his cavalry surprised 200 of the ~~1st. Va.~~ at Warrenton Junction & took them prisoners, but the 5th. N.Y. came at the right time, & took them back, & killed a few rebs,—The rebs might have taken us quite as well last night,

Mrs. Worthen called, & Emma & Sarah & Becky &c. Trying to write to Frances, but I have so many interruptions.—

Monday May 4th.

This A.M. rainy. P.M. fine —Called on Mrs. Worthen, at 46 Royal St. then on Mrs. Worthen at Leslie House. Then at Room. & Ms. May s. Set out my plants that I got at Mt. Vernon.

After dinner went to Home & took girl to Dr. Hammond's. Went with Mrs. May & Josie to Mansion House Hos. to see the 16 wounded rebs. that were brought in this morning from Warrenton. Yesterday morning Maj. Mosby 110 men surprised & took without any fighting 200 of *[Transcriber's Note: Left blank]* But a brigade of ours being not far off retook these *[Transcriber's Note: Left blank]* rebs. wounded some & killed 4. 30 rebs halted & stood fight, & some of them were wounded & are here now, the rest ran. They took us to be secesh ladies, & we encouraged the belief. I cd. not carry it as far as Ms. M. did. When one asked her "if she was really secesh?" she grasped his hand & said "trust me for that," & "there are a great many here that sympathise with you,"

She is to go there tomorrow & 2 of them are to have letters ready for her to send to their friends. She assured them that such things were done every day.—One told me about the fight, another of a son that had been killed, another, a huge looking old man said he wd. not have been in the Army if the Yankees had left them alone. They would take persons that had done nothing & put them in the old Cap. prison, so that they cd. exchange them for soldiers, & he meant to be exchanged as a soldier. He grew so mad that he cried, & shook all over. One said to him "but you had to surrender." Said he "let me get over this & I'll make them surrender." Some of them put out their hands to shake hands with us & several shed tears. All said they were well cared for. They belong to Mosby's battery & the 1st. Va. Cavalry.

Mrs. M. hopes to get some information from them. This has been quite a Chapter in my life. How Frances wd. have enjoyed it.

Several ladies had been there us. (secesh.) They will not be allowed to receive many delicacies.

Hooker's army has been doing wonders.

[Transcriber's Note: Large blank space left]

May 5th, Tuesday

Foggy morning, bright hot at noon. heavy rain towards eve. Rose at half past 5. Wrote some. At half past 7 went shopping, bought tubs, mops, cups, spoons, knives, plates &c. for orphan's room.—Went to Home & worked till nearly noon, then down King St. back to Herne & to Scott House, oh, so tired. After dinner I could do nothing at all.— I slept a little, very warm. I put on my new gingham, & fixed to go out, by this time there was an impending shower. Had to change dress entirely, &

went to Room a little while with Mr. B. Mrs J. has been there most all day. But I have so few things left that it seems hardly worth while to spend much time there. Mrs. May & others have been to see the rebs again. Mrs. M. got 2 letters from them, to send to their friends. Two men died last night. G. Thorville[?], son of late Rev. Dr. T. of S.C. died yesterday morning.

One of the wounded is Capt. B. Dushan of Lee's Staff.—

The two Mrs. Worthens called this A.M. . Want Becky to go to Vermont. Becky says she will go.—News from Hooker is conflicting. But great advantage has been gained, & several hundred prisoners have arrived at Washington, so much is fact.

Wednesday May 6,

Rainy, cold. Worked at room all the A.M. This P.M. been to Home & worked awhile. Little 4 yr. old brought to me, wont talk, I have named him Fremont. Brought in last night from Culpepper. He is either tired out or sick

Mr. Graves called to tell some news that was difficult to keep over night.

He hears that Mr. Gladwin is appointed Superintendent. I have nothing more to say.

Thursday May 7th.

Cloudy, cold, blue day,

This morning Mr. W. & Mrs. Jacobs called & at Mr. Gladwin's request I went to the wharf to find his niece Mrs. Roe, wife of Capt. Roe of the [?] Kate Thomas. She was 'not in'. I wrote till dinner. Then Mr. G. sent for me to come & see his niece at his room. (he is ill in bed). I called there. But how could he have the face to ask me there! After taking possession of the room as he did to the exclusion of Mrs. J. & myself, & I had never been in it but once before & that was to tell him that no gentleman would do as he had done.— With Mrs. Roe & Mrs. Jones & Mrs. Henry I went to Home. Little Fremont has roused up & is quite well, but will not talk yet.—

Wrote ever since I came back. reply to Col. W's Report.

Friday May 8th.

Cloudy, cool.—Wrote nearly all day. Have not been out at all. Mrs. Jones left today. I shall miss her, she is a pleasant woman. Am not acquainted with the other boarders, Ella

May called with my bead collar. Mrs. Jacobs called—she is nearly sick. No good war news—

Saturday 9th.

Fine. Warmer. Went to Room awhile & to hospital. How those poor women are neglected. Dr. B. was there, I should think he wd. be ashamed of the state of things, when it is his duty to attend to this hospital. Spent most of day in fixing bonnet, spent fifty cents in repairs & it is just as good a bonnet as I want.—Mrs. Henry called, also Mrs. May. Mrs. M. has called on the rebel wounded at the Hos. nearly every day. Capt. Dushane of Lee's staff has told her of Lee's plans, & Jackson's intentions, which are nothing less than to get possession of Alexandria & Washington. Capt. D. says he would give up his hopes of

Heaven rather than leave the South. They are very bitter against us. They think yet that she is a secesh & a friend to them. Called to see Mr. Gladwin, he is better. Col. Wells approves of what Mrs. M. is doing. Have not been to Home today. A large number of Contrabands came in last night. Mr. G. says he shall get some tents for them to live in.—

None of the wounded have been brought here yet from Fredericksburg, but a great number have been taken to Washington. I would like to know how they all do at home to night. I wonder if they are thinking of me!—

It is 185 weeks since my little darling was taken from me & it is 5 mo. since I have heard from her. I presume she hardly thinks of me now—

I have not written a letter in a week, & I have about 20 unanswered ones now. I ought to sew some, but I keep waiting, hoping to have some leisure, & it does not come.

Sunday 10th, May.

This morning went to hospital & took some dried cherries.—Called on Mrs. Whipple. Called at Mrs. May's went with them to church, Northern Methodist. Dry sermon. People looked like citizens, not stylish at all.—This P.M. visited with Miss Hazzen & wrote to Joe & cousin Kate.—

Monday 11th.

Very warm. Went to P.O. then to Hos. & took some oranges for the sick.

Mrs. Whipple left Alex. this morning.—Went to Home, so hot up there; how can they live there this summer?. Two [?] gentlemen from W. visiting Alex.—

After dinner went to Fort Worth 3 mi. from Alex. with Mr. B. Miss May & Ella May to see Mrs. Jones & the Captain.—

The Ft. is a very good one. An abattis of felled trees, a ditch, an embankment, the parapet surmounted with sand bags, & the emba[?] lined with gabions. I never saw a fort with such [?] before. It mounts 26 guns,

one 100 pounder pivot gun, wh. 2 men can handle, although it weighs 9000 lbs. — There are iron mortars & brass mortars. There are 2 of the Whitworth ordnance. A battery of 6 of these guns was sent by [?] loyal Americans in England to the Government of the U.S. —were made in Manchester, —2 of them are here, they are breech-leading, & rifled, so large that we can examine the interior very well. They are 10 pounders & will throw a ball 7 miles. —The bomb proof will hold 800 men.—This fort is half mi. west of Fairfax Sem. on high ground. & near it is Ft. Ward.

Mr. J. has 2 rooms, a board tent, canvass roof. The country is interesting all around here. The elevations are surmounted by what were once fine residences, but the groves have been mostly cut away. There is a fine view pass the highest ground of the neighboring heights, Ft. Lyon & the encampments &c. The River always beautiful the Md. hills beyond, & the green fields, & fruit trees in blossom, & many flowers in full bloom

which do not blossom with us till midsummer. A nice carriage & fine horses did not let the grass grow under their feet, & pleasant company. Take it all in all it is the nicest little drive that I have favored with since my sojourn south of the Potomac. Where the woods have been cut away the ground is covered with wild flowers, Lupine, vetch, violets, silene, buttercups, & a delicate little flower wh. is a stranger to me. Returned about 4 P.M, fixed my bonnet. Mrs. Jacobs called.

Papers say Hooker has crossed the Rapphannock again.—

A riding party from Washington here to tea. very gay people. 12 of them.

Tuesday May 12th.

Very hot. Went to Pro's office & got pass to W. for to-morrow. Saw Col. Wells, but he merely recognized me, but afterwards asked how Mr. G. was.—Letter from Anna Barnes containing a mysterious sentence to this effect, "I had a copy of Col. Well's Report on

the showering cases, case he insists it was, & gather prove it that he is doing his best to carry out his threat to make thy speaking in the matter fatal to thee, I am anxious to know what it all means, I have written to her to day. A box is on its way from R. Went to the Room twice this A.M. —Spent P.M. in copying Report, or rather Reply. After tea went to Barracks with Mr. B. The evening is very pleasant & there are indications of a shower.

Wednesday May 13th,

Fine. hot A.M. —Rain in P.M.—

Went to W. on 8^o clock boat, Mary[?] Rapley, so pleasant, the shores green & beautiful.—Went to Patent O. & saw Mr. Van S.—& with him called on Mrs. Slade. —Then went to Home for Contrabands. Have new School room, taught by Mr. Sheaver, & Miss Howland & Seaving. Some of the people live in tents. In the barracks there are about 50 rooms. I looked into them all. There was one or more sick in every room. They were filthy places, crowded & hot.

About half of the people look as if they had had small pox. & as a whole look far more [wretched?] than ours do here. —New buildings for hospitals look comfortable. Small pox cases in tents a short distance away. Dined with Capt. Ferree, Dr. & Mrs. Webster, Dr. Pettijohn, Miss Howland & Miss Seaving. —

Left about 2 P.M. An impending shower. A long walk performed rapidly made me very tired when I reached Mr. Lake's 500[300?] E. St. —After the shower & I had rested 2 hrs, I took the 6 P.M. boat for Alex. Met Capt. & Mrs. J.

While I was at the Camp a Md. slave hunter came there for a man whom he claimed as his own. Mr. Nichols gave him no satisfaction, & did not know where the man was. The hunter left, & in about an hour afterwards an order came from Maj. Gen. Hitchcock acting Mil. Gov. for Mr. N. to appear before him & bring the man. "The order is imperative." Mr. N. went at once to report himself, minus the man, however, that he was told to bring, & not knowing but he might fetch up in the old Cap. Prison.

Gov. Martindale who is absent wd. probably have given no such orders.—I am anxious to know the result. In evening War Meeting at Col.^d Baptist Church. —It was really a mass meeting, & a more enthusiastic one I have never attended.

The speakers were Mr. Hinton of W. Mr. Shelton of Cincinnati & other colored; Col. Bingham & Capt. Thomas &c. white.—104 men have enlisted, to be called First Regt. Va. Infantry to be raised in & about Alex. —Ever so many white faces & some soldiers present. It did my heart good. —In Va. on Slave cursed soil, in rebellious, secesh Alex. the city of Slave pens, was a meeting of negroes nearly all once been slaves, now talking Freedom & Liberty, & Stars & Stripes, & Union & Equality. —Sung "My Country 'tis of thee &c" & "Star Spangled Banner". It must have been pleasant for the secesh listeners & there were some around, as it was night & they need not be known —but they might have heard themselves alluded to in no flattering terms.—

May 13th, 1863

¹⁴Thursday May 14th 1863,

Cooler & cloudy. Letter from S.A. Ferris, went to room, & also to Mr. G.'s room to see Col. Bingham, Capt. Thomas, Mr. Hinton, &c. Yesterday Dr. Shaw & Mrs. Graves & child came. Lydia died last night. Such a room as it is this morning! Such neglect! oh, dear. Went to Barracks with Logan Thomas, a little orphan five now. — Mrs. J. has given them some clothes.—

Went to school ~~with~~ Mr. Hinton & Thomas there.—Went to Slave Pen with Dr. Shaw. A sick woman there in as bad a condition as she can be, as bad a sight as I have ever seen. Shane[?] told Dr. Shaw how things have been neglected, about the hospital &c. If he chooses to tell Dr. B. he can do so. After dinner went to see Commissary about rations for my orphans. Went to Hos. with Mr. B., Mrs. Jones & Mrs. Henry. I wished them to see how good & beautiful Lydia looked in her last sleep, with flower on her breast.

¹⁴ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26003_001 to HC13-26003_041 in their Folder entitled May 14, 1863 to Nov. 19, 1863.

The room has been cleaned this P.M. & for the first time it looks tidy.—I hope Dr. S. will do something now. A sick man there says he has not seen a Dr. in 3 days. I am sick at heart, & well nigh discouraged. There is “no mercy in man’s obdurate heart, it does not feel for man.”

Friday, May 15th,

Fine. cool. Went to our hos. & saw a poor sick man who is suffering for want of care. Called on Mr. Robinson at his school. Called at Mrs. May’s. —Mrs. Jacobs called here.—Wrote till 3 o’clock. Went to Home to meet ladies of the Sewing Society, but they did’nt come. Went to cemetery with Mrs. J. & Mr. B. & Mrs. Jones & Mrs. Henry. The soldiers burying ground is being improved beautifully. About 800 graves now. The potters field is an unchristian looking place. The Contrabands are literally packed away. Oh. The poor creatures, but they are only niggers.

Mr. K. told me this A.M. that they expect to give up the House next Thursday, & now I must find another place immediately. Wonder where it will be, & echo answers where?—Mrs. J. had a very satisfactory call on Gen. S. to day in relation to an orphan child.—He told her she did right in coming to him & not ignoring his authority & going to a higher. This was undoubtedly a thrust at me. But if what I have done has made him & the Pro. Mar. act more kindly & promptly toward these people, I can afford to rest under their displeasure.

Saturday 16th,

Fine. cool. windy. Went to Room 3 or 4 times. Went to Mansion H. Hos. twice. Saw Mrs. Hazzen & Dr. Page, asked the latter if I could remain where I am, but he informed me he does not intend to have any one but his own family in the Scott House. Now I must find another place. Rochester box came to day.—

Called on Mrs. May, &c, &c. Wrote some. At 4 P.M. went to Freedman’s Home to War Meeting. Twas held in the yard, large meeting The flag that I brought from Home was very serviceable on the occasion. It was raised on a rustic pole & loudly cheered as its folds were unfurled to the breeze of Heaven. It was a glorious moment of my life to see this wave over these Freed Slaves in old Virginia & hear those shouts of joy, & know that it’s now the symbol Liberty, for the black as well as the white. When I made this flag a year ago in my quiet, & secluded northern home I did not once dream that it wd. ever float on a southern breeze, & that the Freed men & women of Va. wd. gather beneath its folds & rejoice as they have done this day.

I did not think I sh. see it realized when I wrote for another occasion.

Just such a Flag of Stripes & Stars
The Soldier carries to the Wars
Soon it may it float over land & sea
The banner of the truly Free,

For we hope that ere long
Not only in song
But in fact this shall be
The Flag of the Free,
And the time may be near
When this Flag we hold dear
No longer shall wave
Ov'r the head of a slave.

The speakers were Col. Bingham, Capt. Thomas, Mr. Hinton & Mr. Shelton. The two former gentlemen impressed the audience & the two latter delighted them. More than 200 names are enrolled, & they are in a fair way to raise a regt. here. But the secesh are very indignant. A very diminutive badge of red, white & blue is worn in the button hole by those who have enrolled their names in the 1st. ~~Va~~ Regt. of Reg A[?]. Va. Inf. Col^d —As a man wearing this badge was passing down King St. a day or two since, a secesh merchant (for we have such) came out of his store & tore it from his coat, I think such treatment will not be tolerated

very long, & I understand they intend to send off some of the secesh this week. The unreasonable prejudices of our northern soldiers is fast disappearing, & very soon there will not be enough left to do any great harm. If The superiority of the white soldier [?] is endangered by giving the African race a chance to rise in the social scale, such superiority I think is not worth boasting of

I am told that our Mil. Gov. has had some 20 applications already for commissions in the Col^d. Reg^t. to be raised in Alex. & vicinity, & many of these who have been all the while been down on raising negro regiments, are the first to ask for Commissions.

This evening went to Home Chapel with Sarah to see a wedding ceremony performed. Mr. G. officiated, & he was almost as awkward as the parties themselves, who did not seem to know their right hands from their left. Geo. Washington & May Tibles[?] were their names. Two brides maids & one groomsman. —

Scott House, Sunday evening, May 17,

Delightful day.—Went to Mrs. May's to say that I cd. not go to Secesh meeting to day as I had intended. spent the day in writing a description of the War Meetings for the Democrat. Took it to P.O., visited a little while & the day is used up. Wonder where & how the "loved ones at home" are this night!

Monday May 18th,

Fine. Windy. Went to Room 3 times before 9 A.M. & was tired enough then. Took up plants. Went to Mrs. May's. Making arrangements to go to Manasses Wednesday.— Mrs. M. went with me to Mayor Ware's to find board, but on account of Ms. W.'s ill health

“they have got shut of boarders,” so the Mayor says, & he is a white man too. Oh! yes, “they got shut of boarders last fall.” I had supposed that only negroes used this expression, they say “I’d like to get shut of this misery in my head,” &c. Then to Room & unpacked box from Rochester. Then Mr. & Mrs. Needham came from W. Mrs. N. dined with me. Then we went to Slave

Pen & jail, & school &c. Then Dr. Hurd & Dora came (from Rochester) from Washington now, I was very glad to see them.

Went to Slave Pen again & school. Then to Scott House & Room & Wolfe St. Hospital. They left for 5 P.M. boat. Oh! so tired as I was. Then I set out plants in our yard. & then came back, tired out.—I cannot endure many such day’s-works.—

Col. Dart is trying to raise a Cavalry Regt. Mr. Needham thinks of enlisting. He brought a Commission for Mr. Whipple, & Mr. B. is thinking about engaging in it. Is it not wonderful?

Tuesday May 19.

Very fine—Went early to room & have been there most of the day. The contents of the Rochester Box are nearly all disposed of.—

Called at Mrs. May’s. our passes are secured to Fairfax station only, but we think we can go on, We are to take two days cooked rations, & blankets & in-tend to sleep in the Ambulances.

I anticipated an interesting visit. I wish Mrs. Jacobs was going with us.—

I have drawn rations to day for the 1st. in a long time.—Letter from my friend Mrs. A. Carpenter. —After dinner went out again, & then to Room. Mr. W. & Mr. B. there, discussing the prospective Cavalry Regt. colored.—After Tea went to Freedman’s Home, 15 new ones came in to day, & Fosdick put them in Mr. G.’s store room. Good! if they can only stay there. I am quite tired to-night but I shall try my best to get rested & be strong for tomorrow. Saw the moon over my right shoulder, shall accept the omen for good, we shall see. The last month brought a disappointment.

Wednesday, May 20th,

Fine. Letter from Sis, who is going with her mother to N.Y. & C. intends to go to Aquia Ck. to see Mr. G. who is sick in hospital & Charlotte wishes to meet me in W. —She has been to see father & he is not very well. —& May & children have gone home with Francis to make a visit.—

Wrote to C. then went round to the room & to Mrs. May’s & found them about ready for a start[?]. Letter from Mrs. Barnes— she informs one that she wrote to the War Dept. about the treatment of women at the Slave Pen, & her letter was sent to Gen. Slough, & Col. Wells reported thereon. Insists that only one woman was showered; says Miss W. is “an interfering & troublesome person”. Says Mr. Gladwin is a “Christian Gentleman”, &

recommends him again for Superintendent.—Sorry that I have not known this before. I might have counteracted some of the bad effects of his mis-statements. & misapprehensions.—

Left Alex. on the 11 A.M. train; destination the Battlefield of Bull Run if we cd. get there. Pass from the Pro. Mar. here took us only to F. S. where an Ambulance sent by Col. Tower of the 1st. Mich. Cav. was waiting to take us to the Camp of this Regt. a mile east of Fairfax C.H.— From Alex. after a few mi. to F. Sta, it is mostly a wild region, we cross the Accotink & Bull Run,

stop at Burke's Sta.— named from Col. B. some of whose slaves we have with us in Alex. Occasionally in a clearing we saw the huts & tents of the negro wood choppers, wagons, horses &c. At F. Sta. are some of the Penn. Reserves. 2 camps on the hills.— The road to F.C.H. is very bad for about 4 mi, scarcely an inhabited house, some ruins & no fences, frequent vestiges of encampments. All looks desolate.—

F.C.H. once had some 1200 inhabitants, in a fine situation, & it has once been pleasant about there. Many of the houses have been torn down. The best dwellings have been used for military purposes. The C.H. has been riddled[?] & is used for Com. Stores. The jail is occupied by soldiers. the grass & shrubbery has vanished some fine old trees are left.— In the vicinity is encamped a brigade of Cavalry, the 1st, 5th. & 6th. Mich. & 2d. & Pa. Reserves. The elevations offered fine places for Camps. A Major of the 2d. Pa. rode from Station with us. He thought it not safe for us to go to Bull Run. Battlefield.

It is outside of our pickets, & some of these are wounded every day by scouts & rebel guerillas.— This was discouraging for us who were bent on going to the battlefield. Col. Tower received us very cordially, & a dinner was ordered for us in the Officers Mess tent, where a French Cook, assisted by a negro or two practise the culinary art, very much to the delight of the 16 officers who mess together. The Mich. ladies of our Company met many of their friends, & after dinner we went to see a dress parade. They have fine horses, & their movements were beautiful. At the last for our especial amusement they made a charge by Companies. When they start the horses walk very slowly, their gait increases to a trot, then to a gallop, sabres are brandished, & the battle yell rises above the trampling of horses & the clanking of arms. This must be terrific in real battle.—All the while they were drilling the music of the death march was distantly heard. from beyond the woods in

the South, some poor soldier was being carried to his last resting place & taking possession of his 6 feet of Va. soil.—

After this went to the headquarters of Maj. Gen. Stahel to get a pass to go beyond our pickets, to Bull Run. Then we drove to the Camp of the 6th. Mich. in the woods a mi. away. The underbrush is cleared, the ground burnt over & swept clean, near the woods is

an open field for parade & drill. All very pleasant, on our return to Col. Tower's Headquarters he had received a letter from Gen. Stahel, & a pass for us, to Gen. Hays at Centerville requesting him (Col. Tower) to send an escort with us, &c. The tents of Col. T. & Lieut. Col. Stagg were given up to the ladies, & we had much better accommodations than we had any reason to expect.—No sound of spiteful[?] snare drums disturbs a Cavalry camp, but the wild, stirring notes of the bugle give notice of tattoo, taps & reveille. It is a dashing, spirited life these fellows lead. The camp on a beautiful elevation & kept very clean, the grass not yet worn off, they have

lately occupied this ground. A large field ~~lowest in the center~~ surrounded by beautiful woods on elevated ground, makes a capital parade ground, & in the shade of these trees we could overlook all the movements. Charge & all. The sick are mostly in tents at F.C. House, we went into these hospitals on our return this evening, & concluded at night that we were having a good time & enjoying ourselves hugely.—We also went to the house when Gen. Stoughton was captured Mr. Fox's house. It's a hospital now, we went into the room from wh. he was taken from his bed by Capt. Moseby.—He had been betrayed by the secesh inhabitants about here, & Moseby succeeded in passing all our pickets, treachery only could enable him to do this.—

The ~~6th~~ 1st. Mich. Cav. came out with 1200 men. They now have 714. have been in 42 battles & skirmishes, have had but 25 men killed outright. The remaining 461 have died or been disabled ~~from~~ by wounds or disease.—

Fairfax, Centerville, &c.

May 21st, Thursday, 1863,

Fine morning. At 8 A.M. we started from the Camp of the 1st. Mich. Cav., Mrs. May & two daughters, Miss Wheelock & myself, ~~Mr. S.~~ Mr. B. Lieut. Decker. making 7 besides the driver in an Ambulance, 24 men were detailed to accompany us, 3 Lieutenants, a Surgeon & 2 other gentlemen making in all 30 mounted men. We must have made a dashing appearance as we left camp, all were in high spirits, the escort was bound to enjoy themselves as well as we citizens. They were glad to have a chance to go.—A pleasant breeze took the dust away from us, & it was very pleasant riding. We went out on the Chantilly road 3 or 4 miles & then turned off to the battlefield, a mi. from the pike, our Ambulance was stuck but once. but the escort dismounted, & the vehicle was lifted out with its live freight as if it were nothing at all,

Where the battle took place are several fields. woods on every side, one inhabited house in sight on the edge of a cornfield. I went to this house with Miss Wheelock & Lieut. Colerick[?], rather of the secesh order. The family were here during the battle & the house was full of wounded, a shell fell through the roof of the stoop.

Miss W.'s brother was fatally wounded in this battle, was carried into a barn near & his leg was amputated, afterwards taken to Alex. & died there. In one place bodies had been so slightly covered that bones were protruding, & the blue pants were still to be seen. Mrs. May covered them. In the edge of the woods were entrenchments & near this spot we all halted & picked up a great many bullets. The oak tree near which Kearney was killed is pierced with holes, but the balls have been dug out. Some of our party knew all about the battle, & Lieut. C. was present & he told me how it began. It is a place of deep interest, a quiet, solemn

place, we cd. not realise, of course, that it was once a scene of carnage & slaughter, & that the lives of so many of our brave men went out amid the smoke & din of battle. Some flowers and few relics such as bullets, buttons & stones were about all we could get. A man who lives near, & who said he had been imprisoned in Richmond 8 mo. for his Union sentiments, showed us a cross road leading to the Centerville road. No vehicle but an Ambulance cd. have endured this cross road—

But the Centerville pike is fine. There was beauty all around, but it was mingled with desolation, & dead horses, some in the middle of the road, did not add to the fragrance of the air on this May morning. No fences but temporary ones, just made to secure a patch of corn or potatoes. No cattle sheep or hogs feeding in the green pastures, an occasional house with dilapidated look, & the ruins of others, no barns, no outbuildings very few fruit trees, & none of them thrifty looking. Country hilly, but some of the

slopes are fine. Centerville is on the ridge that extends for miles from north to south. There are 10 miles of earth works on this ridge. The ascent to Centerville is an open, slope nothing to cover an army in its approach, but Gen. Hays says they are so strongly fortified they can hardly get out themselves. The guard inquired our business & we were conducted to Gen. Hays, but he having this very day been superseded by Gen. Abercombie as chief in command, we had to apply to him. Gen A's headquarters were half a mile away, & we ladies remained in the Gen.'s tent, while the Lieut. Wheeler & some other officers went to take the letter of Gen Stahel to Gen. A. This letter was a request to let our party pass beyond our pickets "if not incompatible with the public service." But Gen. A.s dispatch to Gen. Hays said that according to order No. — "no citizen could pass beyond our pickets." We were disappointed

but submitted with as good a grace as possible, Gen. H. said if we had come the day before, he would have given us a pass beyond the lines. & would have sent a regiment of infantry with us, & if we would get a pass from Gen. Heintzelman & come to Centerville next week he would go with us to the Bull Run battlefield. & if necessary he wd. take a brigade with us. He thought he could show many interesting localities. He feels some what hurt at being ranked in command by Gen. A, who, he says, is a little crusty some

times, & at others is very gallant & agreeable. Gen. H. treated us with champagne & invited us to dine with him. He is fond of pets, has a pig, & a hen's nest at the foot of his bed, & had 3 turtles, which he gave to Ella to bring home. He said we could drive 2 or 3 mi. further on to Bull Run, & go to Blackburns Ford. He walked out with us & showed us the earthworks at Centerville, & then we left C. very favorably impressed with the kindness

& gallantry of the General. The road to B. Ford is strewn with vestiges of the flight of our troops from Manassas. I have a bayonet & a gun barrel, which Lorin Gilbert, our obliging driver was kind enough to alight & get for me.—The Ford is half a mile from the main road. We rode nearly to it. There are hills & ravines all about here, The bridge has been destroyed, only ruins remain. The pickets when out to the middle & raised the flag we brought with us. The Stars & Stripes were beautifully reflected in the quiet waters of historic Bull Run. The 'Star Spangled' & "red. white & blue" were sung with the spirit & the understanding in the pleasant shade of the beautiful trees which line the banks. The pickets enjoyed it as well as we.—The stream is low & easily forded, we gathered some relics from the bed of the stream, & reluctantly left the spot where the first great battle of the war began.—

We went up the hill to and in the shade of an orchard, near the ruins of a rebel house & near some rebel cabins we halted & did justice to the rations we had brought, & had a right merry time. Near this are a great many huts which the rebel army occupied in the winter of '61 & '62 while cheated by the quaker guns at Centerville. McClellan & the Grand Army of the Potomac reposed in Masterly inactivity in the vicinity of Alex. Astounding strategy! inglorious ease rather.

The brigade now at Centerville consists of the 125th, 126th, 111th, & 59th. N.Y. & the Garibaldi guards (39th. Pa.) The 11th. Mass. battery & the Key Stone battery—2600 in all at Centerville. 20000 along the whole line—Gen. Hays is from Pa. entered service in 1840, was in Mex. War—Has been wounded & disabled many times, Told us that most of the people about C. are secesh, one of these claimed colored boy, whose mother came for him, & Gen. H. allowed her to take him. Almost every day

he has letters from rebel women who come to the lines & beg for food. Said he had just burnt up a dozen. They are starving & he always supplies them with food when they ask for it.—It seems to me this is hardly right. The women have been as bad as the men, & if they suffer they should not be pitied. To feed them is to give aid & comfort to the enemy. Had pleasant ride back, some dust, & have seen some of the Battlefield.— Halted at house near Centerville, secesh, & got water, one pale sorry man looked out of a window & 2 girls, came out on the steps to see us at first, but retired & looked out with the pale man.—Not far from this our escort ~~surprised~~ & surrounded a rebel who was sleeping under a tree, & when he awoke great was his surprise there at, we did not

capture him. This specimen & a worn out horse were all the living objects we saw for some distance. A few mi. from C. we stopped at the "Traveller's Home"

Here lives a Union family. we bought beer & Lemonade & oranges & rested in the shade of some pine trees in the yard. This family's name is Corkles [Cockles?]. Came here 5 yrs. ago from Ill. but were formerly from Md.—Union & rebel troops have stripped them very well, they are now trying to raise something & a woman, with a colored girl, apologized for their appearance as they had been out making fence all day. The man had gone to camp to sell milk from 2 cows & we met him in his little cart going home. — Mrs. C. says there are several Union families about there, There was a pretty good carriage in the yard, & to keep it they took off a wheel & hid it in the cellar.—They have seen the retreats from Manasses, & some of the time the two women have lived there alone. Camps near them, our escort was joined by a the Yankee spy, Davis, & a young Englishman who has taken with Stoughton to Richmond, He was somebody's secretary,

Got back to camp at 6 o'clock, had supper &c. The [?] was delightful, but we were tired enough to go to bed early. Last night I slept but little. It was all so strange, The guard passing just before the tent, his saber clanking continually, & the "who goes there"? kept me awake. But Miss W. slept soundly all night.—

Lieut. Col. Stagg's tent has a marble topped center table, a large gilt-framed mirror & chairs brought from a house near B. Run wh. was for a long time the Headqrs. of Beauregard.

To night we are all (5) to sleep in Col. T's tent. —Miss. Wheelock wishes to go to Warrenton tomorrow if we can get a pass from Gen. Stahel, then we cd. see Bristow Station where so much public property was burned by Col. De Korponay, by order of Gen. Banks. when his army retreated , & we should see Manasses Junction too. But Mrs. May thinks we have seen enough for once, & we will make another trip some time.

Fairfax C. House. Camp of
1st. Mich. Cavalry.
Friday May 22^d 1863,

Very hot. Didn't sleep much last night, & feel dull & tired this morning, Went out to see the guard Mounting. The music of 16 Bugles was delightful. I rested awhile, & then went to see the Regiment drill, it was beautiful. On Wednesday P.M. an order 100 was read to the Regt. Every word of it was good, among other things it said "Neither the Government of the U.S. nor any officer under it can enslave a man. & a person once free is forever free." The 3^d. yr. of the war has just extorted from them what Abolitionists said at first must be done.

I have preserved the names of our escort, &c
Lieut. W.H. Wheeler

Lieut. Colerick
Lieut. Elmer Decker
Sergt. Geo. C. Whitney
“ J.H. Doyle

Co. F.
“ E.

Sergt. Sira Huntley	Co. A.
Wm. Fox	“ B
W. G. Thomas	“ C
Christopher Dubois	“ B
Stephen Armstrong	“ C
C. A. Allen	“ E
A. M. Seoville	“ E
Sylvester Ketch	“ F
Consider E. Flower	“ F
Cor. Cyrus Phipps	“ G
W. W. Kenzee	“ G
John B. George	“ G
Franklin Douby	“ H
Edw. Eagle	“ H
W. H. Brown	“ J
Cor. Israel Lockwood	“ K
Geo. W. Pence	“ K
Garrett Van Voorhies	“ K
N. F. Churchill	“ L
D. Cogkendall	“ L
Jacob Conley	“ M
Alfred Cook	“ M

Dr. Arthur Sinclair
Lorin Gilbert. Am. Drivers from Grand Rapids
who got relics for me.
Charley the African servant, of course,
Mr. Hollister sutter.

We received nothing but kind attention from all that we had to with[?]. The war develops a great deal of gallantry & respect for women.

Took dinner & at 11/2 P.M. Took leave of our kind entertainers & started for Station 6 mi. distant.

Miss W. & Mr. B. walked to F.C.H. in A.M. to visit hospital, & when we called for them Miss W. had concluded to stay a few days, & Mr. B. was not to be found. No time was to be lost, but still we looked for Mr. B. & waited till it wd. not do to wait any longer. While waiting here Gov. Blair of Mich. with an escort nearly a regiment of cavalry rode towards the camp. A general war Review to take place at 5 P.M. wh. we cd. not stay to see,

After a half mi. or more, I happened to look back & saw Mr. B. waving his hat & putting in. When he saw he was ~~disturbed~~ covered he took it more leisurely, as he was most tired out, but did'nt we have fun at his expense? I know he thought we were rather too hard, but what mortal could help laughing! The road was bad. Teams impeded our progress somewhat & we reached the Station in time—to see the train move away.— & now 3 hrs. must be disposed of as best we cd. We had some lemonade & oranges, & then went to a Cath. Church on the hill where there is a guard. Wonder this C. has not met the fate of almost every thing else, but there is nothing inside, it has been used for hospital. We left the rest of the party in the Ch. singing the 'Star Spangled' & Mrs. May & I went to a house about a hundred rods away to reconnoitre. The family (Irish) are secesh when the rebels have possession here, but now the Union troops hold this region, they are Unionists.

We did not make very strong Union demonstrations, for I was after relics & information too. Mrs. H. offered us some fresh buttermilk to drink, also sweet milk & bread & butter. for which we gave the two little ones an orange a piece. The rebels had a camp here at one time, & we obtained a broken sword, 2 bayonets, & a beautiful shell weighing about 5 lbs. —Then we took leave of the good woman & went back to the Ch. to report. We found them sitting in the shade of some pine trees near. Soon 4 gentlemen happened along, & we got into conversations & when the chief spokesman found we were waiting for train, He informed us he was brigade Commissary & his quarters were near the Station & he invited us thither, & thither we went. A good supper was prepared by his Scotch Cook, & I have not relished a meal so much since I left Alex. The French Cooking at the Camp of the 1st. Mich. did'nt please me, But this was a good homelike meal & the table was

scrubbed clean & not covered with a cloth that was disgusting to behold. We exchanged cards with Lieut. Hall, & took a kindly leave. Mr. B. thinks that when he goes out after this he will always take women with him, he fares so much better. At 6 P.M. we loaded on our old iron & started. The ride was very pleasant at this hour. We cross Bull Run creek & the Accotink. The tents & huts of the woodchoppers were seen in every clearing, & the negroes themselves looked picturesque resting from the toils of the day, but it will be paid toil I hope. We reached Alex. at dusk, & found the folks really surprised to see us, they thought as we had staid a day longer than we intended that the rebels had surely taken us, —& the Pro. Mar. expressed some [?]. But, no, the fates wd. have it that I must return to “interfere & meddle” with him again. If I alone had been taken I presume he wd. not have mourned my loss overmuch.

Found 2 telegrams from Charlotte, one to tell me she was in N.Y. & wd. be in W. on Thursday & another from W. to tell me she was there, but, of course, she had gone to Aquia Ck. before I got back, & I must miss seeing her.— We feel well paid for our trouble although we did not succeed in reaching the battle field of B. Run.

Saturday. May 23d.

At Scott House

The hottest day yet. Sent 2 boys orphans away to N. London. Have been to barracks, & Room & to see Emma & Mrs. May & to Commissary's

Case of small pox at barracks,

No boarding place yet.

Letters from Cousin Kate & Francis, Mary & children are at Abner's & M. has ague—

No letter from Joe yet.

Glorious war news from the west, Vicksburg is evacuated by the rebs, & Gen. Grant is succeeding finely. Capt. & Mrs. Jones called, also Mrs. Henry.

Scott House, Sunday

May 24th, 1863. — Very hot. Have done little but write in journal. Co. at dinner; green peas, asparagus & radishes—

Been to room to see Mrs. Jacobs before she leaves with the 8 little girls, she was dressing them, & is to go to W. this P.M. & start for N.Y. to morrow. & will be absent 3 wks, perhaps. I expect to go from here to morrow, to the brick house for the present.—

Nearly 8 P.M.

It is said the rebs in large force are in the vicinity of Alex. When I left writing about 5 & went down to the porch, the family were looking at a 100 or more negroes who were passing on foot with a white man leading them on horseback. I cd. not understand it unless this was a Company of enlisted men going into Camp out west of the city. Mr. B. & I followed on to see where they went, a great many folks went out to

see them, but nobody could tell us exactly what it meant—on our return we found at the mess house near the depot 10 new comers, 1 man 4 women & 5 children. I advised them to go to the Pro. Marshal's. Mr. Bradbury came to Scott House soon with report that 10,000 rebel cavalry are within our lines, & very near Alex.

Well, this served for tea table gossip at least. we did'nt see how it cd. be unless they had come up by Occoquan. There is so much at Fairfax & Centerville to oppose them. & Mr. Sherman a Brig. [?] P.M. came in from Union Mills at 2 1/2 P.M. & nothing had been heard of them out there. U.M. is 6 mi. from Centerville. —In another hour a report came that 40,000 rebs. are marching upon us & are within a few miles of us. That earthworks are being thrown up west of the city, that the negroes we saw were going there, & a great many other men are out there at work.

All those men in hospitals that are able

have orders to be ready to leave. Gen. Slough & staff have gone out, & Col. Wells too, & the Quartermaster's men & the Commissary's men. A raid is expected on this city to night. The planks of Hunting Creek bridge have been taken up, & it would seem as if there must be some foundation for this report. Troops are coming over from W. groups of secesh on the street corners look jubilant. Well! we shall see what comes of it.

I shall put up my things as snug as I can but I thought I wd. write this first. Who knows but we may have serious times here yet, before morning perhaps! & yet we have been making all sorts of fun of the matter. If the rebs catch me, I shall expect no mercy. I hear drums; it is either tattoo, or calling out men.— 9 P.M. Report 3^d. 4000 rebs at Dumfries & are trying to get up this way. There may be fighting somewhere. The Vermont regiments are down in that direction. Rebs crossed at Kelly's Ford on Rappa.—

Monday May 25th, 1863

Cool,— Picked up things, this A.M. & Charley Newman helped me move over to Cor. Washington & Wolfe Sts. After dinner settled with Mrs. Kimball, & left to arrange my new quarters. But some how it seems so lonely & smells so Contrabandish, everything is so strange. that I have no courage to do any thing here. Took my gunbarrell's over to a blacksmith, to have them cut in two, Went to House. Don't like looks of things in my orphan's Room. Think I shall be troubled to get any body that will keep things tidy & nice. —I am very tired can do nothing this evening.

Tuesday May 26th,

Fine —I went to my new hospital bed last night determined not to be afraid of any thing & to sleep if possible, I succeeded pretty well, in spite of the tramping of men through the hall to Mr. G.'s room.

(Have a bolt on my door as well as a lock.)

but I may get used to it. Felt miserably this A.M. Went to Emma's & took a cup of tea & a piece of bread & butter. Then went to work in the Clothing Room, overhauled it thoroughly & cleaned it considerably. Mrs. J.'s habits are not like mine, disorder worries me. The rooms that I use must be tidy & orderly or I can not be comfortable. My way wd. be to keep the clothing so, but oh! how it looks most of the time.

Went to Leslie House. Fairfax St. & made arrangements to dine there, called on Mrs. Worthen, & Mrs. May. —When I got back here Mr. W. told me Charlotte had been here & he had been with her & hoping to find me, & she had gone back to W. on 2 P.M. boat I went with all the speed I cd. command to the office for a pass. Then came back here to get ready, & got to wharf just in time to see the 3 P.M. boat leave. No alternative but to wait till 4. for I had no idea of giving it up. Went to Markham's Hotel, & found C. at dinner.

She came from Aquia Ck. last night. Mr. G. is ill, but hopes to come home soon. C. took 6 o'clock train, Mr. Griffin & I went with her to Depot.— I called at Mr. Lake's. Then to Markhams for the night. Spent evening pleasantly with Mrs. Markham. Mrs. Griffin &c, read Rochester papers, found one containing my account of the Freedmen's Meeting in Alex.

Wednesday. May 27th,

Fine, warmer. After breakfast went to Dr. Breed's. Then walked to Contraband Camp & back to Dr. B's to dinner, & had pleasant interview with Mrs. B. & others.

About 300 contrabands under care of Mr. Nichols have gone to Arlington Heights, to cultivate the ground in that vicinity. Coming back on 3 P.M. boat saw a large S. Boat going towards W. loaded with contrabands. Secesh ladies aboard thought the C's had better stay where they belong, So tired when I came back. called at Mrs. M's.

Rested awhile & then went to Scott House. Mr. K. has had Auction to day. They are all in commotion.—Mr. B. is ill, & the colonel also did'nt see them. —

This evening Charley & Emma & Sarah have called, & the time has past & I have done nothing.— Letter from Eliza Van.

Thursday, May 28th,

Very fine.—Called at Mr. K's. Mr. B. is is ill with fever. Col. ill too.— Mrs. K. gave me several books on spiritu-alism, life of Sumner &c. Went to Leslie House to dinner. since then been writing account of our 3 days' excursion. Contrabands came on cars this evening, but do not stop here.—

Friday

Fine—called at Mrs. May's. Miss Wheelock just returned from Fairfax C.H. Report there that Alex. is being evacuated by Union people, No doubt there is reason to apprehend a rebel raid. What would our folks at home say if they knew it? Called at Scott H.—called again & saw Mr. B. He remains quite ill.—

Saturday May 30th, 1863.

Cor. Washington & Wolfe Sts.

Unpleasant day. hot, windy, dusty. Indications of rain, which is very much needed. Did various things, wrote some, went to 'News' Office. —worked at Room. sold a few things. Went to Leslie House 14 Fairfax St. to dinner. Went for rations.—Called on Mr. B. he quite ill yet. Went to Home, see so much there that I wish was otherwise. Mr. G. has had Susan Washington, a Baptist Sister, put in the Slave pen prison for 3 days. She was disputing with another woman, & talking loud, when Mr. G. told her to stop, she said she wd. not do so.— so she was put there where the worst characters are confined. —The colored women are put in a small room, wh. has once had a window, it is now boarded up, one board about 10 in. wide has been torn off, & all the light & air they have is admitted through this opening. What wrong, what outrage, what tyranny is con-stantly practiced on those people!

Went over to Slave pen, such disgusting sights. saw something of the way in which women prisoners are treated. Did the mothers of these soldiers know how their sons are employed in Alex. they would come down here in force & raze the old Slave pen to the ground. Shall I complain of the abuses there & be called “interfering & meddlesome.” or shall I know of such abuses & be silent? oh, dear! oh, dear

The breast works west of Alex. are finished. Report that rebs have captured two trains this P.M. about 30 mi. west of here, it must be near Manasses. —I verily believe that they will come here yet.

All the ladies & gentlemen who have watched with Nettie were invited to the Scott House this evening. I have been there & it was pleasant to see so many young people together, about 25 in all. I came away about 10, fearing the guards wd. take me up if I was out later. Kate came with me.

Alex. May 31st, 1863, Sunday evening,

No rain yet. all ‘clarred’ away. hot, dusty, high wind. Looked over trunks, boxes &c. I must put my things up snug, & be ready to skedaddle. I have so many “arms, projectiles, rocks” &c. that I fear I cannot get them all home, & I don’t wish to leave any of them. I think I must leave nothing here; what I do not take home I must take to Washington. All the colored men have been seized to day to work on trenches in the city. These are to protect the quartermasters stores. Went to dinner about noon. Gen. Slough was in the Street like any common man, & some thing unusual was going on I was sure. Since 3 P.M. the entrenchments have been dug. I must see them to morrow if things remain quiet till then. Very few persons in the streets.

Called on Mrs. Henry & Mrs. Worthen, & at Mrs. May’s. Then to Scott House. Mr. B. is better.

Conflicting reports about the rebs attacking a train yesterday. Some mischief was done any way. Property was destroyed for us, & rebs were taken.

¹⁵What wd. our folks say if they knew what going on here? A raid upon this city is expected every night. The rebs are thought to be near us & here I am alone in this house & have been nearly all day & yet I do not feel afraid. I do not wish to lose my things. I can’t afford it. But I can’t feel as if they would hurt me. I may be suddenly awakened from my dream of security. I know there is danger; for there are not only foes without but there are foes within in great numbers. The authorities are evidently alarmed, no such preparations for defense have been made here before. We shall see before long.

Called on Kitty Verry.

Monday, June 1st., 1863

¹⁵ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26003_042 to HC13-26003_115 in their Folder entitled May 14, 1863 to Nov. 19, 1863.

Went to News Office & P.O. & Scott House. Mr. Kimball's folks left this morning. ___ Wrote to sister E. Called at Mrs. May's, she is packing up her things to send them to Mich. Thinks she had better do it before the rebs come. We hear that they are fighting a little way from here. Well, perhaps I had better send

off some things/ No fears of the rebs kept me awake last night, but the mice acted like all possessed. I have caught 6 already. They are the largest mice I ever saw. I am afraid of them.

Been to the Home, Underwood Tulliver & Jimmy Johnson have died lately. Not much sickness there.

Ned Carter a new boy has come to the Orphan's room, his mother is going to the hospital. I have been on King St. & Cameron St., all the digging I saw is on C. St. & the entrance to the alleys leading towards the river, & they are to be stockaded. I suppose they think the rebs will wait till we get all ready for them before they come here. It does seem to me that our folks are not very smart.

Mr. G. has been in command of some niggers today & yesterday while they were digging trenches, he seems to enjoy it exceedingly. I think he has been a slave driver, he does take to it so naturally. The Pro. Mar. has been after him today with a sharp stick. [?] Mr. G. hang yourself as quick as possible.—

War meeting this evening, but I cannot go alone.

Tuesday, June 2^d, 1863

Fine. Cleaned & regulated things generally. Then went to Home. So many complaints of Mr. Gladwin.—He is so mean & tyrannical. His whole object seems to be to get money from these people. He came very near being arrested today. He seized on the men that belong to the Commissary dept. & they were down on him, he had to run for his life(?) [*Transcriber's note: Question mark in the original*].

Went with Betty Thompson to get rations. Sad case of injustice towards her by Mr. G.—Went to Slave pen. Sick in every room. never saw it filthier than now.

I do wish to tell Col. Wells & Gen. S. how things are there & in the prison, but I dare not. Talked with Mr. G. this P.M. about sending Susan W. to slave pen. & about Betty's case, He has a mind of such small caliber that he can't see things as they are; & to think that these people should be at his mercy! He makes me mad, I don't wish to speak to him again.—Mrs. Graves called.

Have just read the particulars of the affair 3 mi. from Warrenton on Saturday last. The train has left Alex. at 7 a.m. Was attacked by Moseby's guerillas, a rail was drawn from the track, by a man com[?] in the weeds who had a wire attached to it. The engineer did not see it soon enough to stop. The cars run off the track & fired into 2 cannons, then the rebs set fire to 10 cars & destroyed them, only one person injured. Gen. Stahel and 2

regts. of Cav. came up, took the guns & number of prisoners. Rebel artillery within our lines! Well, well!

June 3d

Cooler, little rain last night, just laid dust.

Went to Home & Slave Pen. Slave Hunter from Md. came yesterday for a man that he claimed, found him, but the man refused to go. The presence of his friends saved him probably. A man came to day & tried to persuade a woman to go to Baltimore, & I have told her not to go. Mrs. Col. Sickel has agreed to take a girl to Phila. Dr. Cooper wants one of my boys to go to Elmira.

I have heard some disgusting things of our soldiers.

Mr. B. called at Room. Have talked with Dr. Bigelow about having a family come in here to do our work, but he says he shall use the kitchen & as many rooms as he wishes, if it is the whole house!—I want nothing to do with such a man as he is. —Those that work in hospital complain of him, he is so hard.

Letters from Ruth Ann & Mary Van B. —M. is in Somerset & is in a hurry for me to come home.—Mrs. Henry called & several others.

June 4th

Cool & fine. Sewed awhile. Then went out. Saw the stockades on King & Duke & Water Sts.—Called on Mrs. Henry. Sewed awhile. Mrs. Churchill called—Went to Home, & to Dr. Bigelow's & to Col. Sickel's—So tired.

June 5th

Went to places on Wharf & Water St. Those new people are very destitute & need help very much. That part of the city is very ~~destitute~~ filthy. It made me sick & I came back before and had visited all the places I intended to—Must go again to morrow.

Took long walk to see Mr. Grimes Super of Police, about water in a cellar of a house on Water St—

Last night some of the streets were barricaded with wagons chained together.—I wonder if there is danger really?

Saturday June 6th,

Hot, fine shower towards night.

Went to 2 slave pens & the Home & staid awhile—To dinner, then an hour with Mrs. H.— At 4 P.M, went to Miss Jameson's funeral. Old residents, she & one brother called themselves Union folks., have 2 brothers in rebel army.—Very formal arrangements. The elegant Coffin has loaded with flowers.—

Have written to Frances & Mrs. Barnes, & see by the Paper that Wm.[?] Babcock's wife is dead,

Sunday June 7th

Very cool, fine—

Cleaned up, & rested & wrote letters. Went to Leslie House to dinner but heard no particular news.—3 deaths of Contrabands.

Went to Home & staid awhile.

Mr. Nichols has been to the meeting today.

There is a project on foot for send all the poor of these people away from here, & I believe it is an infamous project. Some of the folks here & in W. will bear watching.

Monday June 8th, 1863

Cool. Went to large building on wharf & visited ever so many families. Some live in the smoke & dank, but don't seem to mind it— No news in particular.

Horace Boughton, a former pupil of mine has been made Col. of the 143^d N. Y. Regiment Did not feel like going out this P.M. Sewed & rested, It is rather lonely here.

Gen. Orders, No. 28, says "Lieut. Col. E M. Greene Chief Qr. Mas. will take possession of abandoned rebel lands S. of Potomac, & will cultivate such lands by Contrabands in a manner most beneficial to the government" & so on. The negroes benefit is not considered it seems. Well, this is off of a piece with the rest.—

A rebel man in woman's clothing has been arrested here, loaded with letters.—

Tuesday, 9th

Spent most of A.M. at the Home. This P.M., a magazine exploded at Fort Lyon, 20 men were killed & many wounded, sad affair.—Woman at slave pen who has been sick so long (Margaret Brown) is dead. Charles & Emma & Becky here this evening.

Becky is going to work in Washington.

Alexandria Cor. Washington & Wolfe

June 10, 1863

Very fine. This A.M. cleaned my room & wrote some & rested. On return from dinner called at Commissary's for bread. Mr. Fosdick told me the bread they had was not fit to eat. The doctors had condemned it, but it was sent there for contraband rations. Mr. F. said he had made a complaint about it.

Man there from near Fairfax Station wants to get a girl to go there & work. Too much like putting them in to the hands of Slave masters again. I'll not do it. White upstart in the shop angry because a girl refused to go. "Don't think colored folks should say what they will & what they won't do." I said every person has a right to say that. He "don't call them persons." Oh, dear, my ear is pained, my soul is sick with every day's report of wrong & outrage towards these people.

Went to home & helped some women with their sewing. Called on ever so many. Two dead there, present at one funeral, fresh indignation

against Mr. G. He has turned off the water & will not allow them to get any there because they made a slop around the hydrant.

On my return from dinner I saw Gen. Heintzelman & staff. The President & Sec. Stanton have also been here today, but they came & went so quietly that very few persons knew they were here. They visited Fort Lyon, also the others defenses near here —21 soldiers

that were killed by the explosion yesterday were buried this P.M. at the Soldiers burying ground. The 153^d N.Y. accompanied them. I did not know it until it was too late to go. On Tuesday the 9th there was a Cavalry battle at Beverly Ford on the Rappahannock. The 8th & 10th N.Y. took part in it, our loss was considerable, & many of the enemy were killed & taken prisoners. Several officers of the 8th Cav. were killed. This has probably frustrated Stuart's plans/ This is the greatest Cavalry fight that there has been.—

Alex. June 11th, Thursday

Fine day. Last night it seemed as if bedlam had broken loose. I went to bed at 10, & shortly after the commotion began in the street close by. I learned this morning that the wounded from Beverly Ford were brought in on the cars wh. stopped at Washington St. only a few rods from here, & put into Ambulances & taken to the hospitals. The wagons & horses & men made a great racket. Then 200 rebel prisoners were brought in also & were marched up this street & this accounts for the heavy tread of troops that I heard. I wish they had come in the daytime that I might have seen & as well as heard them. I must go to the hospitals & see who these wounded are. Went to Home & attended to various things there.

Rested awhile, went to dinner, called on Mrs. H., & with Mr. B. went to Mansion House Hos. None of the 8th N.Y. Cav. there.

Went to the Washington Hospital, found one man (of the 8th) there who was dying, name Byess, shot through

the body near the heart.—One of the Ft. Lyon wounded was there. Limb will have to be amputated. One Vermont young man with fever said it seemed good to see a woman there. They see none but a Dutch woman. "If he could only be at home where his mother could take care of him!" He talked a long time. Another named Tyler from N.Y. but in the 13th Vt. & who knows the Hoags on Grand Isle talked & talked & I had to leave him talking.

Several others there that I talked with. It seemed to do them good & I am glad I went.— This was once the "Alexandria Boarding School", & these sick were in one of the schoolrooms. All about the room were glass cases filled with specimens & philosophical apparatus.—Every thing is so clean & the sick look so comfortable. But, alas! All the sick & wounded are not here in elegant houses surrounded by fine yards with beautiful flowers & pleasant shade trees. Many of the poor fellows are all about the country sick & dying in miserable places where no comforts are to be had. I would like to comfort these poor fellows if I could—

June 12th

Very hot. Shower this A.M.

Went to Home, & then to Mrs. Brockett's to get a place for Jim. I hope Mr. B. is not secesh. Then to Mrs. May's & to see Alice, a slave girl. Tried to persuade to leave Mr. Barnes & go with Mrs. M. but the poor foolish creature, says she does not want to leave them.

Called on Mrs. Munsell—then to dinner & on Miss Henry—Kate called & also Mr. B.
June 12 13th

Shower this P.M. So tired this morning that I cd. hardly get up at all. Went to home at 9 & staid till 12, helping girl fit dress &c.

It seemed a long walk to dinner. Called on Betsy. Rested awhile. Called Mrs. Graves. Hooker's army has moved his headqrs. to Warrenton. Civilians have been sent to Washington, & the stores have been moved from Aquia Ck.—Lee's army has been reinforced, it is said. Here they are making the secesh take the oath of allegiance

June 14th, Sunday,

Very fine. Cleaned up & rested, wrote some. Mrs. May called & I read her my correspondance with Col. Well's &c. She has letter from Mr. May written at Cairo, on their way to Vicksburg. I presume they are there now.

I have been so disturbed today.

First Dr. Shaw came with some notes he had taken at the Home this morning.

He learns that last evening Mr. G. with Lieut. Donn who commands at Slave pen visited all the rooms & told the people that if they didn't pay their rent by Monday 10 A.M. they would be put on the cars & sent to Richmond. He told some if they didn't pay they wd. be turned out of doors, others that large wagons were coming for them & they would be put into them & taken to the Washington Cornfields.

Some who have been paid nothing for months & been working for government too. He says will be turned out unless they pay to-morrow.

Last Sunday P.M. he went into a

a room where a lame woman is who cannot walk & they were holding a meeting. Matilda W. says "we were singing & praying & enjoying ourselves, & I saw Mr. G. coming & I know he wasn't coming for any good & I heeled it, but I went into the next room & heard him say that if we sang & prayed in our rooms anymore he would send us all to the slave pen, I suppose he meant in meeting hours. —

Today at meeting I am told that Mr. G. said that "the Pro. Mar. says they may sing & pray in their rooms"—I went up there this P.M. What indignation is felt towards that man. Told them last evening they must pay for whitewashing & for putting in the water. On Thursday Mr. G. turned off the water from the hydrant & told them they cd. have none because they made a slop. The men had done most of the work of putting it in, & I think it was done to show the people his power & authority more than for any thing else. Our doctors complained of him, & yesterday the water was turned on.

Jemima Weems says “we are as much terrified as if we were with the secesh.” Some of these folks have just got settled as it were. & now they are to be turned out of doors. Last Sunday a guard was sent around to command their attendance at church—& some of these people hate Mr. G. so much that they declare they cannot attend his meetings. They think he is a wicked hypocrite, but as he is a white man they hardly dare say it. —He is the most hypocritical, tyrannical, unfeeling, negro-hating man that I ever was acquainted with.

Brother Gladwin’s report in the “American Baptist,” is a tissine[?] of misrepresentation & falsehoods. “It seems too bad that the “Free Mission Soc.” cannot know how it is imposed upon. If these poor people did not suffer to such an extent by his meanness, I would not care, what Mr. G. says or does. But I will plead for their rights, & expose those who try to take advantage of them.

Monday, June 15th

Very hot. Called on Mrs. Henry. The sick were brought from Aquia Ck. last night to the hospitals here. Many of them were taken on stretchers from the boats, many came in on the cars too, in the night. They stopped on Washington St. I heard the stir. But it did not keep me awake long.

Could get no pass till 9 & went to W. on 10 A.M. boat. 280 contrabands went also. Came from Aquia Ck. last night, some had gone down there to work from Washington, others were just escaping from Dixie, but each one had to pay the usual fare from Alex. to W.—Everything has been brought away from Aquia — stoves, troops, hospitals & sick & workmen. Lee has been strongly reinforced & is trying to get between Hooker & Washington. There is no doubt that Hooker's Army is falling back to Alexandria, & that the rebs are making a raid into Md. & Penn. A battle was in progress at Winchester yesterday,

A Proclamation of the Pres. today calls for 100,000 troops, militia. Md. 10,000, Pa 50,000, De.[?] 30,000 W. Va, 10,000 __

I called on Judge Day at his office & gave him an account of what is going on here & told him the colored people are almost in a panic. Mr. G. has threatened them so. Judge D. is very indignant. I remained in his office till 3 P.M. went to his house to dinner & then he went with me to see Judge Underwood at his house 339 21st St.— Judge U. was a resident of Va. till the John Brown raid & his liberal sentiments was the cause of his expulsion from the state—Next week he is coming to Alex. to live. He has been appointed judge in E. Va. I am glad of this. He is Pres. of the Freedmen’s Asso. in W. — He sympathizes with us here. & has a proper estimate of Mr. G.—but the authorities are wholly occupied with the army now. Fighting is expected this week & then respects must be

paid to Gen. Lee, whose aim is to get to Alex. & perhaps W. —I think the panic is greater in W. than in Alex.

How hot it has been in W. Came back on 6 P.M. boat. There is a forest of shipping in the river here. The transports have all come up from Aquia.

Called at Mrs. May's. She is to leave tomorrow for Michigan. I shall miss herself & family, & shall not hear from the 9th corps so often.

I am so disappointed! The colored regiment have been here today. Their camp of instruction is on Mason's Island, near Aqueduct Bridge. There are 700. They marched through most of the streets & created a great sensation. Their appearance is very creditable. They were followed by crowds of colored people rejoicing & excited & pleased beyond expression. The secesh lookers on were so mad they could hardly keep their hands off of them, but as far as they dared they insulted them by words. The women especially wanted "to chop old Lincoln to pieces".

War meeting this evening. Went with Emma. About 50 of the Washington soldiers remained to go up in the morning with the recruits. They did guard duty at the church this evening. It was full of people & a great many outsiders. Col. Birney, son of James G. Birney, commands this Regt. of U.S. Col. Troops. He spoke briefly & to the purpose. There is to be no camp here, no drilling here. All that enlist go to Mason's Island. When one regt. is full another will be formed & they are United States troops.— His sergeant a young col^d. man, Mr. Hutton spoke at length, also 2 other col^d men. They sung "A few days", which was very fine, & had a good meeting, several enlisted.

Tired enough tonight. —

Tuesday, June 16th

Fine, hot, so tired cd. hardly get up. Went to Home about 10. A woman came while I was away yesterday & took one of my boys Taken a long walk to find her, & see about, she lives in W. —I have concluded to let her take Henry, but I am hardly satisfied to let him go in this way. Perhaps I can

do no better. I think they are Union folks, & if I go away & leave him, Mr. G. wd. just as soon let him go with a secesh as anybody.

Hear that Hooker's army is at Fairfax C.H., bodies[?] of Cavalry came here last night, & a great many came through here this morning & went north. The city is all in commotion. The cars are flying back & forth, & bringing in loads of soldiers. A boat load of Colored men came. They said they had just escaped from Dixie & were rejoicing as they went on the cars toward W. —

Ever so many women are tired out today because they walked so much yesterday. The colored soldiers were all provided with refreshments. The girls at the home made 6 pails of lemonade for them.

This P.M. while I was up there the cars came in, with several reb. prisoners & contrabands. Leland met an old man, a friend of his, & he was so delighted he was almost beside himself. The women say there is so much going on

they cant half work. I thought so too, for I went there twice today with the intention of working & couldn't do it. —

If it is not one thing it is another all the while. None of the people were sent away today as Mr. G. threatened to do.—

Evening, & since writing the above, Mrs. Henry called & I have been out with her around by Home. Several hundred of Hooker's army, the advance, just came. They are stragglers from different regiments & going to Convalescent camp. They halted at R.R. & we talked with some of them, one of the 24th Mich. —Thinks Col. Morrow & Capt. Edwards very fine men.—They look as they had seen hard service, but seem in good spirits.

Yesterday in one brigade 39 men fell dead from sunstroke in the march.—

The secesh houses are turned inside out towards night. Such hateful faces!

We can tell a secesh as far as we can see them. Emma has had a skirmish with a secesh woman to night. Emma threatened her with slave pen. "They never saw such ornery niggers before, Good Lord, what are we coming to!"

Wednesday, June 17th

Very hot.—Went to Home. On myway talked with soldiers. Cars loaded with troops going to Penn, I think from all corps and divisions. —In good spirits. The wounded from the hospitals here & from F. Sem. that were brought in on Sunday & since are now being sent to Phila, & so on home. —These are the wounded

at Chancellorsville. The sidewalks near the R.R. were full of them waiting to be put on the cars, & army wagons full from F. Sem. have waited in the street near the slave pen all the A.M. I have talked with some & they tell me interesting things of the battle & seem glad to talk with a woman. These & others that I talk with have great confidence in Hooker & say he knows what he is about. That the rebs will not come to Alex. & they are down on the Copperheads & say if the soldiers cd. have voted, Seymour wd. not have been Gov. of N.Y.

Saw ever so many secesh prisoners in Union clothes. A miserable looking set of fellows.

So hot this P.M. I can do but very little.

Letters from Frances & Mrs. Thayer—

Alex, Thursday June 18th, 1863

Very hot. Went with Emma for rations & then to slave pen & with Amanda Bell to a select school kept by Mrs. Jane A. Crouch, No. 17 [*Transcriber's note: blank in original*] St.—About 30 scholars, mostly freeborn, pay 75 cents a month. She teaches geography & grammar & arithmetic & has been teaching nearly 2 yrs., has really a nice school. Mr.

G. has tried to induce her to give up her scholars to him, & to teach for him, but I think she knows better than to do so.

Her father is Townsend Solomon about 75 yrs. old. Strong for the Union & would like to enlist & yet he has been almost killed by Union soldiers, & on several occasions been shamefully treated. I wonder that they can have any confidence left in us.

Mrs. C's husband went to Richmond when the war began & she has not seen him since. She has a friend Marion Sims, once a slave of Dangerfield. She escaped two years ago went to Oberlin & has a good education, is here now, but keeps out of D's way.

Letters from Mrs. Breed & Joe Von B. & sister E.

The Home for orphans in Georgetown is ready & we can send any from here that we wish.—

Joe writes from Memphis, on the way to Vicksburg, the 10th.

Too bad for Northern troops to go there at this season—Sister E. has been home on a visit. Father is well excepting rheumatism—No news to day, It is so hot!

Alex. June 19th, Cor. Wash. & Wolfe Sts.

Cooler & cloudy, visited families on wharf. —Letter from Sis. Very unsatisfactory.— This P.M. cleaned my room. Walk with Mrs. Henry to see the 'defenses' at Hunting Ck. Bridge—

Hear that fighting is going on at Manassas Gap between Lee and Hooker.— Rebels have left Pennsylvania

Intend to go to W. early to-morrow morning
Saturday 20th

Cloudy cool. Went to W. on 8 A.M. boat

Called on Judge Geo. E. H. Day—

Called at Markham's & learned that Charlotte had been in W. a week & that she left for home last evening with Mr. Griffin who has a furlough for 60 days & I have known nothing about it before.

Treated myself to a Photographic Album price \$5,50—bought 3 pictures of Philips, Sumner & Hooker, all for the above price—[?]50.

Went to Dr. Breed's. In P.M. went with Dr. B. to Georgetown to the "Colored Home", confiscated property valued at \$30,000. Consisting of 100 acres of land & a very fine house & beautiful gard & outbuildings.

The owner Cox is in the rebel army. The house is furnished, & they are just fixing things for the orphans. I could hardly believe my senses. Two years ago such a thing cd. not be believed possible. I feel thank God & take courage for what has already been done for these people.

Although fugitives are still returned from Washington to their owners or claimants in Md.—

The administration is not thoroughly Anti-slavery. The President is not an abolitionist.

Gen. Hunter writes Jeff Davis a letter, & in it expresses view that do credit to his head & heart, but straightway Gen H. is relieved of his command! Well, while such things are done, we shall not succeed against the rebs. God, has no attribute that can take sides with us.

Alex. June 21st, Sunday, 1863

Cloudy, pleasant visit at Dr. B's, Left W. at 10. Dr. B. & 'Meena' came to boat with me. (Wilhelmina Eudora Breed)

No particular war news—

Mrs. Jacobs came back yesterday & is here today. —This P.M. feel sick & dispirited. Can't read nor write.—

June 22^d

Fine, went early to Home to see to things.

Letters from Miss Howland, Anna Barnes, & Cousin Kate. Mrs. B. says they wish me to return to Alex. & I feel now that I wish to do so & fight it through

To Leslie house & then to Cor. Duke & Water. Saw woman who was wishing to get a boy from a place[?] & the white woman refused to give him up.

This aunt has taken care of the child from an infant & been a mother to him, now about 10 or 11.

Pro. Mar. Capt Chitty, decides that the wo. Mrs. Dainty, who is said to be a secesh & a stranger has as much right to the child as this woman

who has brought him up. The old story once again. Colored people have no rights that white men are bound to respect. What better is this than slavery?—

Now what shall I do? Shall I go to Gen. S. & by doing so get the ill will of Pro. Mar. on the start? Or shall I give up the boy? I wish I knew what was best to do

Went home again & had a sewing school for the little girls—

I am so tired Oh! dear! And I want to do so many things.—

23^d

Went to home & slave pen.

Have been tired all day. Packed box & trunk. Wrote letters.

24

Went to quartermaster for Ambulance to go to G. tomorrow. Then to Pro. Mar. for pass. Then to Mrs. Henry's & went to Home to sewing school. In evening to war meeting at Ch. 10 recruits—

Alexandria Va, June 26th

Cloudy, cool

Left Alex. about 10 A.M. with Mrs. H & Fred[?], & Mrs. Jacobs & Hayward Williams & Edward Johnson & Willie Paine & Willis Madden. 4 boys for the Colored Home in

Georgetown. Nice ride. Took dinner & looked over the house & grounds. Oh! what a nice place.

Then went to Mason's Island when Colored Regt. is encamped & when a picnic was to be held today. We supposed the soldiers were to be furnished with a dinner by the visitors. But a very few cd. get there from Alex. They cd. not get passes. I am told they went for passes, but were driven away from the office, & used roughly, & when a woman said "she was used better when she was a slave, for she cd. get a pass then when she wished to go anywhere," she was arrested & sent to the slave pen. It hardly seems possible that Col. W. will permit such things. To think that these poor people couldn't have this little enjoyment, oh dear,

But I have learned this encouraging fact as an offset. When the Colored Regt. was in the streets in W. the other day, a Treasury clerk was heard to say "he wished Jeff Davis would kill every one of them". A half hour afterwards he was informed that "his services were no longer needed." Good!—Mason's Island is near Aqueduct Bridge. This house built 1807 here was the summer residence of a brother of Sen. Mason. Slave quarters about it too. Headqrs of officers now. Col. Birney & others, good place for Camp. — There was music & dancing, but the soldiers were minus the Collation wh. was prepared for them in Alex. because so few people cd. be had to go there. It is too bad. Shook hands with Col. B.. Maj. Silray & Mr. Nicholas & Martha & Myra rode back with us. Went to Arlington House Talked with the Colored folks, & the woman whose sister was whipped by Gen R. E. Lee. for trying to escape—About 20 here "right smart of them here", name 'Gray'

picked flowers, & went to the tombs of Geo. Wash. Parke Curtis & with Mary Custis, on his monument is "Blessed are the merciful &c", on hers is "Blessed are the pure in heart"—Tents & soldiers are about here —Every thing belonging to the place is fast giving to ruin —

The tents & huts of Contrabands are all about here, almost under the drippings of the lordly rebel mansion. Here is poetic justice, righteous retribution! & didn't I enjoy it!— Then we stopped at the camp where Mr. Nichols presides. They are mostly in tents, yet they prefer this to the quarters in Washington. They are cultivating the land & if they only had houses to live in they wd. do very well. There are 6 or 7 of these camps out around in the compass of a few miles. Company[?] there. Had nice ride home.—Maj. Silvay called on us, & promised us some furniture for our rooms. Enjoyed the day very much.

June 26th

Rainy. Went to Home & to slave pen, To News[?] room & to dinner & to see Mrs. Henry. Then to Home & to slave pen again. Mr. G. is about sending these people to Arlington. Oh! dear, They are constantly wronged—Secesh prisoners have come in to day & yesterday P.M. the workmen came in in great numbers from Fairfax Station, wh. has been burnt today I am told.—We hear that the rebs are advancing upon Washington, & that Lee's army is in Penn. Both are not likely to be true. But they keep on building stockades here. They fear something it is very evident

June 27th

Went to Home. Ever so many people came in from Fairfax C. H. yesterday. All the troops have left there. Been to home again & called at

various places, Got 6 pounder from Bull Run —Duke St. is very lively this P.M. Hundreds of men ~~en~~ working on stockades around the engine house. Something is up I am sure. A raid is expected every night. Somehow I can't write to night.

Sunday June 29th, evening

Fine day. Expecting the rebs every hour. Very busy today, packed my trunks Intend to go to W. tomorrow & leave one there. Wrote several letters. Went for pass. Letter from Sis —Mrs. Henry is apprehensive that the boat may not run when we want to go.—Men working today. Towards night Mrs. J & Mr. Graves & I went up to Home & Slave pen. They are building a sort of Fort near the S. pen. Two boys had just come in from Accotink. Both made their escape on one horse. The reb. cav. were there, & took a brother of one of these away. These barely escaped

The father and mother told them to come & hope to get away soon themselves. They hid from the rebs. I took the two into my room for to night.

I asked the guards if they expect the rebs to night. They say they do, & that their regiment is packed in the rifle pits now & waiting for them. They rebs have been on this side of some of the forts. & their firing was heard not more than an hour before. Other rifle pits are filled with our men too. I shall put up things as snug as possible & think it is more than as likely as not something will happen before morning. We shall see what we shall see.

Monday June 29

Great excitement, went to Express Office with box for Avon wt. 80 lbs cost \$2.50 & Trunk to Washington wt. 100 lbs cost 75—Concluded not to go to W. but work at home & be ready to skedaddle for the rebs are very near.—Railroad from W. to Baltimore is hardly safe & report that track is

torn up. Can't go that way to N.Y. & hear that river is blockaded. if so, we can not go at all. I have run & worked till I have head ache & am most tired out.

Company of colored soldiers have had picnic today. How nice they look when marching. They were employed to get the col^d. men out to work on Defenses this morning.

The 1st Mass. R.I. Cav. who has been encamped so near here left this P.M. going to W. I suppose & then on. It is said Lee is within 3 mi. of Harrisburg & is shelling the town.

That Hooker is superseded by Gen. Meade!

That yesterday a wagon train was taken by the Rebs only about 10 mi. from W.

Mrs. Jacobs went to Gen. Slough this A.M. to ask what he thinks best for her to do. He says, her girls are as safe where they are as anywhere, that they will not disturb buildings wh. are used for hospitals. That the rebs will not come into the city. "Why, don't you see my stockades?" but feeling as she does she had

better go to W. for a few days."

I am afraid I cannot leave here at present. The secesh are in great glee.

It has rained some, is hot & sultry, & I do not feel like work.

How uneasy the folks at home will be if they can't hear from me. I intend to go to W. in the morning with Mrs. Jacobs —

June 30th

Started for W. but concluded not to go. Packed up last things. When I went to dinner I learned from Mr. Henry that the boat wh. goes tomorrow cannot take us, full already—& now what! I don't wish to go by rail neither does Mrs. H.—So tired this P.M. that I slept awhile. Then went out to Christ Ch. & got some ivy to take home &c. Then to Pitt St. to see some families. Such a filthy place! Wonder they do not all die there. Called on Miss Wheelock, who came from F.C.H. on Thursday. P.M. & the rebs came in in the evening. Took walk with Mrs. Graves.

Mrs. Munsell & Mrs. Bingham called this evening.—Last eve., 3 mi. from here about 300 negros were taken by some reb. Cav. too bad! Rebs within two miles of this last night, one taken on King St. I am told that the secesh who will not take the oath will be sent away on Monday next. I wd, like to be here to see. But the rebs may catch us before that.

Alex, July 1st Wednesday evening

Sultry. Went to W. on 9 a.m. boat, very few going over[?] & very few coming this way. Never saw so little going on in Alex. & W. too. Hardly an officer to be seen & few soldiers. Went to Capitol grounds beautiful now. Dome not finished yet.—Went to see Mr. B. at Arctic Ex rooms.—Poultry, meat, &c. brought in ice in car for that purpose. Went to Mr. Lake. Lunch of wedding cake, John L. lately married—Went to Dr. B's, took dinner there. Met Mr. Mason, a refugee from Accotink, near Mt. Vernon.—

Returned with Mrs. Jacobs. Ejected from one car, but went to landing in another. Oh! Such meanness!—

Returned at 4, called to see Maj. S. about furniture, can get none yet. —It is understood that 2000 secesh are to go from here on Monday. They are very indignant.

Lee's movements in Md. are uncertain but a battle is expected.

Thursday, July 2nd

Hot. Went to Slave Pen & Home & called at Mrs. Munsell's—I saw colored soldier assaulted by white ones.—This P.M. hear that Gen. Meade has beaten the rebs in the fight near Gettysburg & taken the S. C. Regt. prisoners

Friday

Very hot. With Ms. J. I visited nearly all the families in Fishtown. Some of them look very comfortable to what they did last fall. Some have been building new rooms.—Very quiet here to what it has been. To be a celebration tomorrow.

Saturday, July 4, 1863

One year ago I was in Pine Run, Mich., with sister Mary, far away from Dixie, & little thinking then that another "Fourth" wd. find me in Virginia in old secesh Alexandria! I am sorry to leave the colored folks even for two months. It seems to me that some mischief will be done which I might prevent were I with them; & I apprehend that Mr. G. will take advantage of my absence in some way, & when I return as I intend to do, I shall not find things as I left them.

I should like to see the secesh sent from here next Tuesday. But I dare say the order will be countermanded because the secesh sympathizers are opposed to it, & they generally have their way. We shall see!

Charley & Emma intend to move to W. in a few days. I shall miss E. when I return. I am to have their photographs. I have yet no colored ones for my album.

Last evening I sent my luggage to Leslie House to be sent to boat with Mrs.

H's this morning. We left Alex. at 9 on the Tug A.A. Wotkyns, wh. was decorated with flags & streamers & green boughs in honor of the day. All the boats displayed flags today.

Mr. Henry & a friend went with us to Geotown, 8 mi., where we took the steamer. It has been a bright, hot day. The steamer up the river gaily enough & rapidly too.

Mason's Island lies opposite the wharves in Geo.T. & the colored soldiers were enjoying themselves in the shade of what were once the magnificent trees of the Masons of rebel and Fugitive slave bill notoriety—

Sorry to leave the pleasant little Tug wh. brought us to G. at Uncle Sam's expense, for the Empire is an old boat, very small state rooms & poor accommodations in every respect. We asked ourselves if we could endure it! But we thought if others had endured it perhaps we could, & \$10's fare to N.Y. ought to secure us tolerable comforts, we shall see—

Two hours here in the broiling sun, for there was little choice between the stifling air of the small cabin, & the glaring heat of the sun on deck, but all said it wd. be cooler after we got started & we tried hard to believe it, for were we not going on a pleasure voyage! A trip on Old Ocean was what Mrs. H. & myself had always desired & now we should have it.

At 12 salutes were fired from Ft. Corcoran & some others near G. & our 6 pounder was fired 3 times as we left the dock.

Dinner was soon announced & I paid my respects to that & did not go to take a look at old Alex. as we passed it, but Mrs. H. kept on deck & saw Mr. H. on the wharf at A, he having returned soon after seeing us on board the steamer bound for N.Y. The trip to be accomplished in 48 hrs.!

We looked at Ft. Washington & Mt. Vernon, & noticed shipping Pt. Freestone & (Occoquan R.) Cockpit Pt. & Mathius Pt. Aquia Ck., &c. The cast quite deserted now. Toward night there were

indicators of a storm & all sails were taken in. Our sleeping prospects looked dubious. There were 20 cabin & 19 steerage passengers. —

Sunday July 5th

Steamer Empire on Chesapeake Bay

Some noise last night but slept very well. Rose at 6 & that time were opposite the mouth of the Rappahannock

At 11 A.M. we were 16 mi. from Old Point & could see the flag of Fortress Monroe, the shipping at Hampton Roads & the Seminary.

The view was very fine, the water was an emerald green & fishes would jump out & as quickly disappear, the air was delightful & Capt. Hunter said there were but few such fine days—

We saw Pig's Pt. & Sewall's Pt. The Light Ship & the white, sandy beach. Cape Henry on the right and Cape Charles on the left. Then we were out on the ocean. I grew sleepy, read "My Southern Friends." till I was oh! So sick, & climbed into my berth for refuge. Freddy Henry sick too—

Monday, July 6th, At Sea

Cloudy. Lay in my berth in a State Room on deck & looked out all day on the green restless ocean. Could not hold my head up. Nothing to eat or drink that wd. relish at all. Mrs. Henry kept well. Our progress was slow. Many passengers were sick & all agreed that no one wd. go to N.Y. a 2d time in this way. On the N. Jersey shore cd. be seen Neversink, Long Branch &c.

Towards night there was a dense fog, bells were rung on the shore & we cast anchor for the night inside Sandy Hook. As soon as the boat stopped I felt better & went out but oh! It seemed like a lost day.—

Tuesday, July 7th, 1863

Foggy morning, fine day, very hot.

The first thing that attracted my attention was the 3 turreted iron clad, Roanoke—
Then an English steamer. Then Fort La Fayette on Staten Island which is now being
mantled & Fort Richmond on Long I.—Staten Island is very

beautiful. Elegant residences on the heights. Stopped at Quarantine. Health officers &
news boats came & then were heard that Lee had been routed from Pa. by Gen Meade.
Three cheers given. This is 7 or 8 mi. from N.Y.—passed Governor Isl. & then went up
East River to foot of Wall St. Our gun was fired when we stopped. This was about 9 & it
was nearly an hour before I cd. leave the boat.

Here I took leave of Mrs. Henry who is to go to Brooklyn, & I was driven to Girard
House, Cor. Chambers St. & W. Broadway, waited 1 ½ hours for a room. Cleaned up a
little & then waited nearly an hour at the table before I cd. get anything to eat.—
Breakfast on steamer had been coffee & sea biscuit —Capt. Hunter apologized for this,
but the biscuit was much better than any bread we had had—The Empire is 700 tons
burthen[?] but I think none who came will return to W by sea!

About 1 P.M. I was ready to walk. Went to office of A. S. Standard. Saw Oliver Johnson
& paid 3.50 per Standard. He showed no interest in my mission, made no inquiry till I
was leaving, then he asked if I knew H. Jacobs & said “he was much attached to her.” I
answered him briefly & passed out rather quickly for I felt hurt by his indifference, as we
are engaged in the same cause. The City Hall is an inferior building compared with the
public buildings of Washington & the streets all seem so narrow in N.Y. after being
familiar with the ‘magnificent distances’ of W. Saw a few soldiers in the Park. Called to
see Wm. Cromwell on Franklin St. & had pleasant chat with him. Then took cars to
Central Park, 3 miles off. What a lovely place! Trees, shrubs & flowers, carriage rides &
walks, marble archways & bridges & steps of passages, lakes, swans & gondolas, deer,
monkeys, parrots & eagles. Pagoda, arbor, tent &c.

Was there between 4 & 6 P.M. A stream of elegant carriages came in from 5th Av. Such
fast horses, & splendidly dressed people, I never saw the like before. What immense
wealth exists in this city! C. Park is to absorb \$7,000,000 I am told. The arsenal is near
the Park. Cars run to 59th St. to the Park.—

I walked till I was tired out, but there were seats all about for resting.

Cars are set apart for Colored people. “Colored People allowed in these cars” is painted
on some of them, but white people rode in them also. Went up 8th Av. & came back on
6th Av. —What an immense city! Returned time enough, waited ever so long for light in
my room. So difficult to get attention, otherwise the House is pleasant. It is kept on

European plan & is very near H.R. Depot. I intend to leave at 7 o'clock to morrow morning.

Wednesday July 8th, 1863.

Foggy, hot P.M. Pleasant.—Left N.Y. At 7 ¼ a.m. Stopped at Tubby Hook, 10 mi. 206th St. & laid over one train to see Cousin Eliza W. Stall & her new husband Peter C. Stall. She has been married 3 wks.—Took dinner & left on 1 ½ P.M. train for Poughkeepsie. Noticed Sunny Side. Laid over at Peekskill 3 hours, very tedious, beautiful scenery & I always enjoy it. But the train moves so fast in the high rocky banks, over bridges & through tunnels, & there is so much noise that I feared I should be deafened, for some times, after emerging from a tunnel or a deep cut through the rocks. I could scarcely hear anything for several minutes. It was a bold mind that originated the idea of making a R.R. so near the Hudson R.

News came to N.Y. yesterday that Vicksburg has surrendered to Gen. Grant.

Reach P. at 7 & stopped at Gregory House. Went to find Cousin A. Halsted.

But she has gone to Columbia Springs. Waited for room, waited for supper, waited for everything.

Thursday, July 9th

Left P. at 8 in Stage for Stanfordville 20 mi. The most uncomfortable night I have spent this summer in P. So hot & the mosquitoes came & were devouring me—.

Cloudy, sultry weather.

Nice, refreshing ride, country looks very fine. Long time since I have seen gardens & cultivated fields, blacks faces are few and far between & I miss them. No signs of war, business never more prosperous, country never looked more flourishing than now. I wish some of the Southern folks could see it now & compare it with the rebellious states. — So many have enlisted in this & Columbia Co. in the 150th & 128th that the men are missed & farmer's help is scarce.

The driver left a paper at almost every house for even these quiet people are interested in the War, & there are not many Copperheads along this road.

Stanfordville N.Y.

Thursday continued.

Found Aunt Mary well & expecting me. Ruth Ann was here, & Sally Ann too, who had come, to take me to her home in Milan. I was soiled & travel worn. I removed some of the traces of my sea voyage &c & felt better. Called at R.A's school &c.

Letter from Frances. She has lately been to Avon, Sister M. is quite unwell, & in a hurry for me to come home. I am in a hurry too. —I have come in such,

a strange way that I cannot realize that I am in Dutchess. Cousin Elizabeth is to go home with me.—I have concluded to go to Taghkanic & Ghent & then come back & start from here with Cousin E.

Friday, July 10

Cloudy, hot, went home with Sally Ann nice ride (Libbie W. rode with us)

In P.M. went to Cousin Jephtha W.s & had a good visit. R. Story, wife & daughter there.

Saturday July 11th

Excessively hot. Sally A. went with me to Taghkanic. Oh! The interminable hills, but they are clothed to their summits & the rocky landscape is very beautiful, horses are accustomed to the hilly roads & they are very patient & careful. Our western horses would get mad under such circumstances,

Since the land has passed from the Livingstons, & the occupants own the soil, the appearance of the country is vastly improved. It is better cultivated & good farm buildings have been erected & neat schoolhouses have been built in every neighborhood, & respectable looking people & tidy children appear when once swarmed half clad, tow headed boys & girls & half-civilized looking men & women, to whom the passing traveller was a curious wonder. I observed neither hut, nor cabin, nor out doors oven in all my route ~~from~~ through what was

once the Manor.

We reached Aunt Sally's at 1 P.M. Found her & Aunt Hannah very well, looking a little older than when I saw them last, 7 yrs ago. They lead a quiet, unobtrusive life in their little red house on the hill side, beneath the willows' shade and near a pretty mountain stream, whose course over a rocky ledge makes never-ceasing music.— Called at Uncle Ruben's. I feel dull & dispirited. Sally A. left at 4 & is to meet me at Rhinebeck next Friday.—

Taghkanic, Sunday, July 12th,

This A.M. slept some & tried to get rested, but I feel miserably This P.M. went to Uncle R's & took tea there. It is so still & quiet here.

Monday, July 13

Rained nearly all day. Worked on flag & read 'Linda' for Aunt S. & Aunt H. Cousin R. Sutherland & wife here to tea. How I would like to hear the news.

Tuesday, July 14

Cloudy & rainy. Can't visit nor enjoy any thing. Slept some & sewed some. I have overtaxed my strength, and been under excitement so long, that now has come a reaction. The last two wks in Alex. were too hard for me. It was so hot & I walked so much & then my sea sickness has been no benefit to my health, and I walked a little too

much in N.Y. All this has been too much for the little woman. Hope I shall not be down sick before I get home.

Wednesday, July 15

Uncle R. went with me to Ghent. Called at Claversack Institute, saw Stephen Van W. who was fixing to start for home.

Cousin A. Halsted at Uncle H's. Benjamin has gone to N.Y.—His son Homer is in the 150th N.Y. & that was in the battle of Gettysburg & they have not heard from him since. Uncle H's son Robert is in the 128th N.Y. has been sick a long time at Camp

Parapet, 8 mi. above N. Orleans. They are very anxious for him.

Aunt Hannah's son-in-law Joseph Blare[?] is in a Vermont Rgt. Enlisted for 9 mo. & expects to return the 21st July. —So it is. Everybody is concerned more or less nearly in the war.—But as Uncle H. & Uncle R. are opposed to the war. & to the administration also. They, of course, wish to furnish no soldiers for the army. I am glad I do not feel as they do. I should take no comfort.—There is no satisfaction in talking with them on the subject.

Thursday July 16th

Cloudy, wet, discouraging for farmers.

Sewed a little, read papers.

Riot in N.Y. burning buildings, plundering killing &c—Drafting is made a pretext for this outbreak. First they destroyed the Pro. Mar. Office, then it was “down with the rich men.” & houses were plundered & burnt. Negroes beaten & killed, & col^d. orphan asylum destroyed entirely. Railroad tracks torn up so that the military could not get there from a

distance. It began Tuesday morning & it is not quiet yet. Gov. Seymour told the mob he would ask to have the draft suspended & allowed them to think that he considered them wronged—No thanks to him that the riot is suppressed. The “World” and the “Express” & the “Herald” encouraged the rioters.

Well, the sooner the people see the results of Copperheads teachings the better it will be for the country. It is hopeful Wood, Brooks, & Rynders will get enough of it. The Times & Tribune buildings have been attacked, but not much hurt, a strong force protects them, troops were sent for from Albany, Rochester & Buffalo. Then was a reign of terror in N.Y. Negro hate at the bottom of it, but when a mob begins there is nothing too bad for them to do. The Times says, “it is not the “working men's mob,” as the Herald says, for the working men of N.Y. are not assassins, robbers, law breakers, but it is composed mostly of the vilest

elements of society, whose leaders keep in the background just now. They are heard at peace meetings & Copperhead Conventions.—The rioters are mostly

Irish & Archbishop Hughes has addressed them several times, to the effect that if they are wronged, this is not the best way to get redress, &. I think he is afraid of his people as he calls them—Some of the police have been killed & some of the military.—In speaking of the causes of this terrible riot the Times says “Hate towards those in better circumstances, craving for plunder, love of commotion, barbarous spite against a different race & desire to help the failing fortunes of the rebels, all these have activated these people, & produced these terrible results, They have stopped drafting but the draft has not been suspended & will go on as soon as order is restored & there will be a force sufficient to maintain it.

Trouble is anticipated in other cities, but the authorities will be prepared for it probably. The draft in Mass. is going on quietly, also in Conn. I should not like to start for home just now.

No war news.

Friday, July 17th

Cloudy, rained toward night.

Uncle Hiram went with me to Hudson, & took the 10 A.M. train for Rhinebeck. The nicest car I have ever seen. It was like sitting in a nice parlor.

Train came through from N.Y. so we know the track is safe. But last night there was more disturbance.

Sally Ann met me at R. Station. A village has grown up here since the Railroad was made, & it is very pleasant about here. Saw Wm. Cowles at Rhinebeck Flats & talked with him a little while. Then through Scooterhook & Rock City to J. Ferris's, such a hilly, rocky road!

Saturday, July 18th,

Pleasant—Sally Ann went with me to Uncle Henry's[?] when we took dinner. I examined the premises as well I cd. considering the multitude of bees on every side, ruin stared me in the face, on every side was dilapidation & decay. I looked into the cellar & so on to the garret. I was ready to cry, there was so much to remind me of my youthful days, when I too had a kind mother & no great sorrow had ever crossed my path. But oh! the intervening years! What trouble has been mine since then. The millpond looks much smaller, & country hillier than ever, but in all the past week I have not had a view of the mountains, not an outline has been visible. I think they have hid their majestic heads in very shame. They will not condescend to look upon the disgraceful scenes which are being enacted in the country. But I wd. like to see them

once before I go west. They would seem like old familiar friends. Well, I may not leave so soon as I wish. There may be riots in other cities on my route.

Sally Ann left at 3 P.M. for her home & I with Aunt Mary Ann for Aunt M's. —

I have been largely indebted to my kind, good friend S. for transportation, she having travelled more than 73 mi. in my account.—Reached Aunt M.'s about 5 P.M. Letter from Cousin E. Stall. She has had letter from home. Sister M. is quite unwell & Henry's wife has been thrown from a buggy & badly injured. I am in a hurry to be at home

Sunday 19th

Fine day, for the first in 2 wks.

I did not feel like going to Church. Aunt Mary & Libbie went. I wrote some, Toward night, Uncle Z. called & I went home with him, but did not feel like visiting.

Stanfordville, Monday 20th

Fine, very hot. Came from Uncle Z's this A.M. —have felt very shiftless all day. I am dull, stupid, tired, half sick. Have written some & tried to rest. This P.M. Ruth Ann & Mrs. Knapp have visited here, but I must have been very disagreeable. I cd. barely sit up. Cannot start to morrow. No way to go to P. till Wednesday.

Nearly all the forts at Charleston have been taken. Lee has escaped across the Potomac, sorry for that. Port Hudson has surrendered to Gen. Banks. A great deal has been done within the last 2 wks. I read that the order to send the Secesh from Alex. was countermanded just as it was about to be executed. Just as I supposed it would be. Now they will be more insolent than ever. I should think Col. Wells would be mortified & provoked.

Stanfordville, Tuesday 21st

2 P.M. Has rained all day so far & then has been tremendous storm of wind. I never saw such a hard blow last so long. Glad we did not start today. I presume it has disturbed the R.R. & interfered with the trains—

The stage has not gone back from P. yet Something is to pay, the storm, a riot or something else I'm sure.—

Elizabeth has packed her trunk & is all ready. I have packed mine and hope to get off to morrow.—

Wednesday 22^d

Left Aunt Mary's at 9 A.M. Then 4 mortal hours to Poughkeepsie. The storm of yesterday blew down trees & prostrated grass & grain. Just in time for train at 1 ½ P.M. at Hudson Cousin B. Halsted & Abby came on to go to Albany. A bridge gone, which detained us some, water high, quite a freshet. Saw the mountains for

the first time since I have been home, excepting one glimpse when I was going to Taghkanic. —The mountain house looked beautifully. This road is so noisy. Reached

Albany at 4 went to Delavan House & left Albany at 6. Very pleaaant until dark. The Mohawk flats are flooded.

July, Thursday 23rd, 1863

Reached Rochester at 4 this A.M., very disturbed night. Slept some, but my Slumbers were not refreshing.

Went to C's before they were up. They are all quite well. Mr. Griffin is much better. Mary Julia & Neddy have grown considerably.—Rode in street car. Did shopping. bought 3 dresses! Wonderful for me, an Alpaca, a Mull & a Mozambique, & when shall I get them made? Called to see Anna Barnes & Sarah Cornell. Left on train at 5,50 & reached Avon about 7.

Went in Express to E. Avon, & then rode nearly home with James Hillman. Just 9 mo. to day since I left home. All quite well. Father looks feeble. Mary is better, the Children have grown considerably. Ella is here. She came from Detroit a week ago. But oh, dear it is not the home it was once. Oh how we miss our mother. It is very evident that none of father's children are welcome here, except to make a very short visit.

Friday, July 26 24th

Went to Avon for trunks, unpacked trunk & box of arms, projectiles & relics. Set out my plants, White jessamine is alive, & will live I think. The ivy from Christ Church Alex. may live, but the myrtle & box from Mt. Vernon will die, I think,— The garden is all overgrown with weeds.—& my flowers used to be so beautiful!

I have no courage to work in it any more. No body to care for it when I am away. The premises look worse than ever, I am sorry father is not disposed to keep things in better repair.

Saturday, July 27 25th, 1863

Shower this P.M. hot.

Did chores & fussed around all day. My things are so topsy turvy that I don't know how to begin to work. & there is so much that I wish to do—I have written to Mrs. Jacobs & Emma. Dr. Taintor called this A.M. I do hope I shall be well & able to do all the work I have to do.—

Sunday 26

I have labeled & arranging specimens & Uncle Jephtha & Aunt Caty & Cousin Jephtha C. have been here.

Sister M. & Cousin E. have been to meeting.

Rush. Sunday Aug. 2^d 1863

The hottest day yet. Do not feel like doing anything, & Mary is wholly prostrated.

Last Monday Ella went home with Jacob Albertson & has not come back yet. Tuesday we went to Uncle Jeptha's, but I did not feel like visiting. Elizabeth went with us & we left her there.

Yesterday Mary, Stewart & I went to Uncle Ephraim's—Cousin Phebe C. Elizabeth there.

Mary has letter from Joe dated the 13th July, near Jackson, Miss. Has been in a skirmish & slightly wounded in wrist. Very hot & they suffered much.

I have cleaned my arms & projectiles & labelled all my relics & specimens except my plants.—I have sewed some. But somehow I have not done half as

much as I wished to during the wk. I do not feel right well & it is so hot.

Strange I get no letter from Mrs. Jacobs. I do wish to hear from Alexandria. Had letter from Mrs. Breed asking me to take a situation in the Colored Home at Georgetown. I do not feel capable of superintending such a place, however much I would like to serve the cause. I wish I had the ability to do all that I wish for these people. I hope I shall know my duty & I trust God will enable me to do it. But I cannot go back until the weather is cooler & I feel much better. And it will be hard to leave those friends in Alex. They will be so disappointed if I leave them.—

No war news—I think the Potomac Army has gone into summer quarters

The draft is going on in this State.

At Home, Aug. 9th, '63

Sunday & very hot.

Frances came last evening. Theodore is drafted.—

I have been able to do but very little this week. But to day I feel much better. & hope I shall be able to work some this week. It has been very hot since Monday.

On Monday Cousin Phebe Cornell & Elizabeth W. came & left next day.

Phebe wants to work for the contrabands. & I hope I can induce her to go back with me.—Ella came back Monday eve.

Thursday was a National Thanksgiving. July has been a harvest month of victories—

Yesterday was my birth day. I believed am 49 yrs. old. Only think, In my 50th year! I can hardly believe it.

Mary has had letters from Joe. He was at Haines' Bluff & they were coming to Kentucky. He was well & very glad that they were coming away from Miss.

The draft is finished in this District & all has been quiet & orderly.—

Have had a letter from Mrs. Jacobs at last. Great numbers of refugees are coming into Alex. & Mr. G. wants to send them all to W.—but Mrs. J sends many of them to their friends before he knows it. They have a great deal of trouble with Mr. G. He is a tyrant & a hypocrite. Mrs. J. has complained of him.

Aug. 16th Sunday

Last Monday Mary & I trimmed shrubbery & worked hard; but I have no courage to any thing for the probability is this will not be our house much longer.

Tuesday was very hot. Had heavy thunder Shower. Mary Thompson was here. Frances & Ella went to Harvey's.

Wednesday Ella & Frances went to Uncle E's & Uncle J's. Had letters from Mrs. Jacobs & Mrs. Graves. Mr. Gladwin is acting like a crazy man.

The Contrabands are getting their pay from government.

Thursday. Cooler. Euphemia left this evening, has sewed 3 days. Mrs. D. here.

Friday cleaned front chamber. Frances & Ella & Mary went to W. Avon & I looked after the children.

Yesterday, Ella & I went to E Avon. Called at Mr. Dann's & Mr. Batchelor's

Took dinner at Mr. Hartwell's—

At night Alfred & Angeline came.

Today we have visited. If sister Elizabeth was here, all the sisters wd. be together. It may be a long time before so many of us meet again.

Expected Charlotte & Mr. G & the children, but they have not come.—

At home, Sunday Aug 23d

Last Monday morning Frances left for her home. Alfred took her to Rush.

We were sorry to have her go away. In the P.M. I went to the burying ground at W. Avon with Alfred & Angeline & then called at Uncle J's & took tea.

Tuesday A. & A. left for home, & I went with them to the Scottsville Station. I went to Rochester, & at night went to B. Wing's. Aunt E. very well.

Wednesday. At Benjamin's visited with Aunt E. In P.M. Aid Soc. met there. They will probably do something for Contrabands.

Thursday went back to the city. Did shopping, & in P.M. met Society at S. Cornell's. They wish me to return to Alex.

Rainy. Went home with Mrs. Coleman & staid all night.

Friday did shopping. Called on Amy Post & Mrs. Barnes. In evening at Charlotte's

I met B. Fish & wife, G. Stebbins & wife & Mrs. Curtis & Mrs. Coleman.

Yesterday I came home. Neddy & C. Serrey[?] came with me in buggy—When they went back Ella went with them as far as Henrietta.

C. intends to send Mary Julia to a Catholic School. It seems to me I cannot have it so. We can easily foresee the result. She has been very near & dear to me. She has once loved me

& she is my brother's child, but oh dear, I cannot help it. I think if C. lives she will see the day when she would give all she is worth could she undo what she now seems so bent on doing.

To day I have arranged my dried flowers. Cousin Cyrus & wife & Cousin Jephtha called this P.M. Ella is away.

Letter from Dr. Shaw. Things go badly in Alex. Mr. G. behaves outrageously, Dr. B. is a nuisance.—I wd. like to be there a little while—

At home, Sunday, Aug 30,

Cold all week. Monday, Tuesday, Friday, & Saturday write report to Soc. Wednesday P.M. Charles & Lydia Strang & daughter Rachel were here. They are the Wheatland Friends who did do much towards getting up boxes for Contrabands.

On Thursday, I went with Ella & Mary & baby to Aunt Harriet's & took dinner.

We called at Nancy Landon's, Mr. Hartwell's, Mr. Wiand's, Mrs. Morehouse's, Ira Green's, & at Aunt Eliza's & took tea.

This was a begging occasion for C.'s & I got 9 bonnets, one b. quilt, 1 pr. sheets & a few other things; I hope to get enough to fill a box before I leave. But it is tedious work.

Have letter from A.E. Barker of Mendon. She wishes to get a place to teach in Alex. & I must answer her letter & tell her how it is. The time is passing away very fast, & I am not ready yet. Today is cold & cloudy, & I feel dispirited. & uncomfortable.

At Home. Sept. 6, 1863

Sunday. The past week has been a very busy one. Euphemia D. has been here 4 days & dressmaking is nearly done. I have sewed till I got very tired.

Thursday morning William Penn came to make a visit of a few days.

Friday Aunt Harriet, Landon & Hattie & Mrs. Wiand were here.

Have had no paper this week. Shall get behind the times

Yesterday I washed and ironed. To day we wanted to go to church but had no way to go.

How selfish & unaccommodating some people can be. I can't blame Mary for wanting to go back to Michigan. I wish it was comfortable & pleasant for her here, for here she ought to stay till Joe comes home. Joe is now in Nicholasville Ky. but was about to move again.

It is a lovely place here. Oh, dear, how we miss our dear good mother.—

At Home, Sunday,

Sept. 13th, 1863

Fine, warm day. Alone with M. & Minnie & Stewart. Father & Mother gone to Church.—

Last Monday Ella concluded to get ready to go & Tuesday William Penn took us to Rush station.— Went to city. C's & all well. Mr. G. has gone back to the army.

Mary Julia is in a Catholic school & comes home Saturdays & goes back Mondays. Neddy goes to Satterlee's.

County Fair commenced that day.

I was very busy all day.

Wednesday, did shopping, Ella left on 5:30 train for Holley, & Frances came on the 5 P.M. train, Wm. Penn. came on Thursday, very busy again—

Frances left at 11 & William P. left at 5,30

Went with C. & Wm. Penn to see Mary J. She is sick of the school, & C. says she will take her away. She dared not speak to

us louder than a whisper. She has to attend Mass in the morning & catechism lessons. They tell her the Catholic religion is the true religion, & it is wrong for every one to read the Bible, it is wrong for children. She says they have a poor table & all the girls but two have cried. C. says Mary Julia shall not stay where she is unhappy & for this reason she will take her away. I am so thankful that she does not like it & I hope it will save her from the Clutches of the Catholics & that her Mother will see the danger of putting her there. Neddie goes to Satterlees.

Friday finished up my business & went to Avon. Spent P.M. at Mr. Winans, Mary came for me called at Mr. Dann's & got home about dark. Letter from Mrs. Jacobs. Mr. Gladwin has gone north for 20 days. He acts very badly. Like a crazy man. I hope he will be gone when I go back

I have taken a severe cold & yesterday was almost sick. Could do but little, feel better to day.

I intend to start for Alex. next Monday week, the 21st inst. & have many things to do yet. My 3 or 4 day's hard work in city have tired me out again.

Morris Island is in our possession & also Chattanooga & Cumberland Gap.

At Home Sunday

Sept. 20th, 1863

Weather until Friday very hot, since then cold. Monday went to Mr. D's & Mr. B's. Hot walk, & got very tired.

Tuesday Euphemia sewed for me

Have looked over and arranged things in good order to leave. — Yesterday went with Mary & children to Avon. Called at Mrs. Dann's & Mrs. Bathelor's & Aunt Eliza's.

In P.M. packed box & did various chores,

To day I must pack truck & haversack, & do up the last things.

¹⁶It is 204 weeks since Freda was taken from us. Oh! dear nearly 4 years—
Heard a few days since that she is pretty well. She is slightly deaf, I hope it will not grow upon her. If I could only see her before I go!—
Many months may elapse before I see my home again. Father is old & feeble & liable to sudden sickness & I am sad at the thought of what may happen while I am away. & should my father live many years yet, I have no certainty of a home when I return. If our own dear Mother had lived our house would probably be very different. But every day we are forcibly reminded that she who occupies our mother's place is only a mother in name.—With a mother here how pleasant it might be for Mary & her children. But now her comfort is hardly thought of apparently.

Tomorrow morning I expect to go to Avon & meet Cousin Phebe C. who will go on with me to Washington. I dread the fatigue & excitement of the journey & the getting settled again in Alex.

Before another Sunday comes, it is quite likely that my surroundings will be altogether different from this day the 20th of September 1863.

Alexandria, VA. Sunday

Sept. 27, 1863

In my room corner Washington & Wolfe Sts. with cousin P. Cornell. Yes quite a different place from my quiet home in Rush.

I will go back to Monday last.

Rainy day. Left home at 9. (Oh! how lonesome Mary will be!) Went to Avon with father & mother & said good bye to them there. Called at Mr. Winans & took a lunch.

Express agent charged about 9 dollars to forward my box to Alex, but concluded to deduct something. I paid \$6,60, wh. is quite enough, It seems to me.—Cousin Phebe C. met me at Avon & on we went in the rain, about noon, We changed cars at Corning & at Elmira & at Williamsport. Cars full. Did not like much, very tiresome.

At 12 were at H.burg.

Thursday, fine. Sunrise found us in the vicinity of Baltimore.

Went on omnibus to Washington Depot. Arrived at 6 1/2 & waited till 8. Dirty Miserable depot. Good car to W. ride pleasant, reached city at 10.— Went to Markham's, streets very dusty; cleaned up a little, took lunch and went to White House. Then to Contraband Camp, visited Hospital & appearance of things very much improved. Miss H. & Miss S. away.—

Took tea at Dr. B's.—The Colored Home has a Matron, so they have no use for Phebe—
Saw the President & his escort, at a distance.

¹⁶ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26003_116 to HC13-26003_176 in their Folder entitled May 14, 1863 to Nov. 19, 1863.

Wednesday, Fine, Went to Gen. Martindale's Head qtrs. for passes. Then to Capitol & spent an hour or so there. Then to see Emma, who was very glad to see me. Mr. B. has left W.

Called at Judiciary Sq. Hospital, & then to Mr. Lake's. Did some shopping with Phebe,— Her impressions of W. are not very favorable.—

Left on the 3 P.M. boat, pleasant trip, at 4 ½ P.M. was at my room on the corner of Washington & Wolfe Sts., found Mrs. F, well. — & it seemed really good to be in Alex, again.

Thursday, Fine —Went to Freedmen's Home & Slave Pen. people glad to see me, Shook hands till my arm ached.

Went for rations, went to find Mrs. C. In P.M. went to Mansion House Hos. Phebe was very much interested. Went for pass to go to Arlington.

Friday, called at Wm. Stabler's with Phebe, she was received very coolly by these secesh Quakers. They have no meeting here now.

Went to Wolfe St. Hospital, very few sick in hospitals now, some nearly empty. — In evening went to Mrs. Dogan's— Mosquitos Troublesome.

Saturday, Windy, Dusty,

Went to Quarter Master's for Ambulance, but could get none— Went to 68 Prince St. & to Home. Went to Wharf and visited the old mill &c. Phebe wonders very much at what she sees. In P.M. went to Christ Ch. and sat in W's pew. Then went to Grantville. There are about 100 houses now, making quite a village.

Sunday Sept. 27. 1863

Very fine & warm. At 9 A.M. left A. with Phebe & Mrs. J. in an ambulance.

Went to contraband camp at Springdale. A great many army wagons are on the road. Met several filled with exchanged prisoners. Called on Mrs. Webster who is ill. Saw Dr. Calkins. Looked into ever so many tents. They are very uncomfortable. A woman said "these tents don't seem to agree with the children and old folks. A great many of them die." They have a great deal of fever and ague. New houses are being built for them wh. they will probably move into before cold weather. From all accounts Mr. N. is even worse than Mr. Gladwin. Oh the poor negro! He does have a hard time of it.

Then we drove to Arlington House. The premises look even worse than they did last June. Several shanties.

have been built near the house for the soldiers. The fence is nearly all gone. The garden overgrown with weeds. We saw several of the colored people. An old woman. Eleanor Harris, who has always lived there was sick, her daughter who was probably a child of old Custis, was tending her mother. The woman who General Lee whipped for trying to get away, is expected back from Richmond soon. An old negro man told us that the

paintings on these slaves houses were done by Custis himself who thought he was an artist. There are some daubs in the Hall which I presume he did.— The old man gave us some ivy for which we paid him. It is a forlorn looking place. I wish Gen. Robt. Lee of the C.S.A. could see it as is now with contrabands living all about it. It wd. be I sh. think almost as much punishment as he deserves.—

Then we went to Camp Chase. 2 mi. from Ft Albany where the 2^d. Col^d. Regt. is encamped. It numbers now 800 men. Beyond this a parapet & rifle pits, wh. was made last Spring. Near this is Camp Todd, where there are 2 or 300 contrabands living in log huts wh. were built by a Maine Regt.— Then we went to the convalescent Camp & visited some of the New York men. These feel neglected & think that the soldiers from other states are better looked after by their friends than they are. There are about 6000 now in Camps. Since the 1st. of Jan. 255000 have been in this camp. During June, July, & August 93000 answered to the sick call. It is a great institution, & it appears to be well managed.— It will probably be a permanent camp. There are about 50 barracks besides several buildings for offices & officers. & a chapel too I think. The location seems to be good.

We got back at 3 P.M. feeling that we had accomplished a great deal for one Sunday. But we were not so tired as to prevent our going towards evening to the barracks & also to try & hear from the 8th, N.Y. Cav.—The 11th. & 12th. Corps. were passing through here on their way to Tenn. These are part of Meade's army wh. is now encamped about Culpepper. There is an immense number of Cav. & they all stop as they go through. It makes great commotion in the city. It is very dry & dusty, and Phebe thinks it is an awful place. But she has been delighted with the ride today.

Monday was a very busy day. Went to Express Office & various places. Mrs. Churchill came to work on bonnets. In the P.M. Phebe & I went with a soldier's funeral to the cemetery. It was all new to Phebe and she was much interested.

There are about 1000 buried now in the new ground. Then we went to the Potters Field where the Contrabands are buried. There are now several mounds that look like graves, but in the Spring there was not even this. It merely looked like a place that had been dug up.

136th. N.Y. Regt. came in this P.M.

Tuesday

Went with P. to W. on 8 A.M. boat. Went to Georgetown to Col^d. Home. Saw Miss Mann. Miss Jackson of Phila. is coming in a few days to be the matron. Went to Dr. Breed's and took dinner. Spent a few minutes in Patent office, then went to Depot. P. was to take the 5 P.M. train for Baltimore & I was to take the 5 P.M. boat to Alex. so we

parted. It was very dirty and dusty in W. I have had a good visit with Phebe. Her services at the Home are not needed, & she means to go back & try to get

the people interested for the contrabands. & send clothing to me. When I returned it seemed lonelier than ever in Alex. Well well!

Wednesday, Cleaned rooms above & below. Box from Avon came, unpacked & arranged things.

Thursday. Worked in house nearly all day.—Went to see about furniture. Fear I can get none.

Friday. Went to Home and did some work there, arranged things in my room. Wm. Cromwell & Henry Dickinson were here. In P.M. a storm of wind and rain.

Complaints against Mr. G have reached the Sec. of War. Gen S is offended because they were not made to him first. These charges against him are being investigated. Some of the colored folks have been called to tell what they know. He has beaten one man

& boy badly. I am told that in the meantime Col. Wells has written to Sec. of War giving Mr. G. a high character. Gen. S. & Col. W will probably have it all their own way & Mr. G. will be worse than ever. Dr. B has told his own story to the N.Y. gentlemen. & they probably think that he is just the man for this place.

What scheming for place & power there is among those employed to look after these people. I did not think last fall that at this time there wd. be so many quarrelling over the Contrabands & trying to get a place here. I shall probably be sent away for I cannot contend with such spirits.

Saturday. Cleaned room before breakfast, got ready to go to W. with Edward's Mother, but she did not come. Had very busy Day, took long walk on F. St., then called on Mrs. Reeves. Seemed good to speak to a white woman.\

The battle of Chickamauga was a very severe one. The rebs claim the victory. The city is quiet since the army passed through. But the blockade of Alex. is raised. & business is more lively. Considerable building is going on. The streets have been cleaned.

I wish I could hear from home.

Sunday Eve.—Oct. 4

Got ready to go Col^d. Meth. Ch. but Charlie & Emma came & went with them for pass, With Mrs. J. called on Mrs. Cupid[?] & Mrs. Bryan. Went to Home. Lucinda's daughter died last night very unexpectedly. —I went into several rooms, talked with the man that Mr. G beat. & also with the mother of the boy that Mr. G. beat.—went to meeting, the people were having a mighty good time. Streets are very lively this P.M. Ever so many funerals. I have seen soldier's funerals nearly every day this week past.—

Alexandria Sunday Oct. 11th.

Pleasant weather the week past. I have been very busy indeed & almost tired out at times. On Monday Mr. Needham called. & in P.M. I went with Mrs. Babcock & Mrs. Hollenbeck to find a girl to go to R. Isl. with Mrs. B. In the Northwestern suburbs of the city is a collection of new houses, some of them very comfortable, & fine but sick among the people. Could find no girl to go with Mrs. B. 20 persons came in from Culpepper. & Lucinda has taken half of them into my room. Some of them to stay until they can build a house. These brought things with them. Tuesday. Found a girl to go with Mrs. B. Went to Queen St. Hos. with her. Medical Inspector came from W. Dr. B says "Corn bread & pork is all these people want," But Dr. Pettijhon

insists upon them having food & nourishment like other sick people & seems to think they have human wants & requirements. There is a hospital fund I am told, but Dr. B. manages it so that it does them but little good. It does seem impossible for people to treat the Negro as if he were human.

Mr. Whipple has an appointment to go to Norfolk to look after confiscated property there has a salary of \$1500 & 2 rations. This is fortunate for him, for he has been out of employment & out of funds for a long time.

Wednesday. Did washing & ironing. Dr. Shaw & Mrs. Graves returned. Mr. Graves ill with typhoid fever. Letter from Mary Julia, she is still at Catholic School, & says she does not mind their peculiarities so much now. How strange it is that C. will keep her there after knowing how they

manage. I see how it will be. I must give her up. She will never be to me what she has been heretofore. She is my brother's child & has been very dear to me. & I would like to save her; but it has ever been so. What I set my heart on most I always lose. I will try not to think of her future.

Cousin Phebe was in Rochester last Saturday.

Thursday—Did a great deal of walking. Did not succeed in getting any furniture from Maj. Silvey. Shall probably continue to sit on a chair without a back & write on a box & sleep on a shaving mattress; but I am getting tired of it. When I am very tired I want something more comfortable. Officers receiving large salaries can have furnished houses in addition & have the best of everything. (& make a good thing out of the war).

Friday. Letter from Mary & from Mrs. Carpenter & Mrs. Lansing.

All well at home, but Mary is lonely. I wish she was more pleasantly situated. She is anxious about Joe. He had the ague when he wrote last. If our home was only blessed with a dear good mother then Mary & the children would enjoy it, but oh! dear, oh! dear. In evening a great many sick soldiers were brought on the cars from the front & put in the hospitals here.

Saturday, such a busy day.

After my morning's work I went with Capt. Ferree & Dr. Loines[?] & wife from N.Y. to the Home & the Slave Pen. Great improvement in the latter place.

Lieut. Donn of the 1st. Dist. Regt. has been there 5 or 6 months. He showed us all through it. But few prisoners there & the prison is quite clean to what it used to be. No colored men there & the Lieut. Says

he shall have a room for them, & not keep them out of doors as they did last winter. He goes out with the night Patrol. & says they are easy with the Colored men. If their only fault is being out late they do not arrest them. "He is opposed to Slavery but believes in everyone keeping their own place." That is to say the colored folks should not aspire to be equal with whites. I can forgive him this very readily, for he seemed so kind & reasonable & sensible. He is a southerner, but has lived 5 yrs. in the north. His family is in Washington. He showed us the women's rooms. He has had glass put in the windows, which have heretofore been boarded up, & they are cleaned & whitewashed. Two Colored women were the only inmates. They were lying in blankets & entirely covered up, so we did not speak to them. I did not ask the Lieut., but I have been told

that women have been showered there this summer. Lieut. Donn had the screen put around the Showerbath, & he does'nt allow the women prisoners to talk with the guard. He would like to make other improvements, but as these would involve expense the authorities object to it. He told us about going around with Mr. Gladwin to collect rent, but he has refused to do it anymore. Does'nt like the business, but he thinks Mr. G. manages well.

Then we went to the Soldiers' Rest just beyond the slave Pen.—

Very extensive Buildings have been erected, but they are not entirely finished. Here is just the place for a Rest, so many soldiers go through here. & how much comfort they can give if rightly conducted. It is astonishing to see the new buildings going up in this city. It looks almost like

a Western city, Saginaw for instance.

After dinner I went with them to Christ Church & they sat in W's pew. Then we went to Grantville, after which they left to return to W. by the way of Fairfax Sem. & Arlington. This brief interview with white faces has done me good. Not that I like my Colored friends less, but I do begin to want companionship & sympathy, for I was never so entirely without it as at present—

Mrs. Babcock & a gentleman called (I do not know his name) & I went with them to the Museum. Several persons were there & a man who is employed to clean up & arrange the things was very accommodating, & unrolled some of the Flags for us, & gave us all the information he possessed as well as some he did not possess. An organ grinder was in attendance & made the place hideous.

I was so tired last night that I cd. do nothing after I returned.

This morning went to Christ Church, I suppose the minister was Rev. Tho. Drumm of N.Y. Not the least allusion was made to the war, or to the state of the Country unless it was done when I as asleep; for really I could not keep awake while such a dull, dry sermon was in progress.

The Pro. Sla. sermon of Bishop Hopkins of Vt. has been just in ~~the~~ circulation by the Democrats, & a large number of Episcopal Ministers have seen fit to denounce it over their names; but the name of Thomas Drumm is not one of them.

I hear that Dr. Augusta has been relieved from his duties as chief surgeon in the Con. Camp at W. His white enemies & despisers have succeeded it seems in having him removed. I am disgusted with mankind. Especially those who are living on the government.

Sunday evening, Oct. 11

About 4 P.M. I went to the Home to see Sophy to tell her to be ready to go tomorrow morning. As soon as I turned on to Duke St. I saw there was an unusual commotion. There were a great many people in the street. & near the depot they were taking horses from the cars wh. had just come in. & they were doing it rather fast too. People were looking on & seemed more than commonly interested. I looked awhile, then went on to the Home & was gone less than half an hour; came back on Prince St. The men & Equipments had been unloaded from the cars. They had mounted these horses & I saw them as they turned up Wash. St. Several cars were yet filled with men & army wagons were being driven rapidly.—It is reported that Meade is falling back, that they are burning the railroad & that 4 of our regiments have been taken by Lee. There is something in it, no doubt.

Alexandria Sunday. Oct. 18.

Can hardly realize that the Autumn is half gone. The weather is like summer today. But it seems unhealthy. I should like cool frosty weather better.

Last Monday, my work was mostly in the house. & I had quite a rest.

Tuesday. Ever so many Contrabands came in from Culpepper. Rebs took possessions of Col. C. H. Sunday & there was a fight at Brandy Station. Supplies & men were rushed into Alex. for safety. Heard that Meade was falling back.

Went out & bought a Lamp & fixtures. Bought pictures. Mrs. Jacobs makes sport of my selection. I bought Davis, Beauregard, Lee, "Stonewall," Fremont, Slavepen, Tomb at Mt Vernon, Stone Church at Centerville, Sudley's ford at Bull Run, & "All Quiet on the Potomac." They are all desirable pictures, but the last is a perfect gem. There is the half-observed moon, which reveals the snow covered ground;

Several graves, one open & ready for use; a solitary picket standing on an eminence[?] near. A lonely, silent place. It is a picture which makes one involuntarily hold his breath & brings tears into the eyes. All the hopes & fears, the weary suspense & the wonderings "Why the army don't move" of that interminable winter are all embodied in that bit of paper. In the vicinity of Hunting Ck. there is always more or less of fevers, & the number of brave men whose lives were so wantonly & uselessly sacrificed that winter, a prey to inaction & hope deferred is sickening to think of. —The windows of my room command a view of a part of the ground covered by the white tents of what was once the finest army in the world, & the war paths all around on the slopes are yet plainly to be seen. Yet strange as it may appear, ever since that winter McClellan on the brain has been a prevalent disease. But lately the disease seems abating.

Wednesday, Letter from Cousin Phebe. She is working for the Contrabands. Mrs. Jacobs left for Portsmouth. & N.Y. went to the Depot, but no arrivals of C's.

Thursday. Cleaned room below & sewed, went to the Depot again.

All day Wednesday firing was heard in the direction of Manassas, & until 8 in the evening.—Rebel prisoners brought in this evening.—

Friday. Spent most of the morning at Freedmen's Home, listening to the recital of Mr. G's tyrannical acts, Rain in the P.M. Sewed and wrote letters, a little lonesome.

Saturday. Very fine, hot.

Went to Home & met little girls to sew. In P.M. called on Mrs. Fletcher.

Read accounts of army movements since Friday last. Lee has failed to flank Meade. The latter is in the vicinity of Centerville. On Wednesday there was skirmishing along the whole line,

Today Sunday is fine & remarkably warm. Put my room in order & cleaned up generally. Went into the Hospital to see the sick women. They suffer from want of suitable & nourishing food & Dr. Bigelow persists in having it so, although there is a hospital fund at his disposal & which is intended for their comfort.

About 3 P.M. Sam May of Mass. called to say that he had been nearly all day looking for Mrs. J & Miss W. but had failed to find us. His wife & 2 others in the Carriage did not come in. Mr. M. seemed much disappointed that he had not found us till it was time for them to go back to W. I am disappointed too for I should have liked to gone around with

them. It would have been so refreshing to have had an hour's talk with intelligent & interested white folks.—

At 3 P.M. went to Home to meeting. Heard a funeral discourse from brother Leland. There was weeping & wailing & gnashing of teeth, for Fred. Baltimore had died with no hope in Christ. It was a scene to impress a stranger, but somehow it did not affect me much, I must be very dull, & stupid & cold & heartless. —Rev. [Transcribers note: no name given] prayed.

Funeral of an Officer this P.M. The streets are alive with well dressed people, mostly colored—

Thursday evening Oct. 22^d 1863.

On Monday. Dr. Graves was much worse. I went to see him several times & he knew me. He has joined them in singing several times. He talked with his wife & others about dying & about his affairs. He was resigned & happy. He was delirious most of the time. Dr. Hines had hopes that he would recover.—but he failed all day & on Tuesday morning at 3 o'clock he died a peaceful, Christian death.—

He was only 24 & had just begun a career of usefulness. It was hard to realize that the inanimate form in that "narrow house" was the same that full of apparent health & strength had met me so cordially on my return to Alex. a few short weeks before. —I think he attended the colored people faithfully through the summer, & visited them daily in the most filthy localities. They had great regard for him for he proved himself their friend, & many enquiries were made about him during his sickness, and many came to take a last look after he died. At 2 P.M. a short service was held in the room where he died, conducted by Mr. Gladwin with his long face & sanctimonious tones, Oh! Don't see how Dr. Shaw & Mr. Grave could endure it when last summer Dr. S. thought Mr. G. incapable of performing a Christian act, & Dr. G's opinion of him was no better—I did not enjoy it, but I sat under it as patiently as I could.

At 4 P.M. Dr. S. & Mrs. Graves left on the boat for their home. We all accompanied them to the boat. The body was to be sent by Express the next morning.

These were two sad days. I could not work. I shall miss all these persons very much, for I had counted on their society the coming winter.—Dr. G. was pleasant & companionable, & we had some thought in common, which is more than I can say of some other persons who have been engaged in working for the Contrabands.—I am sorry for Mrs. G. for she has lost a kind good husband.

Wednesday wrote letter to Democray & had letter from Mrs. Tracy & sister M. Mary had been very anxious about Joe, but she had just heard from him and felt better. He has been promoted to 1st. Lieutenantcy & commands the 1st. Division Ambulance Corps. But he has a fever & ague; otherwise he has an easier time than he ever had before—

It is so uncomfortable for Mary at home that I may think it is best for her to go to Mich. This fall. Oh. Dear. It should not be so.

Today, Thursday. I had letter from Cousin P.C. who is as much engaged as ever in relation to Contrabands.—

I have written several letters, and been out considerable too. Found a boy in my room at Home. About 10 yrs. old. wears Man's Cav. Coat & pants which have been shortened for him. His father & mother are in W. they left him 5 mo. ago with Maj. West of the 16th. Pa. & he has been with the Regt. ever since, till Maj. W. went to W. & wd'nt take him along. Boy, Sam Cassins, came in alone from Gainesville yesterday. Had a pass in a little pocket book but somebody got it from him today. Went to Pro. Marshal's & he says he had a ring wh. the Pro. took from him & said he would give him 25 cts. for it but he did'nt;—I gave him provisions to last till morning. He must be sent to W. tomorrow.

I have been to Grantville and visited the school there. Mr. Lyles has 17 scholars in the new school house. His assistant is Mrs.

Griffin, an interesting young woman. She escaped from Lynchburg in April last. She was told if she got married they wd. send her south, so when she got ready to get married she left with her brother & intended husband. She had learned to write & wrote a pass for herself, but they missed the train which wd. have brought them to Alex. & they had to walk here & had a hard time. The shoes she wore here cost \$16 Con. Money. Calico then was \$4 a yd.—sugar \$2.50 a lb. Could get no blueing at all. & ladies wore domestics in the streets, that is, Virginia Cloths. Slaves get their money by schemes, she sewed at odd spells and got hers. Somebody taught her to spell & she learned the rest herself. They did not want her to learn to read the papers for fear she would learn something of national affairs. She lived in a new house at Grantville, & I'll warrant sure she will take care of herself.—

It is said Lee is retreating and Meade is in pursuit, that Rosecrans]\, no, Burnside has got into Western Va. —& Lee has had to leave this part of the State suddenly.—

Alex. Oct. 23^d.

Cloudy, busy day. I have walked so much that I am almost tired out. First went to Cor, Fairfax & Duke & got place for Letty Harris. Then away to Hayti to find an old sick woman. Buildings are going up very rapidly out there. White men are building 1st class shanties, to take advantage of the necessities of the Colored people by taking Exorbitant rents. I know one room that rents for \$12 a mo. A great deal of fever & ague in Hayti. The new fort is down there, & great improvements are being made.

Then I went away up Cameron St. to find Matilda Washington, who was sick; but she had gone from the place where I expected to find her. Then to Soldiers Rest near Slave Pen. This is built by Govt. begun 6 wks. ago & will be finished next mo. One building is

290 ft. in length & 54 ft. in width. There is another containing a Dining room &c. about 200 ft. long. There is a room

washing & bathing. An extensive kitchen with ranges, stove room, reading room, &c, &c—The ground will be improved & ornamented & it will be just the place to rest. Such a place is needed here for it is & may be for a long time a great thoroughfare to the Potomac Army or going to & fro. This does credit to the Govt. wh. so thoughtfully provides for the soldiers. Today I found there in one of the rooms & under guard about 100 conscripts from Western N.Y. some from Rochester. A Mrs. Arnold was with me. At first they were a little shy, but they soon talked freely when they found we were their friends. Then called at Home School. Mr. [*Transcribers note: blank space, no name given*] the new Teacher has improved the appearance of it very much. But classes are held in a lumber room where lime is kept, a very unsuitable place. I wish they might have some more capable teachers.

Met there a lady from Boston who has come out as a Missionary to these people.—went to 68 Prince St. & am very tired tonight.

At Room Cor. Wash. & Wolfe Sts.

Saturday Oct. 24. 1863

Rainy all day. Oh! How muddy. Bad times for soldiers. Ever so many marched through here this morning. I have been to P.O & to my meals & that is all that I have been out. I have written some, read some & done chores. I have had a cheerful fire. & I wish everybody was as comfortable as I am.

Mrs. [*Transcribers note: blank no name given*] the Missionary from Chelsea Mass. made me a call. She wishes to teach. I wish she wd. go into the school at the Home & help make that what it should be. Gen. Meade passed through here today.

It is 199 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from her Grandpa's & poor "Aunty" who was all the world to her. Almost 4 yrs. have gone since then. Mary writes me that Mrs. Bigelow has seen her, but I never get any thing satisfactory from Maria B.—

Sunday in Alex. Oct. 25th.

Bright, quite Cool.—

Went to Col^d. Bap. Ch. & heard father Evans. Letter from Mrs. J. & Mrs. Gibbane[?]. The latter wishes me to send her a contraband. Mrs. J. writes from Fort. Monroe & is having a splendid time. Sees may interesting things. Young man from Queen St. Hos. called this evening to say that Mrs. Babcock has got safely home & that she liked Sophy. Had no room to invite the young gentlemen into, too bad. Received them in the hall standing.—

Another man died in the Hospital last night. Dr. B. provides no comforts for them. Dr. P. is so indignant that he can hardly endure it.—Things are to be turned over to Dr. Hines

the first of next moth. Cavalry Regt. passed through here today. Troops were drilled in the streets today. Prisoners passed through here today Meade's Headqtrs. are at Warrenton now.

Monday 26. Cold & bright.

Went for pictures for Mrs. J.—Went to Home. great many interruptions. Wish box would come from R. People need things so badly—

Tuesday 27th.

Attended to washing & did various things. Lee's army has recrossed the Rappahannock, fighting again.

It is 190 weeks since I have seen my little darling.

Wednesday. 28.

Went to Grantville to see sick woman. Ironed in my own room, and did various things. Ever so many calls.

Letter from Anna Barnes. Box not sent yet, nor report printed. I am disappointed, people are wanting things so badly. It is cold & they need warm clothing & bedding. Report has been delayed so long, it will be of little use to have it printed.

Alex. Thursday. Oct. 29th. 1863.

Very Fine, Cleaned my room & worked till 10. Then went for a pass & called at Mrs. Dogan's

Mrs. *[Transcribers note: rest of line left blank.]*

About 12 o'clock Judge Day & wife called. Then Cousin Helen & her new husband came. Buggy broken; while it was being mended went with Mrs. D & Helen to the home. Then to Slave Pen. Lieut. Donn very obliging, told us all about things. Says no women have been showered since he has been there. He was ordered to shower two women, but refused & no more was said about it, but if they had insisted upon it he should have been obliged to it. —He said the "President wrote a letter about it. & I believe you stopped that."—How thankful I am to Lincoln and to Donn. Well "cast thy bread upon the waters & thou shalt find it after many days."—Col. W. never condescended to tell me that the Pres. Had ever noticed the affair.—I have more faith than ever in Abraham Lincoln.—

We then went to *[Transcriber's note: upper right corner has large ink stain obscuring parts of the first two lines]*.

showed us over the houses from *[Transcriber's note: obscured]* to the dead room in the cellar. I have never seen houses in any other place with so many conveniences as these have, all the modern improvements are contained in them, & Dr. S. makes them all available, and puts them to good use. Very few patients & none very sick.

Day very bright, & the view from the Observatory was grand indeed. We returned and went into the Contraband Hospital, by way of contrast. We had left glowing coal fires in

those elegant rooms, but in these was a stick or two of wood & a few coals, & in an upper room where there was an old rheumatic man there was no fire. —& yet this is a govt. hospital, & every thing can be had to make these sick people comfortable, but Dr. B. says “they don’t want anything but cornbread & pork” & “they are better off now then ever they were before.” A few days since they were out of wood & the women went around the Depot &

[Transcriber’s note: upper left corner has large ink stain obscuring parts of the first two lines]. ... burn. It is a burning *[Transcriber’s note: obscured]* Dr. B should treat these people so.—Dr. Pettington has been to the Smallpox Hos. at Claremont. Only 2 patients there. 20 persons there, nearly all well.—Mrs. *[Transcriber’s note: no name]* Called again. Intends to teach at Grantville. asked me what I thought of teaching drawing to these children. I did’nt tell her all I thought, but how absurd. She had better begin with oil painting at once.

Perhaps when I learn her name & become acquainted with her I shall appreciate her.

Oct. 30th. 1863

Looked so like rain that I did not go to W. but it has proved to be a pleasant day. Went to Home & to 68 Prince St. Ever so many calls; but no box yet.

This P.M. found an old woman in a miserable place, has rheumatism & must be brought to the hospital. Henelf[?] & daughter with 4 children escaped from Md. about 4 Mo. since. Daughter hired out \$6 a month.

Has paid a woman to keep her mother & two children, but a week ago the woman turned them out & now the Daughter has them all on her hands, & they are allowed to stay in an old room no better than a shed, had stove, but no fire, no window, but it is so open there is sufficient light. I got hung twice on the dark, ricketty stairs. A very narrow passage leads to the back premises, so narrow, that I do not know how we can bring the old woman out. The gutter is in this passage. These had all been slaves till 4 mo. ago just think of this poor old woman. Well, well. I hate slavery tonight more intensely than ever. In our hospital here is a young woman from Md. She was hired to a lady in W. & the lady came to Alex. with her & the girl thinks she is a slave yet, when I told her she was a slave no longer, she seemed incapable of taking in the idea. She looked bewildered. I must enlighten her.

Saturday, Oct. 31st. 1863.

Very fine P.M. but rainy A.M.

Went to market for mutton to make broth for sick in Hospital. How neglected they are. A new woman brought in today with a little child.

Mrs. Collier, the new Missionary woman called. This P.M. went to Home to sew with little girls.

Sunday, Nov. 1st.

Fine. Cool. Went to Colored Methodist Church. Heard white sermon. Large & respectable looking Congregation. Love feast this P.M. & a protracted meeting is to begin this evening.—

Company in the other house. Myra was ordered to stuff a shote, & prepare a good dinner. But the poor sick folks! “Cornbread & salt pork is good enough for them” (Dr P. tells they all have had a good dinner today.) Wish I could hear from home again.

Monday. Nov. 2^d.—

Very fine. Went to see about grate for stove at my room at Home. Can get none until they send to N.Y.—Went with Eliza Griggs to St. Pauls Ch. Hos. to get her pay, saw steward Chas. Piersons[?].

Went to Home & spent an hour. No particular news for today—

Tuesday Nov. 3^d

Very fine & warm—Went to see the old woman on P. St. Room so full of smoke I could stay in it but a few minutes. She was barefoot & her limbs pained her. A distressed looking object. She said they wd. not give her a shoe nor a stocking all winter, but she worked in the snow & wet. & they told her they meant to get all the work out of her they could before Uncle Sam got her; & if she stopped working they wd. tie her to a horse & drag her over the roughest ground there was. After escaping to Alex. her daughter hired two of her children & this old mother boarded. But it was a miserable place, she laid so low on

the ground that it was damp. She said she lay there like an old cow, & the better places in the house were given to others.

I hastened back to the hos. & asked Dr. B. if he had seen her, “No.” I said from Friday to Tuesday I have waited. He would go for her today. I said here is an Ambulance & if Mr. G. will let me take it I may go for her now? He said I might. I got some stockings & blankets & went. The driver said “that ambulance was not for Colored ladies but for white ladies. I told him that made no difference, but to drive on. In about half an hr. I had her here at the Hos.—

Then Miss. C Hancock of Phila. came from W. sent by Mrs. Breed. wishes to get a place as nurse in a hos.—I went with her to the Slave pen. & Soldiers’ Rest. In the slave prison there was but one woman & she was colored. She was lying on the floor crying, & said she was put in there wrongfully, & the seargent said the thought so too.

Dr. P. was there & he sent a request to the Pro. Mar. to have her released, & I think it was done, thanks to Dr. Pettijohn.—But few prisoners—

Then we went to the Barracks & saw Dr. Moore & wife (Phila Friends) who have been sent to learn the state of the Contrabands. They had seen Dr. B at the Hos. & were then talking with Mr. G.—They started out with Miss H. & myself & came to the room where

the table was set for dinner. They asked if that was the dining room for the col^d. people. I told them it was an extra occasion. There was to be a church organized & visitors, Ministers, & others had come over from W. & were to be treated to a dinner.

I am told that they Mr. G. had asked the people to bring in what they could today towards building new a Ch.— (I think it wrong to ask these people to do any such thing at present, for many of these people who are trying to build houses can't finish them, & they need clothing & bedding.)

Dr. Moore & wife looked into several rooms & asked the people how much rent they paid &c. One sick man said he paid rent, & Dr. P. said the man had been told he need not pay. The man said he had paid & could show his receipts. Then Mr. G. came up & said to these friends that “the surgeons & Mrs. W. had tried to kill him, but Miss. W. had killed herself, I was a meddling woman & the complaints against him had amounted to nothing, the he had triumphed and the Lord had been with him & Gen. S. had said if I meddled anymore he would have me arrested, & expelled from the city.” & much more to the same effect. He seemed very angry, although a reverend. I am sorry that it happened for it will be misunderstood & misrepresented, to my disadvantage, & there had nothing been done today nor said by to call forth any such tirade. After this I went to Slave pen with Rachel Moore, which I now regret doing, for she does not seem to understand things

very well, & her way of talking there may be objected to, & as she was with me I shall be blamed no doubt. I hurried her away for that reason.—

Then, as we had been invited we partook of the dinner, & then they left. Miss H & myself went to Man. House Hos. She visited some of the soldiers. & I had a talk with a rebel soldier, wounded at Bristow, belong to 2^d. S. Carolina. Regt.

Fine enough after we had got back.

Wednesday Nov. 4.

Was not satisfied with yesterday's work & it kept me awake a long time. Miss H. staid with me. If I only knew what is precisely right, I am ready to do it. Mr. G. should know that I gave no occasion for his abuse of me yesterday. Yet I hate to explain it to him for fear he will get mad again. If there was only anything of him! It is so much easier to get along with an intelligent person than with one like him.

Miss H. asked Dr. B. this morning if he does not want her services as matron of the hospital. He told her “His wife is to be matron, & he had made ample arrangements for the comfort of these people.”

I went to Home, & Miss. H. went to Wolfe St. Hos. Then to Pro. Mar's for pass. & then to 10 A.M. boat for W.—Met Miss Mann going to Alex, but I cd. not return very well with her, wd. like to be with her.—

Look into several shops for comb. Then went to Dr. B's—Dined there.
Dr. Moore & wife came & interview was more satisfactory than that of yesterday. He said "Julia, I believe everything thee says."—They will not report immediately to the Society.—
I called to see Mrs. Lake & to see Emma. I went to 5 o'clock boat, but it did not leave till half past; then they took a schooner in tow. & it was dark when I got back. I am plenty tired & must go supperless to bed.

Thursday Nov. 5th.

Very dusty, windy. Called on Mrs. Reeves. Went through our C. Hos. There has been no fire in the upper room yet. The man who shd. be there & attend to these sick ones has gone a fishing. If the room was a little warmed one old man with rheumatism might get up once in awhile. But he tried it once, he took cold & "has misery across here again."—
I try to keep quiet. Down in the office there is a cheerful, & sometimes a rousing fire all day. It seems to be necessary to the comfort of Dr. B. & Dr. P.— & Mrs. B. &c. But black folks are not affected by heat or cold, perhaps—

Friday Nov. 6.

Warm. bright. wind blew a gale all day. Went with Mrs. C. to Grantville & Pitt St.—

Saturday 7th—

High wind, very unpleasant to be out, so much dust. Trunk came from Rochester.—Went to Home & met girls in Sewing school.—201 wks. since Freda was taken from Grandpa's.—

Room. Cor. Washington & Wolfe. Alex. Va.

Sunday Nov. 8th. 1863.

Bright, windy. Have not been out only to my meals, & have seen nothing that has been going on. Fighting at Bealton Sta. 1850 Rebel prisoners brought in this P.M. evening. Have taken an inventory of the Rochester things, & sorted them over.—
Have written letters & had but a few interruptions. Prisoners & wounded taken to W.

Monday 9th. Quite cold.

Col. Louen[?] Pro. Mar. been superseded by Capt. Gwynn of Gen. Slough's staff.
No letter from home yet.

Tuesday 10th.

Very cold. The poor people look so cold & shivery. I have but little to give them. One room in our hos. has no fire yet.

Wednesday 11th. Letter from C. Post.

Coldy, windy. Went to Wharf to buy wood. Mr. G. will not allow me to use what the Gov^t. has brought here, but I think I have as much right to use it as

he has. He is a contemptibly mean man. Then with Miss Collier visited old furnace 11 rooms in it, & the old Mill, 7 rooms & attic. The people have partitioned off rooms themselves & fixed them up & now they have to pay rent to the Govt. of the U.S. of A. These ex-slaves that have been robbed all their lives long, one man 73 yrs. old, been free one month, & been cheated out of \$12 since he has been here. He pays rent & also a man subject to fits, who can work but little.—The attic is occupied by a woman and her family & she pays \$5 a mo.—If these rooms were comfortable it wd. alter the case, but they are open, have no chimneys & some no windows. It is actual barbarism although done by a Rev. who makes long prayers & pays tithes of mint &c.—Went through our Hos. No fire yet in upper room. 5 men in it. In the other rooms just an apology for a fire. The wood is locked up & Mrs. B. says the well ones need'nt expect to have fire. My soul is sick of these wrongs & outrages. I hardly know what is my duty in the case.

Thursday, 12th, Nov.

Very fine. Warm. Letter from Angeline, no particular war news, unless Sumter is taken.—

This A.M. went with Miss C. first, out towards Hunting Ck. Bridge, fine prospect of the otherside.—

Then went to Fort Rodgers, not finished, garrisoned by 1st. Wis. Battery. They are making it very nice. Tents very good, Mess house large & well kept, kitchen in good order. The cleanest kitchen I have seen in Alex.—This Fort is on Jones Point, or Ice House Hill. We went inside the magazine & examined its construction.

We saw the large gun just brought there, wt. nearly 50,000 lbs. carries ball weighing 440 lbs, is not mounted yet. A granite platform is being made for it. The Officer of the Day was very polite, indeed. I find soldiers generally so. Great improvements being made in this part of the city.—This Battery has fixed

Forts Ellsworth, Worth & Ethan Allen, & now when they fix this & make it nice & comfortable they [expect?] to be ordered elsewhere.—

Then we went to the “long house” near the wharf. has about 20 rooms & is rented for about \$375 a yr.—I think only 2 rooms have a chimney. In the others stove pipes go through the side of the house or the place where the windows should be. Some rooms have no windows. There are 2 stories & an attic & filled with smoke from top to bottom, roof leaks badly. The people were told the house was to be made comfortable, but nothing has been done only to put glass in some of the windows—These were the most filthy & wretched looking places I have seen lately. Dr. Moore & Rachel sh. have seen these. Susan Henry gave her opinion of Mr. G. “wants every body to come into his enclosurement, desires into things & won't do them himself. He has got a great something to carry fore God.” She is pious and has good ideas. “The bleaks of Eternity” was one of her expressions.

They told me Mr. G. intends to have a school in this house. Meetings are held in one room. Several sick in this house.—

This P.M. took long walk for lamp Chimney. Then to Maj. Silvey's but he was not at home. I have walked a great deal today. _____

Dr. Shaw returned yesterday. ___

Friday Nov. 3th

Very fine.—Went to No. 11 King St. but Maj. Silvey says there is no furniture at present for me. but if there is any comes in I shall have some.—I shall give it up now. If there is ever so much comes in I think there wd. be none for me. I think there is a quantity of furniture upstairs now. & I have no longer any faith in the Maj.—

Went to Home. No new arrivals lately. Went into Mr. Ax's school. It is improving. Went to Slave pen & into the prison & left some papers & tracts. but few prisoners, saw no Colored men in the pen.

Went to office of the Sanitary Commission wh. is within the stockades near depot. Obtained 4 pairs slippers, 2 socks, & 1 dos. handkerchiefs & gave them to the inmates of our Con. Hos.—

Numerous calls for clothing, & it has been a busy day. Then I went round to see old Fanny Robinson, & gave her some provision. She cannot work now.—

Letter from Cousin Phebe, she has sent her box & it will be here in few days I hope.

It is said the Union Army is at Culpepper C. House again. But they advance back slowly.—

Saturday, Nov. 14

Cleaned my room in A.M.—In P.M. met girls at sewing school, had a pleasant time. Box came from Phebe. Letter from Frances. She is full of trouble. How I pity her. I wish she could come here & work with me. It would be relief to her, occupy her mind, & help her to forget herself.

Alex. Sunday 15th.

Rain last night & this morning.

'Clared' away about 10. Five women baptized. It was right smart muddy & I did not go to see it.—have only been out to my meals. Have looked over Phebe's Box. Written some & did chores.—I have enjoyed the day. Have had but few interruptions.—

Benjamin & Eliza have remembered me in the way of apples & gingersnaps; all that is wanting now are the nuts & cider.—

Phebe deserves credit for her perseverance & success. Mrs. Jacobs did not come yesterday.—

Dr. P. tells me there will some change be made in the hospital very soon. He can endure Dr. B's mismanagement no longer. I had hoped Dr. Hines would make a change here before this.

Monday 16th. Spent most of the day in the clothing room.—

Tuesday 17th. Very fine, busy & interesting day. Up pretty early, went for trunk for Ann Jones. Bought lemons about as large a hen's egg for 5 cts. apiece. for the sick.—

Called for Miss Collier & went to Home. Called to see Maria Brown. She asked me "if I had a shawl I cd. sell for a dollar & she had prayed to the Lord to give her a shawl." When I told her I had brought her one & who had sent it seemed to her as if the Lord had answered her prayer. The tears rolled down her cheeks. & she said "tell her I thank her everything I have." She cd. not find words to express herself. It gave me as much pleasure as it did her. I wish Phebe cd. have been there to see.

Called at the school. It was in very good order. I think Mr. Ax. is doing well for it. Went to Slave pen to see girl low with consumption. Took her lemon & some dried peaches. Then went to Soldiers Rest. A large number of the 5th N.Y. Hawkins Zouaves are there & we saw them drilled. I was told that these were to be Provost? Guard of the city & the Penn. Reserves were to be sent away. Others said the Zouaves were to be sent to the front. What machines they are & know nothing until they receive orders.

75 of the Invalid Corps guard the S. Rest. I had a few tracts & they fairly grabbed them. They need reading very much. This will be a beautiful place when finished. The most pleasant feature of Alex.—

Called on Mrs. Reeves & spent a very pleasant hour. This chat with an intelligent white lady has been quite refreshing.

Nov. 18th.

Fine. Felt rather headachy today. Sat up last night & Read "Ruth Hall." If Mr. Willis is at all like Hyacinth Ellet how could Mrs. J. live in his family so long?

This A.M. with Miss C. went to Newtown & visited a doz. or 15 families. They were so interesting we didn't get around very fast & must go there again tomorrow. It is astonishing how well these people get along. Found a school there taught by Miss Annabel Davis, free born.—This P.M. Dr. & Mrs. Shaw called. Emma N. came from W.—

Letters from Mrs. Earle & Mrs. Coleman. Have had a great many interruptions.—

Alex. Nov. 19th. 1863.

Have seen & heard enough to think of a week. This A.M. went with Miss Collier & Mrs. Bigelow to Newtown. Visited a dozen or 15 families, some of them I had seen before. & stopped in my room at Home, but now have houses of their own. Others were strangers. Some very interesting people. One family nearly white inherit the blood of 3 races. White, Negro, & Indian. A double grandmother who was a gentleman's daughter, had a child whose father was a negro slave. This child was sent to live with the other slaves & married a half Indian & half white, & so on. Here is a phase of slavery wh. northerners can hardly credit, but it is a fact. This woman said this happened oftener in back years

than in late years. I meant to get the particulars of her history & present it. They were good looking children. She said her husband was quite dark, said she "we were always white."—

Daniel Reed & wife Kitty old[?] were hired to parson Walker of Christ Ch.—He preached 3 times

after the war broke out. He had Union principles & would'nt own a slave, but his wife was 'dead Secesh.' All gone to Richmond. Kitty belonged to Bushrod Taylor of Baltimore.

Lissie Suddenthold[?] free woman from Culpepper, sick & in great want.—Left considerable property there.—Must be helped.

Hardly any of these houses are finished. & an order has been given for all these people to build brick chimneys to their houses. They are very much pinched for money & don't know what to do.—

Met Mr. Arnold who invited me to call at his house, 228 Princess St.— we did so. He was born in Mobile, was bound to the father of Gen Scott, grew up with Gen. S. & was his body servant in the war of 1812, was at Lundy Lane & was wounded in hand, was in Mex. War. Was on Peninsula when M^cC's army was there, says M^cC. might have taken R. if he had wished to do so. Beauregard & M^cClellan stole chickens & he cooked them for them the night after they graduated at West Point.— He says Davis Beauregard & M^cClellan seem like his family. 7 mo. ago he talked with

Jeff, & made him cry. He was pressed into the service & sent from Mobile to take charge of the Alabama Hos. at Richmond. Gen. Scott's wife did'nt like him, because he would'nt tell her of the General's doings. Lieut. Wilkes & Maj. Derecoher[?] used to write letters to her, &c.

Mr. A. never drank liquor. Gen. Scott. drank his part as well as his own.—Was with "Stonewall" when his arm was amputated. Was in battle of Murfreesburgh.—Has traded in tobacco.—

M^cC. & Beauregard helped Jeff. D. steal his wife from Baltimore College. He was dissipated & Gen. Taylor did'nt want him for a son-in-law & didn't speak to him until after the Battle of Buena Vista.—Mr. A. spent 6 yrs. in Europe, 2 yrs. in Paris, speaks French. Gen. Heintzelman tells him he must have his life written.—He has prayed to see this day. & now he says he has taken land & rents it to these people for five years at \$18 a lot & the rent is not to be raised. The houses he builds to rent to them, & the rent is to remain the same for 5 yrs.—

But I must leave Mr. Arnold, and pay my respects to him some other time.

Then we went to the Government Bakery. It has 20 ovens, which bake 48000 loaves in a day. They use 500 bbls. flour & 80 bbls. yeast in a day—

About 2 P.M. Lucy Lawson came to tell me that the Corporal was turning everything out of my room & out of Mrs. Jacobs & putting them into another.—I went at once to Mr. G. ask if he knew this & told him I cd'nt have all the old women in my room. He said ~~he~~ ~~said~~ he should put them all there. I left him & have written to Gen. S. stating the case & asking him I may be allowed to retain a room as I have done. If there was ever a meaner man than Mr. G. I have yet to see him.—(Nov. 19. 1863)

Letter from Mary & Mary Julia. Mary is to start for Mich. next Monday with her children. She can't endure it any longer at home.—It is too, too bad.—_Mary Julia expects to come here with her mother this winter. I shall be glad to see them.—

Alex. Nov. 20th. 1863

¹⁷Warm & bright. This morning went to Home. Found my room full of Marylanders who came up in a wagon from below Mt. Vernon. Mrs. J's women & furniture were all in the next room & my traps seemed to be nowhere. This is a minister's doings, after which he came here to pray. The Corporal wd'nt let Lucinda come & tell me that they wanted us to move out. He said I need'nt know it. The room was wet when the old women, beds & all were put into it. It is not dry yet this morning. Such downright meanness as is embodied in Mr. G.! I asked him today if he knew the Provost Marshall gave me a room there. He said, "no, but there was a new Pro. Mar. now & he, Mr. G. had the control of things now, &c.—

This P.M. I received a line from Rollin C. Gale acting A. Gen. saying my letter had been referred to Mr. G. Supt. of C's .for his actions—This is like adding insult to injury. But I do not think Gen. S. has seen my letter, nor the one from the adjutant.

I have felt so tired that I have staid in my room part of the day & wrote letters. About 2 P.M. Mrs. Jacobs & her daughter came. I am glad she has come.

Nov. 21

Rained all day. I have only been out to my meals. Wrote some and worked very little.— This morning Mrs. J. with her daughter went to Gen. Slough & told him she had been turned out of her room at the barracks &c, He immediately sent for Mr. Gladwin. & then went to his breakfast. He got through & Mr. G. had not come yet. He sent an orderly for him, he came & Gen. S. asked him if he got his first message, "Yes, but he supposed he wanted him to bring the money." "You have no right to suppose anything when I send for you." "Why I could have wanted these two rooms for \$90." What business is it to you whether they rent for 10 cts. or \$90. I have told you not to press these people for rent, but that those who are able may pay a low price. You did'nt tell me what these rooms were used for. Mr. G. said the women interfered & slandered

¹⁷ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26004_001 to HC13-26004_117 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1863 to April 20th 1864.

him &c. Gen. S stopped him several times & threatened him with the Slave pen. He treated Mrs. J. respectfully. He said "she could have a room at the Barracks, but Miss Wilbur cd. have none." Miss W. had done some good but she had done harm. She told him that Mr. G. had a large share of this house & she wanted certain rooms, that I had but one small room & Gen. S. said to Mr. G. "I told you distinctly not to turn Miss Wilbur out of that room." (We think Mr. G. intended to turn us both out in a few days.) Mrs. J. told how he took possession of a room that I had cleaned, & we had put our beds in, etc. & about the bath room &c. Mr. G. said in the course of the talk that he had never received a cent for any goods & afterward owned he had received about \$40.—Gen. S. almost annihilated him.—& at last said where there was so much smoke there must be fire, he had been hearing these complaints a whole year. Mr. G. said if these women staid in the house he should resign. Gen S. I will

write your resignation. You have threatened to do it several times before. You don't frighten any one. There are others to be had to fill the place.—I have had the misfortune to offend Gen.S. & he means I shall feel his power. I am sorry for these people for my room has been of great use to them. There is now no place to have my sewing school. & I shall have to give it up. I wish Gen. S. knew just how things are, & I would give every one his due. But it is not likely these things will ever be explained to him, & I must always suffer from his version of affairs. Well, I don't think it will shorten my days at all; although it is not pleasant to suffer in the estimation of any one, & especially for Gen. S. to tell the Pres. & Sec. of War that I am a troublesome & meddlesome woman & I want to be Military Gov. here, &c.—
I have not seen Mr. G. today but they say he looks quite crestfallen.—

Sunday Nov. 22nd 1863

Fine. With Louisa went to meeting to the Home. Mr. Robinson preached. This P.M. wrote letters &c. This evening went with Mrs. J. & Louisa to meeting at Barracks. Ever so many new people in what was my room & some of them had nothing to eat since yesterday. But what of that! "There is a precious revival" in the next room & the Superintendent must attend to that for it is a good time to get money from the people to build the church; at the close Mr. G. said he had been requested to take up a collection every Sunday evening. They have \$340 now. They want a thousand & the ground is ready to build &c. If these people were not so ignorant I sh. be disgusted with them, as much as they need clothing & bedding. Before the meeting he said they wd. open an evening school tomorrow. Prof. Ax from Phila. would teach adults at 20 cents a week in advance.—Then Mr. Robinson preached a sermon full of the vengeance of God, of death

of hell & damnation. Followed by Mr. Parker who also was full of vengeance & told how a young lady in B. wd. not come forward for prayers & in 2 days she was taken sick &

died; Then Mr. G. told about his Block Island Church & the people he baptized in a lake of 1000 acres & there had not been any deaths among them the past week, but there may be six this week.

It is dreadful to see people who ought to know better, try to play upon the fears of these ignorant negroes, & impose upon their credulity to such an extent. Mr. G. with his sanctimonious speech & long face! I cannot away with it. My soul abhors such cant, such hypocrisy. They have had one convert, & Mr. G. asked brother Roy to tell what the Lord had done for him. Brother Roy rose & said that he felt bad & the more he prayed the worse he felt, he felt as if the whole world was on him. He felt as if he was round as an apple. I felt as if I was big as the world, & then I was made as little as a pin. I came to meeting &

felt as if I was [bust?] out. Went home & went to bed but could'nt sleep. longest night I ever knew. I rolled & tumbled & I sat up. Then I went to sleep & there was a man come to me & slapped me on my shoulder, so (suiting[?] the action to the word by striking the man next to him.) & he slapped me again & said, wait six months then there will be time enough. It seemed when he said this that a light flashed all over me; & the man went away & as he went, he went squealing. I thought I had love when I married my wife, but that love was nothing to this, I want to hold all the world in my arms," & so on until Mr. G. & Mr. P. told him he had said enough. 10 persons rose for prayers, & when those persons left who chose, these were to come forward to be prayed for. & we left them in that state.—And those poor people think this is religion!

Monday Nov. 23^d

A busy day again, been away nearly all day with Miss C. this A.M. went to Newtown. Made ever so many calls. Named a baby Julia W. Stanley. Gave it socks & promised it a new frock.

I have seen & heard that today wh. made my heart ache. One woman Julia Ripen[?] has 4 children, husband been dead 4 yrs. & has babe one wk. old. In a very open room, no windows, I talked with her as well as I could. She didn't seem to realize that she had done very wrong. & when I knew that she had been more sinned against than sinning, I cd. not censure severely.—The wrongs of these people will never be written. We called at Mr. Arnold's. saw his wife & talked with her mother Ann Ware 73 yrs. old, she had a bible in wh. was her family record. She came from Md. 9 mo ago, to live with this daughter, she had 4 other daughters who were sold, 2 had several children taken to Miss. & Mo. The tears streamed down her face, she felt so when she told how she had been treated. Slave until just before the war. I said to Miss. C. now multiply this by 100,000 by 1,000,000! She said "Miss don't drive me insane." —I can hardly endure the thoughts of these things. I try to keep them out of my mind, But Oh! Dear,

Mrs. Arnold told us about her being sold & also her 2 chil., her Master's brotherinlaw bought them. She fetched 600 her son 12 yrs. old 780. her girl 3 ½ yrs. 250. & in an hour or so a Geo. Trader came up & offered Mr. Creighton \$400.—Mrs. A. has always had good masters, but she has seen others suffer.

Called at the place where "Aunt Whence I came" lives with her son & family. I didn't know she was in & I asked if Aunt Kitty Lucas was there. I asked She is deranged isn't she? She flew into the room. I deranged? No, & then she went on in the most singular talk. I can't remember much of it. She doesn't answer to the name of Kitty. She said that name has been thrown into the sea of forgetfulness. She is Jesus Christ, she came from her father in 1856, he gave her all these soldiers, he willed them, she has mortgages on them, she is administrator of death hell & the grave, when I call death will come, & I'll take them out of gun shot of the devil where chilling winds & poisonous breath will never hurt ever more. The world is all tore up. There's nary thing fixed. She must kill the nits. The city is full of Copperhead

nits. The Pro. Mar. is none of hers. Jesus Christ wont have him.—I think the soldiers never molest her. She has found some of her children among the Zouaves at the Soldiers Rest, that she knew 2 yrs. ago. If I could take it down as she tells it! But she speaks so rapidly.—

This P.M. went to Mary Chase's school, colored, 40 pupils. She began her school 2 wks after the Union troops took possession of Alex. Dist. of C. ceded back to Va. In 1846. Since then no colored schools, not even Sabbath Schools until the war broke out.—Went to Home & brought some of my things away. Called in Mr. Ax's School.—Aunt Kitty Jennings tells me a hard story about Mr. Gladwin.—Named another baby. Julia Weems. Came back very tired & meant to rest, but there was a wedding at the Home Chapel & Mrs. J., Louisa & I went. Dinah Barry's daughter was married by Mr. G.—White dress, low neck, short sleeves, white wreath on her head. We went to the house & partook of the cake & persimmon beer.

Table set very nice, 4 kinds cake.

Came back in rain.

Tuesday 24th.

Repair various things. Made a bonnet. Talked with Aunt Nancy in Hos. & went to Prince St. to see her daughter Bell Perry, who has a hard time to live. So much misery that I cannot relieve.

Wednesday Nov. 25th cold raw.

With Miss C. & Louisa to Fishtown & explored every old tenement where the colored folks live. Some of the old places have been burnt or torn away & I am glad of it. Some wretched places are left yet & most of the occupants say they mean to build new houses

as soon as they can. I have seen no such destitution today as existed last fall, although they pay high rents.

Susan Gaines, 4 chil. 2 have been sick, went several times for Dr. Bigelow but cd not get him. Employed Dr. Porter & have just paid him \$6,00, too bad! pay \$3 mo. rent, & pay water too.—Near the Qr. Masters is a cluster of the smallest cabins that I have seen. & a few pretty comfortable shanties. This place we named Summerville & named one baby Victoria.

Went to Grantville, called on Mr. Grant, the founder of the village & a few others. In P.M., went to find Aunt Fanny Robinson to give her something for Thanksgiving. She is infirm & very needy. Then went to Newtown

to sick woman. I hoped Mr. G. wd. see that she had rations, but he has not. I gave her some provisions. Another very poor woman with her today. I bought an old china (Betty Field) saucer of one and a (Lucy Madden) plate of the other.—

Went to Home, & to Mr. Ax's writing school. Lucinda washed for me today & this has made me extra work. I have settled with her. She has had charge of my room from the first until I was turned out of it. She is a smart woman. Shrewd, but honest, from Culpepper, has now rented a small house at \$10 a month.—I have had a hard day's work. Am very, very tired tonight.

Great preparations are being made for Thanksgiving.—Rochester Box came.

Alexandria Va. Nov. 26

Thanksgiving on the [?] Soil!

A glorious day in more senses than one. Perfectly cloudless, & calm. Last year the ground was frozen, not so now. A fine day for outdoor ceremony.—

Ironed this morning; could'nt very well comply with Gen Slough's recommendation & abstain from business. Then went to M.E. Church & heard Gov Pierpont, Gen. Briggs, Capt [Transcribers note: left blank]; S.F. Beach & [Transcribers note: left blank]. Gov. P. is a fine looking, elderly man, & a good speaker. I only heard his closing remarks, wh. had referred to the religious aspect of the cause.

Gen. Briggs, son of Ex-Gov. B. of Mass. I think, & a cousin of Mr. Whipple, is not a very good speaker. I expected more of a Mass. man, both as to manner & quality. So careful not to say anything to offend secesh.

Capt. [Transcribers note: left blank] had a chaplain's account of his treatment & that of others in Castle Thunder & Libby prison. Made a few very good remarks & a collection was taken up in aid of Union Prisoners at Richmond.—Jeff & his minions refuse to receive anything from Government, but allow our prisoners to receive it from the sanitary Commission & Rebel Societies.

S. Ferguson Beach Esq. of Alex, was the next speaker & he did'nt seem to have any fear of the chivalry before his eyes. He was glad the Tribune and the Liberator could be read here & thinks this war will not only emancipate the slave but also all the whites; for none but the leaders at the South cd. read or say whatever they chose. Even in Alex. only 2 men dared to vote for Lincoln & they had to leave the city next morning.

A person had to believe in the Divinity of Slavery before he could be trusted with an office either within State or church. But this state of things has passed never to return, & more to the same effect. Then [*Transcriber note: left blank*] made some remarks, very good, & there was singing too.—

At the Prot. M. House. Gen. Slough & Capt. Wyman & Col. Wells were to speak. I would liked to have heard all these, but could not be in two places at once.—
Dined with Mr. Augur's family at W. House. I usually take my meals alone. Had very good dinner. Roast turkey & Chicken pie &c.

Unpacked Rochester Box. Letter from Mrs. Barnes.—Then went to laying of Corner Stone of Bethel Church.—

The Colored Masons of Universal Lodge No. 2 established 1845 came in procession & in regalia & layed the Cor. Stone. I stood where I cd. not see how it was done, but it was followed by a panegyrie on Masonry by Rev. Robinson, wh. I think was very much out of place. Sorry to see the col^d people imitate the foolishness of the whites. Rev. Shuby called for a collection wh. was taken up. Then Geo. Downing, N.Y. made some very good remarks. He had come from W. with several others. I think there were 2000 people present mostly colored; & good looking people too.— It was a grand time for them. & the day was perfect—

Friday 27th. Cleaned my room & did chores. Worked in clothing room. Letters from Ann Haines, Buffalo who has sent barrels. And from A.B. Earle Worcester, who has sent barrels, & from Mrs. Tracy White Pigeon.

Saturday. Nov. 28th, 1863

Rainy all day. Have only been to my meals & to P.O. Letters from Cousin Phebe & Mrs. Cox of Phila.—Made a velvet bonnet, &c.

Went through the hospital. In two highest rooms there is no fire & has been none yet, two died & were carried out yesterday, & made room below for others. Uncle John who has lain up there nearly 2 mo. made his way down yesterday, & refused to go back, so he is now in a room where there is a fire, says he feels better.

In one of these upper rooms is a boy. Has been here 4 weeks. Is able to get up but cd. not do so as he had no clothes. He came from Conn. 5 mo. ago & with a regiment from N.Y. ran away, but has got enough of it now. He came in from the Regts sick. He has a mother in Cold Spring, Conn. & he wants to go back. poor fellow how he cries, in the cold, all alone, Well Mrs. J. got a shirt & coat for him & got a vest & pants for him. & we told him when he got dressed to go down where there is a fire. The poor boy! His name is Christopher Miller—

Sunday Nov. 29th

¹⁸Been out only to my meals, cold, raw, blue day. I feel lonely & dispirited.—Went into hospital, white woman there; something about her not quite right.—Christopher was dressed & sitting in the women's room by the fire. He seemed quite happy.—

Monday Nov. 30. Coldest day yet. When I came from breakfast, the men who occupy the room when there is no fire, had come down & were standing outside the house in the sun, to get all the warmth they could. I told them to go into a room where there was a fire & stay there. How can Dr. B. go around & hold his head up! Went for wood & for oil. Then with Miss C. went to Newtown, found Lucy Madden with one stick of wood on the fire, & could get no more till night. Mr. G. has got no rations for her yet. Went to Annabell Davis's school. Saw Ellen Thomas, a young woman who has

been beaten & burnt by her master & mistress until she is scarred from head to foot. She went to Leesburg jail for protection, her child was cruelly treated too. Oh! dear, how long!

In P.M. with Louisa & Virginia went to house on corner of Duke & Water St. then to Long house & old mill & old furnace. Most of the rooms were filled with smoke so that we cd. stay in them but a few minutes. Some without windows were so dark that we cd. hardly see the inmates. A few were comparatively comfortable, & yet Mr. G. dares to ask rent for these comfortless places in the name of the Gov.! The old mill rents for \$276 a year, after the people have made rooms themselves in it!

If the Pres. or Sec. Stanton, or even Gen. Slough knew what places these people pay rent for, I am sure they would object to it in toto.

Named Sophia Fairfax' baby Mary Julia. One of Mr. G.'s seven schools is in the Long house. It is a shame for him to impose upon these people & make them think this is really a school

No words of mine can convey any idea of this school, so I shall not attempt it. The person placed over these children is a very low type of humanity, exceedingly repulsive in appearance, & using coarse words & a leather strap to enforce his authority.

December 1st, 1863

Bright, very cold. Went early to Hayti to find Sally Norris. She came from Culpepper 10 days ago, husband 4 chil., 2 sick. Mary Asher, widow & 5 chil; both need help, But they are afraid to ask for it, have been told they will be sent away if they do.

Then went to Mr. R. to know if Lucy Madden cd. draw rations. He referred me to the Pro. Mar. Capt. Gwynn. The first time I have seen him. He referred me to Mr. Gladwn. Must have a recommend from him.—I went straight to his room, a prayer meeting in it, but I

¹⁸ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26004_018 to HC13-26004_093 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1863 to April 20th 1864.

didn't wait for the long prayers to be ended when people had waited 10 days for Mr. G. to attend to them. I called him out, & told him, if the woman had to wait a single day longer it wd. be his fault, for she cd. have

rations as soon as he said so. He saw I was in earnest. He made ever so many objections in his higgling way, but I went to Newtown & sent a person for an order & finally the thing was done. But he wd. have been glad to keep her from having rations. In one house are 4 sick persons, needing help very much. Oh! dear. Last night there was a great deal of suffering. It was very cold. The barracks are very open. Many of the people are out of coal & wood. Mr. Ax wd. not teach today because there is no wood. Aunt Lucy said "Last night they were singing & praying in the meeting room & folks were shivering outside." A religion that lets the body freeze & starve while its whole aim is to save the soul, is a kind that I cannot approve. I do not regard it as the Christian religion. I have hardly had my bonnet off today, have worked in clothing room some, & am very tired. — It is 195 weeks since I have seen my darling Freda. Oh, if I cd. hear all about her, & the folks at home too!

Dec. 2^d. Bright, mild.

Picked buds from the rosebushes in our yard. This P.M. with Miss C. went to Slave pen. Two thirds of the men in the prison are Zouaves 5th N.Y. They presented a gay scene, & a singular one too — I left some books of various kinds, & talked a little with them, & went to the rooms where the women are imprisoned. Then were 3 col^d. women that I know, & they seemed feel very badly. Julia Slaughter, put in for 10 da. for selling whiskey; has 2 grown up daughters, who had brought her bedding & food. — I was surprised to see her there. The other two, Fanny Fitzhugh & Malinda Cleggett put in for 10 da. by Rev. Albert Gladwin, time out, but he had not come to release them. They are young girls & I cd. not learn that they had done anything worthy of being sent there. How can he dare to pray while these 2 girls are in prison? The contemptible hypocrite. Robt. Hamilton of the Anglo African, writes thus of a visit he made here in Oct.

"The Rev. Mr. G. was very kind to us & took a great deal of trouble to show us his books & also his

Commission from Govt., wh. gave him full police charge of all the freedmen in Alex. He also conducted us through the school & quarters but notwithstanding all this a very disagreeable suspicion hung about us that all was not right. We had heard & have since heard many disagreeable things about his management, & seeing, by his Commission that he had unlimited power as a magistrate, & also that a portion of his salary, wh. is \$1200 per an. comes out of the rent which the freedmen pay, we could not help thinking that the magistrate might be induced at some time to turn the screws on the tenants for the benefit of the landlord." If Mr. H. is not mistaken, the extortion of Mr. G. is easily accounted for,

No col^d. men were in the prison. The women's rooms have been made as comfortable as we can expect a prison to be made. Thanks to Lieut. Donn.— Went to Soldier's Rest. & left some books for the Guard. Met Mrs. J. there, & we made 2 calls. Then I went to 68 Prince St, then to supper. It is clear & bright.

This evening have been to Barracks to hear Rev. J. W. Hunnicut of Fredericksburg. Prayer meeting first, & last. the latter we did'nt stay for. — How these people are afflicted!

Alex. Dec. 3^d. Thursday, 1863.

One of the glorious days of my life! Bright & warm. On Va. soil! on Gen. Lee's estate! At the Freedman's Village, in a School house for the negros! were assembled Government officials of all grades, wise senators, eminent divines, to dedicate the S. House & the Providence Home for the niggers. I rejoice that Gen. Heintzelman was there to see the sight, to hear those true & earnest words for freedom to all, & for equal rights & privileges for the despised negro, & I am glad that Gen. Slough and his pro-slavery officials were there. I wish all the world could have seen & heard it. 30 little negro children sung such pieces as "The Dear old Flag" "We're coming father Abraham &c." "Marching Along" "The Stars & Stripes". People were out in their best clothes today. There were many elegant ladies, & splendid looking men, & well dressed contrabands.

Went to Washington on 9 A.M. boat, then to B. depot, but cd. learn nothing of the barrels from Buffalo.— Called at Mrs. Lakes, then bought 2 pictures "Quaker gun at Centerville & Negro Family on Rhett's plantation, Beaufort, S.C." Called at Judge Day's Office, who invited me to go in Ambulance to Arlington. Called at his house before going. Delightful ride by way of Georgetown & Aqueduct Bridge. Near the old camp, but on the Heights buildings have been erected for 56 families, (there are some living in tents too) & a good house for the Sup^t. — The Am. Tract Soc. have received funds from northern people, & have built a School House & Chapel. Will seat 500. "The Providence Home for the Aged & Infirm", so called because a few persons in P.-R. Isl, gave \$1000 towards it. — The Am. T. Soc. control the religious & educational work among the F —men. Col (Lieut.) E. Greene has charge of other affairs, & Mr. Nichols is Sup^t. — There are 1040 contrabands there, & they will probably all be removed from W. soon, hospitals & all.

The location at Greene Heights is good unless there is too much of the fever & ague. The S. House has a bell. To day it was trimmed with evergreens & festooned with flags, & looked very beautiful. 30 chil. from Camp Barker W. did the singing. The speakers were L.E. Chittenden of the Treas. Dept., Hon. Briggs, Hon. D.W. Gooch, & Ben Perley Poore Bos. Journal. Mr. L.B. Rockwood Sec. of the Soc. & Nichols gave brief statements of the situation past & present. The speeches were just what they should be on such an occasion. I was delighted. It was glorious. Met Mrs. Jacobs & Miss Collier & the girls

there & rode back to Alex. with them. To go out and see a little of the world after being in Alex. 2 mo. is very refreshing. —This has done me much good. Mrs. J. has had an experience to day with Mr. Gladwin & the Pro. Marshal, Capt. Gwynne, who told her “if we had any more squabbles with Mr. G. he wd. clear us all out.” He is “one of ‘em”. I’m sure such a state of things cannot last long. There must be a change. —

Friday 4th.

Worked in clothing room &c. Went to see Julia Slaughter, who has just been released from Slave Pen, & to Long House to see about the two girls. Am told they are very low. We hear that Meade is retreating.

Saturday Dec. 5th.

One of the busiest days of my life, great many calls. In the P.M. sewing School in my room, but must give it up. Not convenient to have it here. Am sorry to do so for the girls enjoy it.

Dea. Webster has made me a table out of a box, & is to make a back for me for one of my 2 chairs, & then the Maj. may keep his secesh furniture, or the quartermasters & their clerks may have it, as \$640,000 of the Govt. money is not enough for their use. Last night 500 wounded soldiers were brought into the hospitals here. I have been so busy I could not go with Miss C. to see them. I am completely used up to night.

A gentleman of the Sanitary Commission has been here to make inquiries. Thinks we cd. get some things Contrabands.

Monday evening Dec. 7th.

Yesterday did not sit up any & but very little today. My Saturday’s work was too much. I ran up and down stairs too much; then the clothing room was cold. I have had fever & cold chills, & now I have neuralgic pains in my head, & rheumatic in my right arm & hand, & shooting pain in all my limbs. I mean to be better tomorrow. —Sleepless nights in such a place as this are terrible. All the exciting scenes & disagreeable & loathsome sights come up at such times. Then every day the sad, solemn of the passing funeral! I pity the poor soldiers who lie here in the hospitals, & yet I might better spare it for those who in some other places & on the field cannot get such comforts as they do here. —

Meade falling back! What a shame! An advance of a few miles, the loss of perhaps 2000 men in killed, wounded & prisoners & now he is where he was a few weeks ago. Such a reckless waste of life! If this Potomac army could be composed wholly of officers, it would be a good riddance when they are killed off in making these false movements, but the Army is composed of some of the best men in the country & such a waste of precious life is shameful.

The news from Tennessee is favorable, but not sufficient, it seems to me, in warranting the President to recommend a day of Thanksgiving because the rebs are retreating, better wait till these have retreated so far that there is no danger of them coming back for a week at least. I fear he the Pres. has done this under the influence of the Varioloid. Boxes from Buffalo do not come yet. Nor those from Worcester. Hope I shall not have to go to Baltimore.

Tuesday Evening, 8th, Dec.

Have not been out yet, but I feel some better. Frost fell this morning, & the trees looked beautifully. It was like the freezing of a thick fog.

The Young America undertook to make a trip & ran into one of the Russian Vessels.

Aunt Lucy comes & does a little for me every day, she says "I am bound to stay by you, Miss Wilbur." She has brought me some of her preserved peaches & pars.

Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa are very good to me, & have seen that I have every thing that I need. Mrs. J. is a natural nurse, & I seldom meet a stranger that I like so well as Louisa. For 3 days had seen no news but the Journal. This eve. I have read the Chronicle, about the opening of Congress & the proceedings of the first session of the 38th. —Every thing looks favorable. The President's sickness may delay the message.—

Gen. Grant has taken since the war

began 474 cannon & 90,000 prisoners. He is called the cannon-taker. How I would like to see the N.Y. Trib.—

There has been great excitement here for a few days past, caused by the arrests of Capt. C.B. Ferguson A.Q.M. U.S.A. & Capt. Stoddard A.Q.M. Vols. & clerks, Roland & Cary. They are in prison now in W.— Capt. F. is a defaulter to the am^t. of \$640,000, said to live at the rate of 1000 a mo. & wears a diamond ring valued at \$1000, & so on. 12 elegant horses for his own use. I only hope they will all get their deserts & that all the rogues will be ferretted out. Perhaps we shall find out where the money has gone which has been withheld from the Contrabands. It has been said that Richmond is no viler place than Alex. Of course, I do not know whether this is true. But I know that this is a vile place. It seems that it had this name before the war broke out, & it has not improved much since in some respects.

Wednesday Dec. 9.

Feel much better, & have been to W. House for my dinner.

F. Douglass is in W. has lectured twice there. This A.M. went to see some of the sick in the Hos.—This evening about dusk as I was coming from tea, I saw old Aunt Nancy Carroll standing by the fence. I told her she should not come down at such an hour, & it was damp too. She said "There had been no fire in their room since morning, & she was as comfortable where she came from as she had been here in the hospital," all of wh. is

too true. I am ashamed to go in see them often. About 7 this evening 2 men were brought here, one was shot in the hip on the 27th Nov. by the guerrillas who attacked a mule wagon train near Brandy Station. wound has had nothing done for it only what he has done himself, & it now emits a bad stench. The other man could not sit up, so sick. They were sent to Mr. G. who told the Corporal to go down & see who they were, & he had them go from our kitchen round into the Hall of the Hos.

& left them there in the dark & cold & asked Peter W. if he was ready to go to meeting & then went off. No doctor in the house, & no man in the Hos. to do any work. —Mrs. Jacobs stumbled over them, had them take into the kitchen, no fire there, to wait for doctor. I was them a half an hour before Dr. P. came. I left then but I fear but little will be done for them tonight.—

Phebe Ann Turner a woman who does the washing for the Hos. does it out of doors in this weather! If she keeps on she will be sick. Ann Jones the principal, or only woman's nurse has been sick several days but she is doing some cooking because Myra, the cook, has worked herself down sick. The man that is hired regularly spends a large share of the time at Dr. B.'s office, waiting on him instead of the sick people as he should do. How [?] can I remedy it? What can I do. I begin to feel ashamed that I belong to the white race. I fear I shall make Dr. P. angry with me yet. It seems to me he might do more than he does.

Went into room to where Patsey & Aunt Nancy are. They were in bed. “said they were so comfortable then. Patsey's boy had brought an armful of dry wood that he had picked up somewhere & made a fire this evening.”—& this is a government Hos.! & Dr. Bigelow is the Surgeon in charge! Things seem to be growing worse & worse every day.—

Thursday Dec. 10. Another such a day! This morning went in to Hos. & it has never looked worse. It makes my heart sick. One poor boy shivering with cold & crying in the room without a fire.

About noon Dr. B. came in with Mr. Latham & J. Thomas & Congdon, the Com —sent on to see how things are. —Dr. B. had showed them Grantville, but said never a word of the speculation he is engaged in there. I went into the Hos. with these gentlemen. They are indignant at what they saw. Mr. L. feels that they must have stoves in these rooms before night. The new hospital is nearly done, they say.

Miss C. here, said she was at Dr. B.'s meeting last evening, & I asked her not to speak of it, or I sh. do something desperate. Preaching & praying while the people that the Govt. pays him to care for are dying (through his neglect) of cold & want of nourishing food.—

I have been very glad to see Amy Post. & B. Fish from Rochester, & Mrs. Willetts & daughter, the latter from Camp Barker. Could stay but a few hours. Mrs. J. & I went with them to the Long House & to the school, & to the old mill. They all climbed

the old ladder & the stairs, & were indignant that rent sh. be paid for these places to the U. S. Government.

Before we left, Mr. G. happened to come. they talked with him & of course he was angry & called us (Mrs. J & I) meddlers.—I dare say I shall suffer for this in some way. He will probably complain of me, & the authorities make notice it. —Well, we shall see, what we shall see. This evening the Com. of Friends have had a talk with him. We shall know more tomorrow

than we do now, if we live till then. I will take a powder & try to sleep tonight.

Dec. 11th, evening.

Cold & cloudy. Box from Coxsackie came last evening, & also 3 bbls. & box from Worcester. I have opened them & attended to a great many people & am very tired tonight. The N. Y. Com. have gone. They have learned a great deal today. I excused myself this morning because Mr. G. was going. I sent Mrs. J. in my place. I thought on the whole it wd. be better for me to stay. They have examined the old mill, Long House & Furnace, much to the discomfiture of his Reverence, who had ordered them to be cleaned early this morning. But the Com. see through his hypocrisy, & are indignant that people sh. Pay rent to the U. S. for such rooms.—Mr. G. must be quite crestfallen after two such days' experiences. I wonder if he thinks "the Lord is good" now? Mr. Latham cd. not leave without buying a stove for the Hos. They were to go & see Gen. Slough after leaving here.

Dec. 12th. Saturday, 1863

One of the busiest days. Not one minute's rest. This morning I cleaned my room. Then I waited on the people in the clothing room till dark, a great rush today. Since dark I have regulated & swept the C. Room & unpacked small box of delicacies for sick from old lady in Worcester, & also 2 bbls. From Buffalo wh. came today. I feared I sh. be obliged to go to Baltimore for these, & am glad they have come.

This evening I have posted accounts. It is now 10 P.M. & I am too tired to go to bed or to sleep.—Louisa & Virginia are both sick today. Man buried from Hos. this P.M. Corporal sick too. I think he must have risen too early yesterday morning to notify the people that they must have every thing in order before the Quaker Com. went round to see. Mrs. J. has spoken very unkindly to me. I can hardly think she knew what she was saying. I am very sorry she has done so.

Alex. Sunday Dec. 13, 1863.

Rain this morning, but it has clarred off & it is like summer. Regulated my own room & cleaned up generally, & worked some in clothing room. Feel better but not entirely rested.—

Monday, 14.

One of the busy days. Waited on people from morning till night & gave out 119 pieces. I am so tired I can't even write a letter. I must take it easier.—

Tuesday, 15

Did various chores, went to Barracks & to Mr. Ax's school. Then to the old brick house in Cattle yard where several colored families live. Wrote two letters this evening.

Wednesday 16.

Went to W. on 10 A.M. boat. Called on Judge Day, then went to Capitol, very uncomfortable & unsatisfactory, cd.n't make out what they were doing, adjourned at 2 1 P.M. Then I went into House, wh. adjourned at 2 P.M.

Then went to Camp Barker, visited the Hos. Saw Miss Hancock, Miss Willetts & Miss Nichols.—Then to Judge Day's for the night. Had pleasant visit.

Thursday 17th.

Heavy rain till 2 P.M. then it stopped & I went to Dr. Breed's, had good visit, but could not think of starting for home.

Friday 18th.

Cloudy, warm. Called on Mrs. Markham. Went back to the Dr's & then Miss M. Robinson went with me to the Capitol. Sat in senate about 2 hrs. when it went into Ex. session & the galleries were cleared. I enjoyed this visit for I understood what they were doing. There was a debate upon a Resolution requiring all Senators to take an oath of Allegiance. Saulsbury & Powell & McDougal &c. opposed it. Trumbull, Summer &c. spoke at considerable length in favor, of course.

We went to the House but that had adjourned & then into the Library. I left on 4 P.M. boat.

I got back to my room about dusk. It looks more uncomfortable here than ever, now that I have been away 2 or 3 days, & stopped in comfortable houses, & had good bed to sleep on.—Letter from Frances wh. has made me very uncomfortable. Oh, dear, what a sad state of things.—

Saturday Dec. 19th.

Very cold, & I have no comfortable abiding place. Yet I might be worse off, & probably shall be if I live long enough. No pleasant news from home. I look forward to no comfort there.—I cannot help feeling troubled.—Every thing here seems changed. What has come over me? Will I lose my interest in things here? If I cd. have any social advantages, any sympathizing friends in this City, I might possibly keep up my spirits & courage. But I am lonesome. I long for human companionship. No congenial spirits here. I am growing hard, & cold & misanthropic.

Alex. Sunday Dec. 20th.

Very cold. Have only been out to my meals. Hard work to keep warm in my room even. How the poor will suffer. Have cleaned up & written some.

Monday 21.

I spent most of day in clothing Room. Two new families came in last Friday & are very destitute.

I met at Mr. Augur's this morning two young women (poor white trash I suppose) who came in last evening from 10 mi. beyond Culpepper C.H.—They had never been from home before. & never saw the cars before, very hard times there. Nothing raised, & wood has to be toted so far. Does'nt look like war time here, wish to send for rest of their folks. Moseby's guerrillas all about there, our Cavalry at C.C. House. They asked about my dress as soon as they saw me. & one had on Calico dress she paid \$30 for 2 yrs. ago. They asked if there was any Calico here.

The both got places to work to day in families that do not like colored servants. I think they'll have a good time of it with these unsophisticated specimens.

Tuesday 22^d.

Lucinda did my washing today, & towards night I had to bring the frozen clothes all into my room, nearly out of wood & cannot have much fire. Not remarkably pleasant here just now. This P.M. went to Home. All complaining for want of fuel, through Mr. G's neglect I suppose.—Called on Mrs. Crouch. New Hospital nearly finished.

Went to Wolfe St. Hos. with Louisa & Virginia to find some of the 151st. N.Y. who were wounded at Mile Run. 2 there from Clarendon. Only saw Mr. Gillespie. He says he could not be so well cared for at home. His cot is in the bow window of one of those elegant parlors. He says they tell what they would like to eat & they have it, he was shot in knee is doing well.

I cd. nt see the other man without the Dr's permission, & the Dr. was not there. Frances knows their friends in Clarendon & she wished me to find them. I must go again. It was 8 days after they were wounded before they were brought here, & had no chance to wash even their face & hands in that time Mr. G. said, "after he was washed & put in that clean bed, in that beautiful room, it seemed as if he was in paradise."

A young Georgian in that room, with leg amputated, but he appeared as happy as could be, & as gay as a lark, said he had the best of care, his mind had changed some. If he were well again he wd. not fight on either side, he had nothing against any northern man, but fought because he had to do so, or be shot himself.—

A large number of those brought in on the 4th. of Dec. were badly wounded, & many have died.

This evening went to Mr. Ax's Concert, but it is put off till Friday. Musicians did'nt all come.

Wednesday 23^d.

Wood scarce, but I had the barrels split up & I have kept fire agoing & have done my ironing. This P.M. went to Ex. Office & other places. Called at Hos. but Dr. was not in. Went to Christ Church & got some ivy for Frances. Very cold indeed this P.M. I have borrowed some wood & this eve I have a nice fire, & have been writing.

Thursday, 24. Very cold.

Christmas Eve! & where & how are all my folks? Letter from Frances today. containing a Scotch Stamp Box for Christmas present. Mrs. J. had letter from Cousin P. inquiring about me, as she has got no letters from me lately. She manifests more interest in me than any other friend I have. She is very kind & good. Been in Clothing room part of time. This A.M. went to Wolfe St. Hos. & saw John Wetherbee 151st of Clarendon. Leg amputated, but doing well. 8 days after the fight before he got here.

& suffered very much in the mean time.—A Delaware man in same room. very low, shot in leg; had piece of bone taken out. I think he will die.

Worked in clothing Room some. About 2 P.M. Cousin David Wing came. I went with him to Christ Church, then to Mansion House Hos. D's first visit to Hos. saw J. Caldwell 151st N.Y. of Middleport, who was wounded at Mile Run also, can walk now. A great many from the hospitals have gone home on furloughs.

Then went to Fort Rodgers at Jones Pt. & saw the 400 pounder & a 200 pounder. D. was interested in all this. Then went to the Old Mill & the Long House to show him how Contraband's live. Mr. G. has had windows put in some of the rooms, & stairs made in the Old Mill. Mr. Latham's visit has made him stand round; it scared him a little. & the people have reaped the benefit unless, he increases their rent on account of the improvements.

David left at 5 1/2 P.M. for W. Went out this evening to distribute a few presents. It is very bright, & a little warmer. I hear fire works this eve. It is like 4th. of July. —One yr. ago I was at Scott House & helped trim 2 Christmas trees for the little Sloughs, presented by Col. De Korponay. & where will the next Christmas find me?

Friday, Christmas, Alex. Va.

Cor. Washington & Wolfe Sts.

Bright. not quite so cold. Very busy. did various things. Took breakfast at W. House at 8, then finished letter to Joe, & went to P.O. at 10 took breakfast with Mrs. Jacobs' family. then dressed for the day. Two women came with pitiful stories. "Had just come, could bring nothing with them, had on but few clothes & were very cold &c." both said they lived at the barracks. When I said I would go with them & see how they were situated & what they needed, they said only one lived at barracks, & hurried away, but I followed, & reaching Duke St. they both went turned & went towards

the wharf. When I said “women, that is the wrong way to the Barracks,” they paid no attention, but on they went & I returned, having been ‘sold’ only in part. They had tried to deceive me. I only wonder there are not more such. Slavery is a system of deceit & lies. —I took my Christmas dinner with Mr. A’s family & boarders. Then called at Chloe’s & Betsey’s, then went to Home & Newtown & gave some presents. Streets are littered with the debris of fireworks. Secesh boys can celebrate Christmas so can the men & women, but they pay no regard to Thanksgiving. Things look like Fourth of July. only soldiers & colored folks in the street, & many soldiers drunk. About 4 P.M. a fire broke out on Royal St., sev. dwellings were burned, & families both white & colored turned into the street. A crowd of people were in attendance, but a mounted guard kept order, & there was no unusual noise, nor confusion. No shouting & bawling as with us, & no boys “running with the engine.”

And this is Christmas in Dixie! Is it wrong to wonder where I shall be when another Christmas comes round?

Evening. —Mrs. J. & Louisa & Virginia have gone out to dinner, But Mrs. Dogan did not invite me; because I am white, probably. Mr. Ax’s Concert this evening, but I do not wish to go. Do not think it will pay. This evening I would like to see some of my own friends. I wonder if any of them think of me? if they miss me at home? Night before last I dreamed of Freda, she had grown some, & did not seem to realize that I was her own “dear Aunty,” & drew back when I attempted to kiss her. We were in dark places, & going up & down narrow stairs & steep ladders, & going over rough & difficult ground. & I was trying to help her, & she lost her fur cape & cuffs. Oh! does she ever think of me? To-morrow it will be 208 weeks since my darling was taken from me, from her home at Grandpa’s, oh, dear. —

Dec. 26th, Saturdy evening,

Fine day, warmer.

Trimmed bonnet for Sally. Went to P.O. & got letter from Mrs. Earle, who will send more things. Miss Howland, Miss Willetts & Miss Nichols called an hour or so. With Mrs. J. went to Grantville. Met Miss C. there. School House nearly done. Place is improving rapidly. Dr. Bigelow has 11 houses finished, 2 rent for \$12 a mo. each & the rest for \$10 a mo. each. They may have cost him \$100 each. It is a shame for him to take advantage of these people’s necessities as he does. But they are losing confidence in him. They hardly know whom to trust.

This evening C.L. Remond & [*Transcriber’s note: first name left blank*] Smith of Boston came. & will stay till tomorrow. I have had a pleasant visit with them.

Camp Barker at W. is being removed to Arlington. Of the 700 people in camp only 115 were taken to A. The rest fled, glad of it. I am told there is talk of removing these

barracks to A., but Gen. S. says if they attempt it he'll let them know who is military Gov. If the people know of this, they will be in a great panic. Col. Green evidently thinks he is the only man & wisdom will die with him.

Dec. 27th.

Rainy day. Remond & Smith left at 4 P.M. I dined with them, & have not been out today only to breakfast & to the P.O. —

Dec. 28th.

Rainy day, only been to my meals & the P.O. Letter from Joseph Van B. dated Knoxville Dec 9th. Was well then, tells about the siege of Knoxville for three weeks they were in a tight place, at the storming of Ft. Saunders by the rebs. the 2d. Mich. did a large share towards repulsing them. They have lost 131 of their Regt. lately. After the fight, under a flag of truce, Joe, who commands an Ambulance Corps, removed the dead & wounded rebs within their lines, & brought away our dead & wounded.—but few people have called today. & I have written ever so many letters.

Dec. 29th.

Cleared off about noon, warmer. Cleaned my room. Went to Ex. Of. & several other places, & for rations.—

This P. M. went to Home. People have heard that they are to be sent to Arlington. Mr. G. been interfering with school at G. Mrs. J. been to see about it, & to Capt. W. Can it be that any body is deceived in Mr. G. after knowing of his conduct? I think as Capt. W. recommended his appointment, he means to uphold him let him do what he will.

I did'nt see quite all that is mean last winter; new phases of meanness manifest themselves this season.

Dec. 30th. Bright & warm. Box came from Rochester, unpacked it & sorted over things, took all the P.M. Very busy day & very tired to night. Mrs. J. & girls gone to Bethel Festival. I am alone as usual. Spent most ev^g in doing up Reports. Letter from S.A. Ferress.

Alex. Thursday, Dec. 31st, 1863.

One year ago I was at Scott House, watching with others the old year out. Oh, the suffering & sorrow that has been experienced during the past 12 months! I should be thankful that it is as well with me & mine as it is, when war is making such terrible havoc.

The war is not ended, but the progress of events has been truly wonderful, I thank God that I have lived to see this day. Great deeds have been done for freedom. 50,000 colored soldiers in the field! No going back now. Uncle Abe. is true to the Proclamation of Eman, & he will go on.

Rev. Wm. H. Channing, Chaplain of the House in this 38th. Congress. Verily the world does move! The experience of the past year has been a rich one for me, but I feel now

that I shall stay in Alex. but a few months longer. —Things are being put into such a shape, that I shall not be needed here as much as I might be

in some other place, & when I leave here I would like to go south or west. We are told now that all those who draw rations are to be sent to Arlington in a few days. They will be very unwilling to go. —To morrow there is to be a meeting at the Col^d. Meth. Ch. to celebrate Emancipation. Hope the weather will be propitious, so that there will be a rousing time.

The Army of the Potomac has gone into winter quarters. I sometimes forget that there is such an army. There are but few Camps in this vicinity now, & I see & hear but little of army movements. But few officers in the city & but few soldiers.

Letter from Mary Julia today, describing the Bazaar. The receipts were \$15,000. —Perhaps she & her Mother will come here, if Mr. G. is where they can get to him. I intend to go to the front if they do. Since I came back to Alex. I have seen but few people, & have been hardly

any where. It has been exceedingly dull. & I have felt the need of society. I am starving for want of mental aliment. & for human sympathy & companionship. —I am forgetting all that I once knew. I am a regular know nothing. To day I have been in clothing room some, & made a velvet bonnet. It has rained constantly, & never had so few calls. I have only been out to my meals & to the P.O. twice. —The Hospital is nearly finished & ready for the sick.

Went through this one yesterday, the sick suffer for want of nourishment & proper care. I wonder if it will be any better in the new one?

It is 4 years since my darling Freda was taken from me; since I dressed her & carried her out to the sleigh & saw her driven off, not to return in all this time! Oh, the weary, wretched days & months that followed. It was a terrible

day; my sunshine all departed then. During the past year, I have heard a few times that she was well, & had grown considerably, that she went to school, & that she is hard of hearing. If I could see her & know exactly how she is & whether she is happy! 4 years! Oh, dear, she has nearly forgotten me, probably.

And what & where shall I be when another year comes around? It is well, perhaps, that I do not know. I fear when that time comes that I shall have no home, but I do not mean to borrow trouble, perhaps I shall need no home then.

I think I have grown old faster this winter than ever before. I cannot endure as much as I did last winter, & I do not feel strong & courageous as I did then. I cannot realize that I am so old. I do not mean to worry; but if all my brothers & sisters were comfortable & happy, I should feel much better every way. Then the isolated, lonely life I lead is not good for me. —

New Year, 1864!!
Cor. Washington & Wolfe Sts.
Alexandria, Va. Friday.

Bright, colder. Went to P.O. twice. Letter from Mr. Van Santvoord. Went to Anniversary meeting at Col^d. Meth. Church. Dr. Bigelow presided & read Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, singing. —

The speakers were Rev. White, very black, formerly a slave of Petersburg Va. Now of Alex. Rev. Post of Penn; Mr. Pepper of Maine; Capt. Wyman of Alex.; Mr. Robinson of Alex. Mr. Turner of W., Mr. Drew of Boston; & Dr. Marks of [*Transcriber's note: Left blank*]. Speaking really good. Audience small. I wish all the colored people had been there, but I think they did not understand the import of the meeting. The free colored have much prejudice against Contrabands, & even the Methodists did not attend. They all need enlightening. I was the only white woman

present; but as I could not see myself it made no difference to me. —

Dined with Mrs. Jacobs, on Turkey presented to Mrs. J. & myself by Dr. Pettijohn. Folks in hospital out of wood. I sent them some this evening. I went into some of the rooms & they were dark & cold. But Dr. B. has presided at a meeting, & his name will appear in the papers as a friend of these people, & he has now gone to W. & left the people to freeze in the Hospital.

Mrs. J., Louisa & Virginia have spent the evening with me. They have now gone to Bethel Festival. —

Next New Year's day will probably find me far from here. I wonder where.

Jan. 2^d, 1864.

Coldest day here. Ther. at 10^{deg} above zero. I went first to P.O. Letter from Cousin Phebe C. who has sent barrel. Then to Journal Office & paid \$1.50 for 3 mo. Then for kerosene at .80 a gallon. Then I went alone to the Slave Pen. But few

men in the prison. & I left with them some of all the kinds of Anti Slavery Tracts & pamphlets & Anti Tobacco Tracts too. Thanks to Mrs. Coleman, who sent them to me. What an idea! Distributing F. Douglass' speeches, & Chas. Sumner's speeches in a Slave Pen in Alex. Va.! 3 yrs. ago, who, would have thought this possible? These men were eager for something to read. & this kind is new to many. —

There have been no colored women in the prison for several days.

There are 2 colored men there. One is accused of shooting a man on Christmas. He says he did not do it. & the Lieut. told him to day that they were convinced it was another man. The other was there for drinking & being out too late. This one cd. not read, but his sister could, & he knew she would like my tracts. The other man can read & he seemed much pleased with what I gave him. Then one of the guard came for some.

Then I went to the Soldier's Rest & saw them at dinner, the guard, & Conscripts too, who are stopping there. I went to the Grand Room & left all the Anti Slavery & Anti Tobacco documents that I had with me. They need reading, as they are not provided with any yet, & they received what I had with evident pleasure. Then I visited all the families at the Slave Pen. They are quite comfortable now, but they have to buy their wood. With the exception of a load once a mo. to be divided among 6 rooms.—Then I went to see the new hospital. It is not quite ready yet, then made 2 calls. —Mr. Parker of Boston has been here. Mrs. J. & I went with him to Grantville & to Summerville (on our way stopped at Christ Church, sat in W's pew, & Mr. P. lent me a knife to cut 3 buttons or tufts from the cushions. Those were about all there were left, & I thought I might as well have them as any body.) Mr. P. was much interested in what he saw. He saw some of the most comfortable houses

& some of the poorest ones. But none seemed to be starving or freezing as they were last winter. —Mr. P. left on 5 o'clock boat, but is coming again. We called at Dr. Shaw's rooms to see Mr. Fish, who is very ill. —Then to my supper. I have been out nearly all day; & it has been a busy day, also a satisfactory one. This evening I have done various things, alone as usual. Mrs. J. & girls gone out. —This morning I sent wood into all the rooms in hospital, hoping that some would be sent in the course of the A.M. —But it was 3 P.M. before any came, & there were 12 loads wh. are now in the cellar. & I am glad for them, for they suffered from cold yesterday, & indeed they have had none to speak of this week, Aunt Nancy Carroll said. She had fared hard during her long life, but she had always before this, wood enough to use, she says she sat trembling all day yesterday over a handful of fire.—I did not know the state of things till evening, when I sent them some.—

Sunday Jan. 3^d, 1864.

Bright, warmer. went to Water St. to carry a basket of things to Aunt Fanny.— Cleaned up generally. This P.M. Remond & Smith came. They, with 2 other colored gentlemen called on the President New Years & were received just like the others. Dr. Pettijohn has been sent to some other place. Left this P.M, so suddenly that we did not know it till after he had gone. Wonder what's in the wind now? Has Dr. B. anything to do with it, & is he to have control of things now?

Towards night a sick woman was brought here, & the women were determined not to give her a place, they disputed. There was no doctor here, & no responsible person in the building. Mrs. J. & I insisted upon their giving her a bed, & attending to her. As we were going out to a meeting, we met Dr. Hines & told him the state of things. He did'nt know that Dr. P. had gone, & said

he would come in the morning & see to things. —Dr. B. has not been here today. Mr. Smith, Mr. Remond, Mrs. J., Louisa, Va, & Sally & myself went to Barracks to meeting. 7 ministers there! Rev. F. W. Hunnicutt preached, & wrought up the feelings of the audience to the groaning & shouting pitch. There followed several prayers. The mourners having come forward & knelt down by the front seats. A part of the performance was well enough, but a part was very ludicrous.

Monday Jan. 4th.

Snowy & cold. Went to Water St. & to 68 Prince St. —Went to Slave Pen & soldiers' Rest. There were Mr. Smith, Mr. Remond, Louisa & Virginia who is quite dark. A white woman with all these niggers! At the Rest the soldiers & attendants were quite shy of us, quite unlike my reception on Saturday when I went alone. There were sneers & side glances & knowing

looks. A large number of Conscripts are here now. They came in yesterday, & will go to the front in a day or two. We went into the office of the Slave Pen & were told by the Sergt. that visitors could not go through the place without a pass from the Pro. Marshall. These orders had been lately given. The sergent & others looked daggers at me, but I did'nt seem to mind it. I only fear that going with this Co. will hinder my admission after this. —

Attended in Clothing room rest of day. Government has ordered an investigation of the rent system here, & says exorbitant rents shall not be asked of these people. Mr. G. is ordered by Gen. S. to do it, & probably his own part in these trans-transactions will be made to appear all right. I shall not expect justice of him. He will like to expose Dr. Bigelow, & others, & I am glad this is to be done.

Aunt Nancy Carroll left Hospital today.

Jan. 5th, 1864

Thawed this A.M, but colder this eve. I have only been out to my meals.—

Trimmed bonnet, washed & ironed collars & did various chores.

Jan, 6. Worked indoors, so cold. Went through Hos. All warm there. In evening heard Mr. Hunnicutt at Bap. Ch. on "Past, Present & Future Condition of the African race". Mr. H. was born in S.C. was always pro-slavery. If it were not for the rebellion he wd. probably have lived & died a pro slavery man. —All the excuse he offered was, If the Slaves sh. all be set free they cd. not take care of themselves, & they wd. be worse off than in Slavery. —Yet he thinks Slavery produces every evil, only evil & that continually & Bible does'nt sanction it. In short, he can depict its horrors & use all the argumnts against it. How has he learned them so soon? how can an upholder of the system all his life change his mind so suddenly? I can hardly believe that his life has always been sincere. Some of our people here knew

him in Fredericksburg. Ed. of Chris. Banner, his wife is there now, he is a fugitive, he was a slaveholder, opposed to negroes walking on sidewalk, or smoking cigars or using a cane.—He seems now to have gone to the other extreme. He says the negroes will not go north, they will stay here until the war is over & then they will the land in small parcels of their former masters. He sees very plainly now that they can take care of themselves, for in slavery they earned their living & made their masters rich, & they can do as much certainly when free. —

The audience was delighted, some of them kept up a running accompaniment “That’s so. I know it, that’s true. that’s what they did, yes sir.” They understood it mostly & had never heard such plain speaking before on the subject of themselves. —

At the close there was some good singing, & then a plantation song, & dancing, for I can call it nothing less. —

Paper from my dear friend Mrs. Winans containing notice of her son Edwins death in Athens, Tenn. on the 9th, Dec. More sorrowing hearts, but multiply this by tens of thousands, & then!!

Jan 7, Thursday.

Coldest day yet. The water pipe in my room is frozen for the first time.

Cannot make fire enough to make my room or the Clothing room comfortable.

Letters from Neddy & Mary Julia. The first one I ever received from Neddy. All well but, very cold there.

The papers mention severe storms in west & North, great deal of snow, very cold, people been frozen, & soldiers suffer extremely. Barrell from Phebe C. Rochester. —

Called at P. & R’s school & left tracts. Went to Ex. Office, & waited on people in Clothing Room.

Dr. Webster here from Arlington He may be surgeon in charge here.

What mismanagement & frauds there are practiced towards the people in A. Col. Greene is seldom there. Nichols is there yet & of course these people will be wronged. Three of the farm Superintendents, have been slave overseers in Maryland. In short, these people are slaves yet, & are tyrannized over & oppressed by unfeeling men. They are not allowed to leave there when they choose, & the people that went from W. last are living in tents this cold weather.

Ben. Latham & H. Dickinson have been here, making further examination of Contraband affairs. A bill in relation to this is soon to be presented to Congress.

Dr. Bigelow, I think, is not quite so self-satisfied as formerly. Dr. Bentley went through this Hos. yesterday. Dr. B. was away. Also went to Claremont with Dr. B. & Mr. Gladwin.

I think something will come of it. I showed Dr. W. the Hos. here to day.—

Jan 8th. Bright, cold.

In Clothing room nearly all day. Numerous call. Went to P.O. letters from Mrs. Breed & Mrs. Marshall.—

Mrs. B. wants me to take charge of Col^d. Home in G. The matron sick & gone to P. But I am not equal to such a task. I am so sorry that she has asked me to do so. I cannot do it. Would like to go to W. to morrow, but the boats do not run, & it is so cold, & I have so much extra work now caused by the deluge. Snowed a little more last night. Sleighs run some.

About 5 P.M. the water pipe burst, & our Clothing room was flooded. I had to remove nearly all my things. Many of them were wet, & this evening I have been drying them. I was wet from head to foot, & have taken cold. Everything is topsy turvey now. It will add much to our labor. This is a cheerless place.

Jan. 9th.

Very cold, Bright. glorious sunset. Very uncomfortable here today. Plumbers have been here to work, & we cd. do nothing to the C. Room. They have cut off the water until freezing weather is over.

This P.M. went to Grantville. Louisa & Va. collected the children in the new house, chapel some call it, & some of the parents. This is the first time it has been used. It is warmed by 2 stoves that Mrs. J. bought, & it was very comfortable & pleasant; the children looked clean & bright & happy. Mrs. Jacobs & Miss Collier, Miss Wilbur & Louisa addressed the children. Miss Lawton is a good singer & they sung the John Brown song & others. We had provided apples, cakes & candies for them & these 100 children, I am sure, spent a happy hour & a half in the new school room. Louisa & Va. intend to begin their school there next Monday, & I intend to help them.

Dr. B. wishes to control the house & make the school subordinate to the Church. To have Miss Collier principal, & have a Baptist concern altogether, & have white men manage it. Mr. Gladwin wd. like to get the control of the house, & put ministers & teachers there after his own heart. He says colored folks have no influence & cant have for a great many years, & white folks must manage such things for them. He has been smelling around there, but the trustees to whom the land is leased, nearly all wish to control the Church themselves, choose their minister &c, & they want L. & Va. to teach the school.

This evening they met to organize a new Church. Rev. Samson White took the lead, & Mr. Parker of Boston who was present, said they did the business in a very creditable manner. To morrow P.M. a meeting is to be held, & the Church is to be recognized, & they will invite Dr. B. & Mr. Gladwin & his ministers, VIZ.:

Rev. Owen, Rev. Post, Rev. Scott, Rev. Vassar Rev. Pepper, &c. Only colored men took part this evening. I am glad they are trying to do something themselves. Very cold to night, & it required a great effort to leave my cheerful fire & writing table & go to Grantville again. But I wish to encourage the people, & my presence will do some good on such occasions.

Sunday Jan. 10th.

Very bright, cold. —In P.M. went to Grantville to meeting. Recognition of 3^d. Col^d. Bap. Ch. in Alex. The first Col^d. B. Ch. formed in 1804. —The house was crowded this P.M. & the Exercises were very interesting. Those that look part were Reverends Post, Pepper, Bigelow, 2 Parkers, Gladwin, Scott, White, Robinson, & Gen. Briggs & Mr. Loomis. — There are 12 members now & Mr. Marshall is their spokesman. I hope they will keep control of the Church, & manage it themselves.

Monday, Jan. 11th.

Milder. Cleaned my part of Clothing Room & regulated things, & waited on people. This P.M. went to Office. No letters for several days. Papers from Ella, severe snow storms in Michigan, & Illinois. —Tried to find andirons, but did not succeed, bought wash basin, &c.

Hear that Gen S. has ordered Mr. G. to put windows in rooms at old mill, & make stairs. result of Mr. Latham's visit to Gen. S. But Mr. G. supposed they saw Gen. S. when they were here before; he took the alarm & has already done it; so he thinks he has got the start of Gen. S. once.

Small pox boy removed from this Hos. yesterday. —People ordered to come here to be vaccinated, but Dr. Bigelow has been away all day, & people have waited here all day for him. Want of management somewhere. —Louisa & Virginia had 80 scholars today. I gave the school 2 doz. Slates.

Tuesday Jan. 12th.

Warmer, bright. —Attended to washing. Ironed some, cleaned my room. About 4 P.M. Miss C. Hancock & Mrs. Childs came in Ambulance from ~~to~~ Washington.

Mrs. J. got lunch for them, then they drove to Slave Pen, Soldiers Rest, round by Marshall House &c, & I went to W. with them.

The roads are fine. Met great many carriages, as we can only go by land now. Such fast driving. The river is entirely frozen over, & most of surface very rough. The Long Bridge is a crowded thoroughfare, & must be dangerous. A new Railroad Bridge is commissioned[?]. It seems strange to me to go out where people are stirring. I dare say I appear queer & awkward. —Walked from Avenue to Mrs. Breeds. —Mrs. B. urges my acceptance of the matronship of the Home. I feel unequal to the task. I am not the person for such a place. I have named Mrs. Coleman to Mrs. B.

Mr. Latham called, & Mr. Bourne. Mr. L. is getting facts about Contraband affairs. They are after Col. Greene now. It appears he is not immaculate. —

Dr. B. vaccinated me this evening with black vaccine! only think of it!

Wednesday Jan. 13th.

Hazy. Left Mrs. Breed's about 10 A.M. Called on Judge Day. Met Miss Hancock & sister. Met Col. Tate. spent an hour or more in finding out when Omnibus left for Alex. Then went to Capitol. Draped in black. Ex. Sec. of Interior, Caleb Smith is dead. went into House & heard Mr. Channing open the session with prayer. Nothing interesting said or done, staid an hour or so, bought some views in W. & went to Senate Chamber, so full could not affect an entrance for some time. People rushed to hear Garrett Davis of Ky. speak in his own defense. Sen. Wilson having offered a Resolution a few days since for his

Expulsion on account of disloyal words uttered in the Sen. Chamber. Davis's seat is quite near Wilson's, & he faced him most of the time. He tried to be very severe on W. who was as unmoved as a stone. such a pushing & crowding in the galleries. I obtained a seat after awhile & staid till 3½ P.M. then left him speaking, & for aught I know he is speaking yet.

In car met Mr. Johnson & Mrs. Gibbons. A long Omnibus drawn by 6 horses conveyed me to Alex. not crowded, had pleasant ride for one dollar only. —

Surgeon of the 7th Pa. Reserves a passenger. had some pleasant conversation. Reached Alex. At 5, stopped at W. House for supper, & arrived at my own room at dark. Things all safe, & feel very well. Boy with telegram startled me a little, but it is from Mr. Gibbard to say he intends to be in Alex. tomorrow morning. Intends to take girl back with him.

Jan. 14th, Thursday.

Warm & pleasant. Went with Caroline Washington to get Pass to go to W. —About 11 A.M. Rev. I. Gibbard came & staid till 1. P.M. —& Caroline is to go tomorrow to W. & go on home with him. We have been waiting a month for him & it will be a relief to me to know that she is safely away & well provided for. She is to go to Burdett N.Y. — Ironed this P.M.—But few calls. Letters from Angeline & Elisabeth. Hear that Dr. Webster is to take care of new Hospital, & Dr. Bigelow is to have Claremont & live in this house where Hos. is now. —

Lord, have mercy on these poor people! for Dr. B. seems devoid of common humanity. Reports come to us of great abuses practiced on those people along the Mississippi. They are Haves yet, & fare worse under the lessees of the plantations, than under their old masters. Many have the same old slave drivers over them now!

¹⁹Jan. 29th, Friday. Very warm.

Did various chores. About noon Charlotte & Sis came. They got back from Culpepper yesterday & had a good time.—They dined with me at Washington House. Then I went with them to Barracks, but they wd. not go in. Went to new Hospital but they were afraid of that although it is not finished & nobody in it. Met Dr. Bentley there. He does not like the way it is made.—

C & Sis refused to go the Slave Pen. I could not show them anything & they were evidently not interested, especially sis, who seemed to care for nothing but getting back to W. again. But I suppose both were tired after their jaunt to C. So they rested while I got ready & we took the 4 P.M. boat to W.—The day has been bright & remarkably warm. Parasols quite necessary for comfort.—Sis showed no interest in anything on the trip, & at last I let her alone. She does not deserve nor appreciate the privileges she has.

We went to Markham's & took tea. Then to Brown's where C. & Sis are stopping with Mr. J. Griffin & wife.—Charlotte brought Passes from the front for myself &c. wh. had been procured there previous to her going, & if she had waited a little, we could all have gone together. She offered to go back with me, but I cannot allow her to do so & leave Mary Julia in Washington, for several days with a person of Mrs. J.W. G's stamp. I should take no comfort, & neither wd. C.—for Sis needs watching.

Mr. G. took the papers to Gen. Martindale who thinks they are all right. I would so like to go; but I will not be so selfish. Brown's is a large house & full of boarders, & Sis is so pretty that she receives a great deal of attention. It was after dark when I went to Dr. B's. so Sis & Mr. Moore walked over there with me. So tomorrow we are to spend in sight seeing.

Jan. 29 30th. Misty & damp.

This morning C. & Sis & Mrs. G. called for me & we went first to Patent Office & saw all that we wished there. They are painting & making improvements. What a world of things. About 3000 models are received every year. Then we went to the Smithsonian & saw all that we cared about seeing. Sis admired nothing but the stuffed birds, some of these gay plumaged ones “would be so beautiful to wear on a bonnet.”

Took lunch at Stanton's on 7th St.—Then went to Reception at White House. But few present. C & I would have staid awhile to see the people as they came in & rested[?] in the East Room. But Mrs. G. & Sis were in a hurry to get back to dress for dinner & away they went & we followed. The President wore no gloves today & walked about as usual. Mrs. Lincoln was dressed in black velvet, trimmed with white, in very good taste She looked a little flushed & excited

¹⁹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26004_094 to HC13-26004_168 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1863 to April 20th 1864.

Went to Brown's & rested awhile. Mrs. G., C. & Sis were to go to Markham's to dine & then Sis was to go to the Theater with a strange gentleman. How can C. let her do so! I asked Sis to go & stay all night with me, but she began to cry & pout; I said no more about it. And this is the child that was so dear to me once, & whose mother was jealous of her love for me. Now changed and not for the better. She seems to enjoy nothing but dress & frivolous company.

I went to Mrs. Lake's & took dinner & returned to Dr. B's about dark, very, very tired. Raining hard this evening.

Sunday Jan. 31st. 1864

Have given up going to Culpepper for the present, but still hope to go some time. Went to Unitarian Ch. & heard Mr. Channing from Micah 6-8. Fine discourse. He was himself entirely.

In P.M. C. & I went with Dr. & Mrs. B. & Meena to Georgetown to Colored Home.

Sickness & 2 small pox panics have turned things topsy turvey. It is discouraging to see things in such condition. Mrs. Holt, the new matron, is to come tomorrow, & it is to be hoped things will be regulated & looked after as they should be. Had interesting ride.

Monday Feb. 1st. '64. Washington.

Little rain. Called at Brown's & went with Mrs. G., & C. & Sis to Capitol. We wandered "up ~~down~~ stairs & down stairs & in my lady's chamber," & also in subterranean regions. About 11 1/2 Mr. G. came; we bought pictures & had a lunch. There are refreshment rooms & ice cream rooms &c below. Then went into Supreme C. Room & sat awhile. Then to the Hall of Reps. & heard Mr. Channing open the Session with prayer, to which there was pretty good attention. Sat an hour, various bills were presented, but nothing interesting was said or done. & we journeyed over to the Senate Chamber.

Brown & Henderson of Missouri & Sumner spoke in reference to the death of Noell, member from Mo. Sumner was eloquent, every word told. Mr. Noell was the first man from a Slave State who proposed immediate Emancipation.

Mr. Grimes made a speech on Naval affairs. Adjourned at 2 1/2 P.M. Sis did not seem to enjoy it. "How long you going to stay here?" was asked more once.

Went to Sanitary Fair. Cor Seventh & Pa. Av. Nothing very remarkable about it. bought some pictures.

Went to Brown's oh! so tired. I said goodbye to C. & Sis who intend to leave for home tomorrow evening. & I went to Dr. B.'s.

Tuesday Feb. 2d.

'Clarred' off. Bright P.M. Took leave of Mrs. B. about 10 A.M. Called on Mrs. Munson, & on Mr. Van Santvoord & to see Miss Wheelock, who has gone to the front for a few days.

Came back on 1 P.M. boat. Made the acquaintance of The Black Swan who was coming to Alex. to sing this evening.

Had a general & thorough cleaning up. Mrs. Reeves called & will go to the front with me if I go & can get passes for us both. In evening went to the Fair. Few present. Sales small, of course.

Wednesday 3d,

Did various chores. Hospital not moved yet. Dr. Bigelow is not to have charge of the hospitals, but is to be an Ass. Surgeon.

Went to Fair in evening. After 11 when we got back, was tired. I sold a 50 cent pin-cushion to a half drunk German Zouave, a waste of time & very tedious for me.

Thursday Feb. 4th.

Swept & regulated Clothing room. At 2 P.M. went to Mr. Dogan's funeral. Congress has Resolved to inquire into the Military Administration of Alex. punishment at Slave Pen, showering &c.—

I rejoice at this & hope something good will result from it. Wrote to Mr. Breed. In evening went to Fair, very tiresome. Nearly 12 when we left.

Friday, Feb 5th, '64. Fine.

Cleaned my room, attended to washing. Went to Pro. Mar, office & got pass for the month. This P.M. ironed, etc.

About 3 1/2 P.M. Louisa & Virginia went with me to the Cemetery. First to the Potters Field to see where Contrabands are packed away. Talked with a grave digger, says he has been told to put 3 or 4 into one grave. I intend to complain of the state of things here. It is disgraceful to have such a state of things exist.

In another part of the Cemetery, we saw the burial of a colored child. The pretty little coffin was borne by 4 little boys, with long white hat bands. The father of this child is dark, but the mother would pass for a white woman, has light hair & light eyes & is good looking.

Then we went to the Soldiers Burying Ground. A large number of workmen are employed here all the while to improve it & make it beautiful. What a contrast to the burying place of the Contrabands. Much of the fence that enclosed the cemetery has been destroyed; & the 11th Regulars are encamped so near, that graves are trampled upon.

This seems unnecessary, & wantonly destructive & insulting on the part of the military. They were having a dress parade, & we looked at them awhile. They have a fine band, They played some sad tunes wh. seemed quite in keeping with the surroundings.

Cannot go to Fair tonight, must rest. Letter from Mary. Joe is coming home on 30 days furlough, & she is almost beside herself with joy. I am glad for her. Has not decided yet whether to re-enlist. I trust & pray that he will get home safely & be spared to see many happy years with his family.

Saturday Feb. 6th.

Went to W. on 9 A.M. boat. Went to 359 I St. & Dr. & Mrs. B. went with me to call on Sen. Wilson at W. House, but he had gone out. Then we went to call on Sen. Julian, & he was gone also. But we had a very pleasant interview with Mrs. Julian. She is the daughter of J.R. Giddings & lately married.

Dr. & Mrs. B. drove to landing with me & I came back on 1 P.M. boat. Stopped at Fair wh. was open this P.M. for children. At 5 went to tea, & then back again; after 12 when we got home & tired enough. A goodly number in attendance & we sold considerable. It is to be opened again next Monday evening.

Sunday Feb. 7th.

Fair. cooler. So tired this morning. It was almost impossible to get up, but I made a desperate effort after 8 o'clock, & got up & went to breakfast.—Then I had a general cleaning up., & picking up things, & it was dinner time before I was ready to sit down to write & rest.

It has not seemed like Sunday. Two companies of the Invalid Corps who are quartered in the Friends Meeting H. use the vacant lot opposite our house for a parade ground. Morning & evening there is a lively time & people will stop to look; & today I have stood & looked at them, there is a fascination in such precision of movements. Their blue uniforms look neat & tidy & comfortable. Their gloves are very white. Their arms are bright, but I can see no use in so much drilling.

This evening went to Barracks to hear [*Transcriber's note: Blank space left*] preach! A negro woman too. Has been 5 yrs. in Africa, I must learn something more about her. She spoke there, Barracks this morning. & there was a great crowd this evening, again all around outside as well as inside. Mrs. J. & I succeeded in getting into the room; but it was at the peril of our bones & clothes. When we got in, the people were singing, shaking hands, swaying to & fro & having a good

Time. Even "Brothers Owen & Gladwin" cd. get no seats. The preacher wore a plain quaker garment, black dress, muslin underkerchief, white shawl. & plain cap, consisting of one piece, the hem in front turned back. This is the dress of an old time methodist, I think, but she is probably an old time Baptist. She has woolly hair, is quite dark, & has a very pleasant expression of countenance, & of middle age.

She read "Oh! for a closer walk with God" very impressively. & it was sung with much feeling & energy; there followed an earnest prayer which moved the audience excessively. Then came groans, & shouts, & the wailing sounds peculiar to these people. Indeed they were mightily moved. A person hearing such, & seeing such an assemblage for the first time, might well be frightened. I knew they were harmless. & moreover I am not very susceptible but the impression this scene gave me, I cannot describe.—

The text was "As Moses lifted up the serpent," &c. Pharaoh & the children of Israel were treated of in a style quite new to me. She saw & heard everything she spoke of. "I see the water on each side in pendicular hills, I see the Lord feeling for the linchpins in Pharaoh's chariot wheels. She went on & at last compared very briefly the going out from Egypt to the freeing of the slaves & said if God will give you a crust of bread & a drink of water, take it & be thankful that you are free & that your children will be free. But beware that you do not murmur because everything is not as you wd. like to have it.—Her gestures were very correct[?] & her manner very impassioned. When speaking of the love & sufferings of Christ, she said "who is it that comes from Boozah with garments dyed with blood; they scourged him with wire whips. & we learn that the ground is stained with blood till this day." "His groans they split the rock. Honies, didn't you hear the ring of them hammers when they nailed my Jesus

to the cross?" She raised the feelings of the audience to the highest pitch, & when she had done there were "glories & hallelujahs." Tomorrow evening she is to lecture about Africa. but I cannot go to hear her as I must attend to the Fair.

Monday

Last evening of Fair. good attendance. & very lively. I have sold about \$15 worth in all, After 12 when we got back & tired enough. I am glad it is over. It has been very tiresome. The city is very quiet in the night. Fighting at the front last Saturday.

Tuesday

Last evening Boxes came from R. Society & from Phebe C. This A.M. I unpacked them. This P.M. Mrs. Henry called, I have had headache & feel fagged out.

Wednesday, Feb. 10,

Wintry day. Went to Soldiers Rest & left papers & magazines. Called at one room in Slave Pen. Went to Grantville school.

Thursday 11

Cold. Very busy day waited on people in C. Room all day. The new goods have gone off rapidly. Sold about \$35 worth.

Letter from Joe Van B. dated Knoxville Dec. 28—well then & expecting to go home. This evening, although very tired, I went with Louisa J. to Concert Hall to see Mr. Jones Exhibition of paintings. He is col^d, he sings also. & makes it quite interesting. Has patriotic songs for sale, I wish he wd. exhibit at Grantville school. Returned after 10 but streets all quite.

Friday 12.

Went to Commissary, drew rations under the new order. They receive 3000 for 10 days making 300 a day.—I supposed, including children, there are 400 who draw rations here.—

Waited on people in clothing room. Too tired to go to sewing school at Grantville.

Downing, Remond & Smith here.—Hospital not moved yet. Have been through this to day. This evening wrote letters—

Alex. Saturday. Feb. 13, 1864

Fine.—Busy day. Went for kerosene & to P.O.—

Letter from Mr. Griffin. He was in the fight at Barrett's Ford. Have skirmishes every week & are liable to be ordered to move at any time. Will get papers if I wish. but cannot promise to see me if I come, can get poor board in Culpepper at \$2 per day. I see that I must give up going to the front. for I do not care about going unless I can see Mr. G. as he is the only one I know.

Yesterday I sent for Dr. Collins. I wished him to see the room that Patsey is in. She has Consumption & is unable to sit up now. Phebe, a nurse, occupies the same room. A few weeks since a woman was put in there having the worst of all diseases & the stench is horrible. Dr. B. says he can't stay there a minute & yet Phebe sleeps there & Patsey stays there through it all. & dies by inches. I can stay there only a few minutes at a time. Dr. C. came this morning but I was out, I did not see him, so sorry.

He came again this P.M. & I was away. So in my desperation I went to Dr. Bigelow & asked if Patsy could not be moved into the other room, as one woman had lately left it. He said yes, & I made all the arrangements necessary offering to take Phebe into my room for a few nights.—But to our great joy he then said, he would send this woman to Claremont immediately & he did so. There she should have been taken at first, the poor creature! The room has been cleaned out & Patsey is comparatively comfortable & I feel greatly relieved. & so do the nurses.—But it has made me a little sick since yesterday. & affects my appetite.

I thank Dr. B. for this; but he should have done it at first.—

This A.M. I visited every family at the Slave Pen. It is not crowded now, & it is all quite comfortable. but some rooms are very filthy. The women tell me that soldiers are not showered quite so often lately. But colored

men have been showered this winter. But Lieut. Donn does not swear & kick them about as Barnelo did. & the guard are not allowed to blackguard the women prisoners as was done last summer. One Lieutenant's family live there now. & things are managed much more decently.—This P.M. I visited all the lower rooms in two of the barracks. But few of them are at all tidy. & some of the families are very destitute. The rations have been withheld & the men have had no pay in 3 months. Quite a number sick, & have no medical care worth mentioning. Two bodies carried to cemetery this P.M. & both put in one grave. Only a few of the rooms are crowded now, & although it is Saturday but few floors had been scrubbed. At one time they were obliged to do it every Sat. While I was

there, 8 or 9 gentlemen appeared in the yard. I only knew Gladwin, Owen & Gen. Slough. Some of them looked into the rooms. But Mr. G. seemed about one foot taller

than usual. —I think this is the Com. who are to look into the way military affairs are conducted here. & taking the representations of the accompanying gentlemen, all will be well & properly done, no doubt. & things will go on in the same old way. The mills of the gods grind most too slow.

Sunday, Feb. 14th. 1864

high wind. went to Christ Ch. heard Mr. Drumm but did not like the sound particularly, & found myself nodding.—wrote this P.M. Mr. Downing here getting recruits for Mass. Cav. Regt.—Patsey died this P.M. & a woman died yesterday in Hos. —P. had been here since last summer.& leaves a little boy that we must care for.

Last night I dreamed of seeing Louisa & Virginia drowned. I was in great distress. Today a report is in circulation that these girls have been kidnapped by doctors from the north for dissection. Also that they seized a man & his wife in the st. the other night, but the woman was so poor they let her go, & took only the man. Some of the colored folks are afraid to go out in the night. They are harassed in every way.

Monday, Feb. 15th. 1864

Cold. In P.M. snowed. Patsey was carried out to day & I rode in the ambulance to the Potters Field. her boy went too. Quite a number have been buried since last Friday week. & I hear nothing more of a new burying ground. We must take Jackson to the Geoⁿ. Home.

I hear that Dr. Bigelow has been discharged. Too good to be true. Went to Barracks to take things to sick boy. Went into school. Leland there. Mr. Axe gone today. Leland says "he does'nt teach much now, he attends to his mission principal." I think Mr. G. has made him a missionary at large, something like myself. I went into the new Hospital. It is being made very nice, & as it should be. Two portable furnaces in each ward, & more rooms have been made, I am afraid the colored folks will not have it long if they go into it; it will be "good enough for white folks," & they will be put into it eventually.

Went to meeting this eve to Col^d. Bap. Ch, to hear Downing & Remond. but few present. They seem afraid of being asked to enlist.

Tuesday Feb. 16th. 1864

Windy & cold. Have been out but little. Every thing has been moved from this Hospital today into the new one on Prince St. & Paine St. It looks lonely enough in the North House now. I should not care about going through those rooms alone to night. & yet I claim to be as free from superstition as any body. Too many unpleasant associations connected with that house. What sad sights, what suffering from neglect, what uncomfotableness I have seen there. I hope & pray that a new order of things will be

instituted in the new hospital. & that a matron will be provided for it.—Phebe who sleeps in the room where Patsey died, thinks she & Jackson (Patsey's boy) had a visit from a

ghost last night. They think it was Patsey's, I suppose. It made a rustling at first. It was all in white, & put its arms around the boy's neck; remained a short time & then vanished. Phebe was never so frightened before. I cannot persuade her that she is mistaken.—Well, ghosts may have it all to themselves there tonight.

Mr. G. says they have staked out a new burying ground, near the Catholic ground.

I have indulged myself in the luxury of reading the Tribunes & doing various chores today. I have not felt like going out.

Feb. 17th.

Intensely cold, high wind.

Went to Hospital, not warm there. They nearly froze last night. Met Dr. Barker for the first time. He is to have charge of the Hos. or to be the Surgeon there. It is not finished yet.—This P.M. went again & took Mr. G.'s Cav. pants to Isaac. He is old & just come in from 3 mi. out.

Went to Slave pen. Frances Brooks gave me a pair of handcuffs found in the Slave pen prison, when it was cleaned out. I am told that soldiers have been showered today. How barbarous in such weather. I can hardly keep comfortable sitting by the fire with my shawl on. The water does not run. I fear the pipes will burst again.

Thursday 18th.

Coldest day yet, we cannot make fire enough to keep warm. How the poor people must suffer! Waited on people in C. room. Letter from Mrs. Earle, has sent another bbl. River frozen over. boats do not run to W.

Friday

Went to hospital. I almost froze, they cannot warm the rooms there. & it is a dismal, uncomfortable place now.

Waited on people & given away blankets & various things. We cannot keep warm in this house even.

About 5 P.M. Mr. & Mrs. Marshall & Lieut. Sweet & wife came from N.Y. on the steamer Mississippi with a Regiment which is going to Brandy Station. The ladies will stop here & in W.—They are now at the W. House & I have spent a pleasant evening with them.

My bedstead & mattress have been taken from me today. Dr. Bentley does not seem disposed to oblige us.

Saturday Feb. 20th,

Not quite so cold. Miserable couch last night. did not sleep well & do not feel first rate today. Mrs. M. & Mrs. L. came over this A.M. awhile. Lieut. S. quite ill. This P.M. went with Mrs. J. for bedstead & straw. Worked a little. Water pipe burst, but my part of the

room was not deluged as badly as before. Mrs. J's goods considerably wet. It seems as if the old Nick was after us. Letter from Ella. All well. Strange I do not hear from Frances or Charlotte, I am lonely & dispirited.

Mr. Bush of Portsmouth, Va. is here attending the Convention which is being held for the purpose of taking measures to abolish Slavery in VA. Mr. B. is interested in the colored folks & is the only member of the Convention who is willing to give the negro his rights. The rest are in favor of abolishing slavery, now, hoping for compensation. They see that it must come, & they mean to make the most of it. Mr. Bush wants information on the subject, therefore made us a call,

I spent most of the evening at W. House.

Sunday, Feb. 21st.

Warmer. Felt miserably & did not rise till 10 A.M. Cleaned myself thoroughly & felt some better. At noon went to W. House. Mr. Marshall left this morning with the 40th. N.Y. for Brandy Station. Lieut. Sweet is no better & had just been taken to Hallowell S. Hospital. Has pleurapneumonia & is seriously ill.—Mrs. Marshall is miserable, at 1 P.M. went to W. with her brother Mr. Hiram

Berry. After dinner I went with Mrs. Sweet to the Hos. she will stay with her husband at present.—I am not in a mood for reading, writing or doing anything this P.M.—Perhaps the weather affects me. It is cloudy & signs of a storm. I feel so discouraged somehow.

Monday 22^d vaccinated today

such a busy day. So many people have called. went out & bought bedstead, straw, etc. Have made tick & filled it & now have a high, sound, hard bed. I am getting tired living in this way. shut out from society, with so many discomforts to undergo. & the work is so hard & wearing. If I cd. have the society of a few intelligent white people occasionally it would be such a relief. Well, this will not always last.— Letters from Frances & Henrietta. Mrs. P. is to move soon.—F. is in R.—No good news. Did I allow myself, I might be sick over what she writes about

some who have been near & dear to me. One person can make a hundred others unhappy. To bad, too bad, yet none of us have any reason to be surprised, for "as we sow so must we reap", no help for it. The law is fixed.—

Tuesday 23^d. 1864

Fine. warm. Feel so tired & worn out today. Worked in my room & clothing room till noon. Mrs. Jacobs is ill; has overworked probably. After dinner I went to the Slave Pen & Barracks & Hospital. Frances Brooks went with me to look for hand-cuffs (when old iron is collected). Such a filthy place! I only wonder that a plague of some kind does not seize the people of this town. At the foot of Washington St. near Hunting Ck. Bridge is a common where filth of all kinds is deposited, & when a S. wind blows, the air is too vile to breathe.—

A funeral from the Barracks, Mrs. Lane's grandchild. There was a nice coffin carried in a hearse, & 2 or 3 hacks & a procession of the friends went to the grave. Quite unusual for a Contraband funeral.

The new Hospital is all unsettled yet. & far from being finished. work goes on slowly. Another man with Small pox taken away this morning. These cases are owing to Dr. Bigelow's neglect while in the Hos. here.—Phebe A. Turner tells me that she was at the Slave Pen for water last Wednesday morning & saw a Soldier showered. It was bitter cold. & I think it is outrageous. Two other persons were showered Sunday P.M., one white & one colored.

A few days since a colored woman was publicly whipped. She received 39 lashes by order of the civil authorities here, & is now in jail for 30 days. It seems she accused Mr. Brice of killing a soldier & burying him on the premises. The house was searched & the yard & cellar dug up & a great stir made. I am told she says now that she told a lie.— It seems from this that the black laws are in full force here. glorious land this. Most Sacred soil! One law for the white & another for the black. I am heart sick.

The second Corps at Brandy Station gave a ball last night. Distinguished persons went down from W. in a special train, of course at government expense, as it is a Mil. R. Road. all for the pleasure of officers. No privates partake of such amusements. They can perform the labor of it all. It must be a great trial of their patience. Today I have seen drunken, swearing soldiers. Last night at the Ball in Chappell's Hall, there was a shooting affray. It is only a few yards from here.—A guard of Zouaves is enough to demoralize any city. It is more disorderly lately. The colored folks still believe there are doctors here seizing & killing folks for dissection. From what I hear of the School at the Barracks, it is a place where children should not go. Mr. Axe, beats the children, & jerks & throws them about in a rough & brutal manner. And the (?), sanctimonious Superintendent keeps such a man there.

Wednesday Feb. 24. 1864.

High wind. Went on 9 A.M. boat to W. but with no one to speak with I did not half enjoy it. Went to Mrs. Breed's, then had a hunt for the Am. Tel. of. but Mrs. Berry was away. Went to Capitol & directly to the Senate, The 1st hour was not interesting. But after that the Res. to make Gen. Grant a Lieut. Gen. was taken up. Speeches were made by Grimes against it & by Hale. Wilson, Rev. Johnson [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] of Ohio & [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] of Mich. in favor of it. I enjoyed it although I think it a waste of time. I should say wait till the war's over & then will be time enough then to bestow honors. I think with Grimes that Grant can do very well with \$6000 a year. & wd. hesitate before I wd. give \$14000 to any body. But the pros & cons were curious to hear.

Hale would confer this honor; for if we withhold it the people will resent it & make him the next President. All have a high opinion of Grant. But there is no precedent for doing this,

There have been only 2 instances, Washington & Scott. W.'s was after 15 yrs. of service to his country. —Fessenden was speaking when I left at 3 1/2 P.M., in favor.—Called to see Mrs. Marshall at Clarendon House. She has been sick in bed since she left Alex. last Sunday. Poor woman, She thinks it is a severe influenza! But Consumption will claim her for its victim soon. I very much fear.—

Left on 5 P.M. boat. The dust has been dreadful today. I should think people wd. have sore eyes & lung complaints in consequence.—No good news.

Formation of a Freedmen's Bureau meets with much opposition. Nichols is at Arlington yet, the scamp! but what shall we say of those who retain him there?

Mrs. B. says the Home does not prosper. There is a great deal of sickness there for some cause, & Miss Mann is dreadful. I wish they would remove her too.—

Thursday, Feb. 25th

Pleasant weather. Waited on people all the A.M. In P.M. went to Hospital. The building is being improved. Another man died this morning.

The 183d Penn., 800 of them, were here on their way to the front. At the Soldiers Rest now.

At 2 P.M. went to Barracks, to School Anniversary. A portion of 4 schools there. A number strangers happened in. The speakers were Maj. Silvey, Capt. Wyman, Owen, Scott, Robinson, Denman, Powell of N.Y. & gentlemen from Troy & Albany. The children appeared well & it was an interesting slight. Mrs. Jacobs spoke & Miss Collier also. When Mr. Gladwin asked me to speak, I said "I have no school here, you took possession of my room & broke up my school & if I speak, that is what I shall say." He didn't urge the matter any further.—

He has been in his glory today, thinking his fame will go abroad with these strangers. His first words this P.M. were a misrepresentation of facts in regard to the schools.

Maj. Silvey said, "Come over & see us." Come down and tell me how you are on it for comforts." "They have had me up for doing what I did." I said, "Thank you. I have supplied myself. I have what I want." "no matter."—

I cannot think him sincere in his professions of kindness.—

Capt. W. came in with 8 ladies. I think they were from Washington. but some of them did not appear to like the idea of sitting down with niggers, & insisted upon standing. The Capt. was all smiles, spoke well, as he always does. but began by calling Mr. G. "his warm friend." Capt. W. ought to see through Mr. G. & if he does not, it is probably

because he will not. His influence keeps Mr. G. where he is, & at the expense of the best interests of these people. _____

Mr. Owen is a man of small abilities, but good as far as he goes perhaps.—I devoutly wish both Robinson & Barker were better informed & more talented than they are.

Feb 26th.

Oh! the wind & the dust. Too bad to be in the street. I have only been out to my meals & to the P.O.— Water pipes fixed today. Hope they will not burst again. Waited on people nearly all day, sewed a little. Tired tonight.

27th

Fine. Called on Miss Collier & Mrs. Sweet. Her husband is some better. Then cleaned my room & myself which took till 4 P.M.— Called at Mrs. Henry's but she was out. such an old secesh house! This evening went to Barracks to hear Remond, but he was not there, so the prayer meeting went on. Peter & Leland were the most prominent actors. Peter prayed thus "Oh lord, bless the President of the U.S. if thou wilt; bless the Cabinet kitchen if thou wilt," "Look over Jasper's white walls down on to thy footstool." May we pull together like the Company of Pharaoh's horses in ancient

times. may we be like two doves in one nest." Oh, Lord, shake thy table cloth down among us, & may we get some of the crumbs." The grammar is so awkward that in a minute after it is said I find myself unable to repeat it. I had no pencil nor paper & could not take notes. There are[?] 2 or 8 mourners, Peter said, "we came before thee knee-bent & body bowed. There are several whose knees have been made acquainted with the floor this evening." &c, &c. Several soldiers were present & took part. Rev. Mr. Sluby made some good remarks during the Prodigal's Son. This was very good.

28th Sunday,

Went to W. on the 10 A.M. boat. No other lady passenger. talked with Mary Whiting the stewardess, born in Alex. has been North once. She does not believe that the time will ever come when colored women will be admitted to the cabin with white women. That is too much altogether.—No cars run on Sunday & I walked from landing to Clarendon

Hotel Cor. 6th & Pa. Av. Found Mrs. Marshall some better. I shall stay with her until tomorrow. I found here "Hannah Thurston," B. Taylor's new book, & I am quite interested in it. Mrs. Angle thinks there is a similarity between Hannah & myself. I only see it yet in our both being A. Slavery, Improving Women Rights, & a resolution to live in single blessedness.

W. is a dismal place today. The atmosphere is filled with dust. Not much of the usual stir. No cars running.

Monday 29th Feb.

Last day of winter. Cloudy, rain in N.Y. this morning, it will probably reach here in about 24 hrs. The whole army is moving. Even the Potomac Part of it has reached the Rapidan. They have waited till the fine weather is over, & a storm is expected. The men have left their log houses wh. they had made quite comfortable. & now will

be exposed to a severe storm probably, & in a few days will come back again to Culpepper vicinity.

Mrs. Marshall feels much better this morning. & rested some last night. But I nearly finished Hannah Thurston before retiring & then I did not sleep much. Hannah concludes to get married. She does not speak in public any more. & asks her husband to resume smoking &c. Many of the characters are true to the life. I have seen just such reformers, but I am not quite prepared to accept all the conclusions.

About 10 I went to find "All quiet" &c" after a long walk went to Fair of San. Com. in Patent Of.— Fine Collection of things, but having very high prices—

Went back to Hotel to dinner & took leave of Mrs. M. at 4 & came back to Alex. Very tired, but I have been to Barracks this evening to hear Remond & Downing.

& I enjoyed very much. It is refreshing to hear somebody speak that has sense & refinement. I hoped the usual singing & praying would be dispensed with for once, but no, one third of the time at least was occupied with lining[?] & drawling[?] Amazing grace" & "Show pity," &c. & Mr. Gladwin saw fit to speak to apologize to Peter for not giving him a chance to speak too. Mr. G. knows just about as much as Peter & some others.—

After meeting our set went to the Fair at Connoway's Hall. I was tired enough, before this. & it was 11 when we got home. The avails of this Fair is to get a banner for the Odd Fellows & I did not care to patronize it, even by my presence. A number of the people were nearly white. but the table tenders were strangers to me, a new set altogether. I was too tired to be interested. Downing & Remond have policy in mingling with the

people. They are getting recruits for the Mass. Cav. Regt. & they are very successful. Snowing this evening, very dark.

Alex. March 1st. 1864.—

Rainy day, yet I have enjoyed it, I have had but few interruptions. I felt so tired I did not rise till 9 & had no breakfast of course. I have done various chores & written some. Yesterday a package came from Phebe. Two pieces of Calico at 25 cents a yd. & a piece of sheeting at 35- cents.—Such as was formerly sold for 12 ½ cents, both cal. & cot.

Mr. Downing here. He intends to leave with 18 men tomorrow. I am glad. Detroit paper today. The 2d. Mich. reached Detroit on the 24th inst. about 200 men. the city

welcomed them & the Hotels entertained them. They are to be quartered at Fort Wayne for the present. The time seems long to many. I am sure.

I have not felt so devoutly thankful before. That her husband is one of the few that has lived to return after so many perils. I do not know how to be thankful enough for her sake as well as his.

Letter from Frances. Trouble yet with & Mary J.—What will they do?

Dr. Pettijohn came back last evening to fill the same place as before. We are so disappointed.—

Mar. 2d. Wednesday

Bright & colder. Attended to washing. Then went to the jail & saw the girl who was whipped. but Mr. Bushby, the jailor was present, & I could not say much to her, shall try to go again.

Called at Hospital & saw Lieut. Sweet, he is better.—About noon Miss Jackson & 2 other ladies came from W. I got carriage for them & we went to Fairfax Seminary. Went up into the steeple. Fine view. —Only 20 sick men in the Hospital. some making bead collars, one man

making picture frames. Named Hillman from Canandaigua. Left antislavery books & papers with them.—

An interesting ride. On return called at Soldier's Rest &c. drove round by Christ Church, then to Landing.—

This evening I have ironed & I am very tired tonight.

Mrs. Henry & Miss Collier called.

Barrel came from Worcester.

Mar. 3^d—

Find. Cold. Attended in clothing room all day. Hard day's work & I am tired tonight. Miss Owen came today. She is to teach but I don't know where. Miss Collier called. Mr. G does not consent to her having a room & she now thinks he is a very strange man.

Mar 4th

Attended in clothing room all day & am very tired tonight. No particular news.

March 5th. Saturday

Rainy so I shall not go to W. to day.

Evening, I have only been to my meals & to P.O.—I have written several letters. It has been a sad day for me. A line from home informs me that father is about leaving his house & farm to Henry & he is going to hire a house in E. Avon for himself & wife. It is hard to have my home occupied in such a way, & myself driven from it, as it were. It is a severe blow. It hardly seems as if my father would do so. I suppose I shall be obliged to go home & dispose of my things. It is hard, very hard to leave the place that was once

my own dear Mother's home. Oh dear, I will try not to think of the future, although it will be a serious matter for me no doubt.

Mr. G. had told Mrs. Jacobs that he wants us to move into the other house. She told him she should not leave this unless Gen. Slough ordered her to do so. But neither of us

will go into the other house. Too many disagreeable associations connected with it. We have seen too much misery there, too many of the neglected sick & dying & dead. And then the rooms are not half as pleasant as these. But I dare say Mr. G. will have it all his own way before he gives it up. & I shall try to find a boarding place elsewhere. He is thoroughly selfish, & as small a person as I ever knew.—And I have but very slight respect for Mr. Owen who seems to be in awe of Mr. G.

Sunday Mar. 6th, 1864

Have only been out to my meals & to P.O.— Have mailed ever so many papers. Have looked over letters & destroyed a quantity & arranged all my papers. Situated as I am here, I think it best to keep every thing straight & as snug as possible. —It was 218 weeks yesterday since my darling Freda was taken from me.

Monday Mar. 7th. 1864

Fine. Called on Lieut. & Mrs. Sweet. Went for passes. Telegram from Mrs. Marshall for me to come to W. intend to go tomorrow with Mrs. S. Been to our Hos. twice. Sick people have nothing but the poor rations which are issued under the last order. They suffer for want of nourishment. Dr. Bentley is making an effort to get something more for them. Been there 3 wks. & no washing done yet. Will it ever be any better. The clerk informed me that “Government is down on the Contrabands.” He is, evidently. It is so strange that Gov. will not employ the friends of these people to have charge of them, instead of those who hate them or are indifferent to them. I am told there is a prospect of Gen. Slough's being removed, & Gen. Briggs is to take his place.

This evening been to hear Frederick Brown, brother of John, who spoke at Bap. Ch., also Remond & Downing. Brown is not a man of large talents, is not educated, & no orator, as

Brutus is, otherwise Remond. Downing & R. succeed well in getting men to go to Mass.—Brown thinks & says he expects to be Superintendent of Contrabands somewhere. perhaps here.—

Tuesday, 8th. Rainy

Mrs. Sweet called. Letter from Mrs. Barnes. Box from R. came yesterday. It contained a nice woolen shawl, a gift from the Society.

Large numbers of troops are passing through here now to the front.

Wednesday, 9th.

Dense fog in morning. Fine day. Mrs. Sweet went with me to W. in 10 A.M. boat.—Miss Collier too. Went to Clarendon & found Mrs. Marshall better. Her husband is sick at Brandy Station. —Went to Capitol with Mrs. S. Sat awhile in the House & also in the Senate. Nothing very interesting being done. Left Davis of Ky. making speech in favor of Slavery. He says it is too bad for Gov. to offer only \$300 for the slaves of loyal masters, when but

for the aggressive policy of the Gov! these slaves would be worth \$1200. He proposes to have the negro troops disbanded & then employ the men as laborers & teamsters. He talked until only 8 members remained on his side of the House & 5 on the other. & some of these were reading & others writing, & nearly all had left the galleries.—

Mrs. S. went back to Alex. at 5 & I called at Dr. Breed's. Met Mrs. Kryzerwoski, wife of a Polish Gen. now in the field.—

Returned to Clarendon to stay with Mrs. M. Saw an officer's funeral, but could not ascertain the name. Such is fame. Gen. Grant arrived last night.

Washington, Mar. 10th.

Rainy day. Went to Dr. B.'s & with Mrs. B. called at rooms of Sanitary Com. Saw Mr. Fowler. He thinks it outrageous that a man like Gladwin should be kept in the position he occupies & spoke his mind very freely concerning him—

Mrs. F. is willing we should have some things for our sick people. & I intend to come over in an ambulance & get them. Pouring rain so I staid with Mrs. B. till night & had a good visit. Then went to Clarendon to spend the night with Mrs. M. she has sat up some today. Last night I slept but little. So much noise in the street & there was a fire not far off. Large quantity of hay was burned. Then a serenade to Gen. Grant who stops at Willards kept me awake. It was very beautiful.

Friday Mar. 11th Washington

Went to Mrs B.'s to return shawl &c. Then went to Capitol. Studied the Bronze Door. It is an exquisite work of art. Cost only \$30,000 in gold. It is ~~20~~ 17 feet high & 9 ft. wide, weighs 20000 lbs. Designed by Rogers, an American Artist in 1858 & cast in bronze by F. von Muller at Munich. It is in Alto relievo. History of Columbus.

Sat in the House awhile. Among the bills presented was one drawn up by Mrs. Breed to aid the Colored Schools. There was a debate on a contested seat &c. When I went into the Senate the everlasting Reverdy Johnson was speaking. I cd. not make out the burden of his song.

Sen. Harris of N.Y. offered a Resolution to aid the Cadets of W. Point, increase their pay, &c. It is now \$30 a mo. He says many of them are ragged & shoeless & they are in debt to the Commissary \$15,000. Mr. Pomeroy said many of these were the sons of rich men & such need not suffer for want of clothes. \$30 & rations ought to support them. Mr.

Anthony R.I. made a speech upon it. Fessenden, Wilson & others spoke on Finance Resolution.

Pouring rain this P.M. so that I do not go back to Alex. Mrs. M. very comfortable today—There was great rejoicing in Alex. yesterday. All the bells

were rung & 100 guns were fired. At 12 o'clock, Slavery was forever abolished in the State by the Constitutional Convention, only one dissenting voice.—

Many people thought there was a great fire, others thought the rebels has come surely & some of the secesh expected soon to embrace their friends. At the Government Corral the horses & mules were frightened & many ran away. Some individuals thought the day of doom had come.—But when it was understood by the people, many hearts beating under dark skins rejoiced as never before. Some noble speeches were made Convention on the subject. Downey, Hawxhurst, Boush & Watson, etc.

March 12th

Fine, warm. Came back to Alex. Letters from Phebe C. & Mary Van B. — Sister M. is happy now. Joe is at home, but it seems he is going back again.—

Went to P.O. & to see Lucinda. A soldier was murdered yesterday in the tunnel between Royal & Fairfax St—Probably by another soldier who robbed him first.—Louisa went with me to Hospital to take some things to the sick. Some improvement. New patients from Claremont.

Called to see Lieut. & Mrs. Sweet. They were out, so he must be better.

Did a little shopping, etc.

This evening Miss Howland & Miss Nichols & Capt. Ferree have been here.

Kilpatrick's Raiders have been coming in for several days from Old Point on their way to join Meade. The horses are nearly used up. They have been within the defenses of Richmond & have performed a bold & dashing exploit.—

It is 219 weeks since my little darling was taken from us. & oh! it is so long since I have heard from her! I have no way now to hear any thing from her.

Sunday, Mar. 13th. 1864

Have only been out to my meals. Made a thorough toilet & felt refreshed. Have written all the while since 12 o'clock. It is now 8. I will stop & read awhile. I have enjoyed the day. I have had no interruptions.

Monday

Attended in clothing room all day. Took in \$45, the most I have ever taken in in one day. Gave away some things. New persons came in last week from Rappahannock.

Very tired tonight—Went to meeting this evening to Mr. Crow's S. house. Mr. Pepper a queer man, is trying to do I know not what. The meeting was a failure.

Tuesday. Snow Squall. cold.

Genuine March weather.

This morning with Miss Collier went to the jail wishing to be there when Mahala Ann Grady was released. but she had already gone. She was not allowed to

stop in the house where she formerly staid with some colored people, but had gone to see her Mother. We hope to find & help her to do something for herself. She had no bonnet, & no clothes but what she wears. If she cannot find a place to work, what will the poor girl do?

I called to see Lieut. & Mrs. Sweet. Then did some cleaning & regulated things. This P.M. evening have read the papers & wrote some.

A number of people came in to-day from Rappahannock. Bought some things. Their master was about to send them south, & they left .

A boy & a girl, both having smallpox. came & stayed in the hall an hour or so this P.M. waiting to see Dr. P. or Mr. G. that they might be sent to the Hospital. I understand that it is now in all the Hospitals, soldiers are brought in sick, & not until they break out can the

surgeons tell whether they have small pox. & then they are sent away to Claremont I suppose.—

Mr. Brooks, another new Missionary from the Home Mis. Soc. has come to labor here. There may be more Missionaries than there are people, after a time.

John Rush of the 72d N.Y. Vol. has been arrested for the murder of the soldier, John Scotten, in the R.R. tunnel. But nothing is proved against him yet. & I think it is quite as likely to be the man who says he found the man murdered in the tunnel.—

We knew Rush, & thought him a good young man. He has led prayer meetings here till within a month. But lately he has been reckless & dissipated.—

I am told people are knocked down in the streets about every night by some of the low citizens. The jailer, Mr. Bushby, says this is a very bad place.—

Wednesday Mar. 16th.

Cold as winter. Went on 9 A.M. boat to W. to hear debate on repeal of Fugitive S. Bill. Called to see Mrs. Marshall. then went to Whitehursts sat for photograph.

Very dusty & the wind makes it almost intolerable in the streets. Went to Capitol & sat in the Senate from 11 1/2 A.M. until 4 1/2 P.M. Instead of the debate we expected to hear, there was first the Bill for increasing the pay of certain Consuls debated at length.

Then the Bill to incorporate the Masonic Societies of the City of W. 17 in number. They wish to purchase land & build a Temple. B.B. French & Robt. McMurdy the controlling spirits. Mr. Grimes introduced the Bill. I was highly gratified to hear the objections made to the Bill by Morrell, Doolittle, Howard, Anthony. It was referred to Com. on Dist. of Col. I shall be sorry if there is not enough of the Anti Masonic spirit left to head off such an attempt to gain power & influence by the Masons.

The W. Metropolitan R.R. Bill was taken up. It received numerous amendments by Leneyck & Morrill &c & a proviso by Sumner that no person should be excluded on acct. of color! This brought Saulsbury to his feet, & there was some loud talk. Massachusetts & Boston & Sumner had to suffer. He talked of the superior race being degraded by riding with negros, of Dr. Augusta, etc.

Mr. Sumner has a speech ready, I am sure, for there was a pile on his desk & he was busy all the time writing & referring to books, & yet seemed to know all about what was going on.

Miss C. left for 4 o'clock boat but I staid another hour.—When I returned, among the passengers were 2 young women, who called for brandy twice on the trip, & were evidently disreputable persons. They were richly dressed & it was a sad sight to see them. one was quite a young girl.—Any body can get liquor on the boats.

It has been a hard day's work. The cold, the wind & the dust. & having no dinner. have been about as much as I can endure.

Mar. 17th. Thursday.

Cool. Called at Hos. to see Mrs. Sweet. Mahala Jane Grady came & I gave her some clothes. This is the girl that was whipped. She was released from jail day before yesterday, & Miss C. has found a place for her. & we hope she will do well.

About 10 A.M. with Mrs. Jacobs & Mrs. Sweet went in Ambulance to Georgetown to take Jackson Craig to the Home. Nice ride. Things look better there than formerly. Mrs. Holt appears to be doing well. We went into the school. The room is fitted up comfortably but the children did not look happy. Hayward & Willis Paine were there but they seemed afraid to speak to me. Miss Mann is cold & stern, & I think has succeeded in crushing their childish spirits. They evidently fear her very much.

Then we drove to W. to the San. Com. & saw Mr. Fowler & Mr. Knapp. The latter made inquires about Mr. Gladwin.

Mr. Fowler gave us an order for 15 lbs. sugar,

5 lbs. tea, 15 lbs. dried fruit, 2 doz. old sheets, 3 doz. old shirts, 1 doz. wrappers. 1 doz. slippers 2 doz. hdkfs. —had no crackers, nor fish, nor toast.—But I am very glad to get so much. Mr. F. says they are being found fault with & it is not certain that they can give us any more.—

(The driver in the mean time took a horn.) Then we went to the Clarendon & found Mrs. Marshall sitting up.—(The driver in the mean time took another horn.) & by the time we got to Long B. he began to feel the influence of his potations. The draw was up & we had to wait & before we had barely[?] got across when a train overtook us. We alighted for

the horses were skittish. & the driver cd. not prevent their going out of the road into a muddy place, but he got them out & we seated ourselves again in the Am. & from that spot to the suburbs of Alex. these horses went on the run. We were less than an hour, & it was at the risk

of our necks. We could do nothing but try to keep on the seats & watch the horses. In passing teams he never held up, & we narrowly escaped coming in contact with several. I thought it would do no good to caution him, for he was drunk.—

We got back at 3 1/2 o'clock. I went to P.O. Letters from Phebe & Anna B. & Mrs. Earle. The latter has sent 2 barrels.—which will probably be all they will send this season.

I went to Wolf St. Hos.—Mr. Wetherbee has been sent to W.—Mr. Gillispie is better.

Miss Collier & Miss Evans called. Miss E. is a new Missionary woman; & then there is a new Missionary man too, Mr. Brooks. Perchance there will be more Missionaries than people!—

Friday Mar. 18th. 1864.

High wind, & dust makes it almost intolerable to be in the street. Attended in clothing room nearly all day. Telegram from Mrs. Berry. Debate on Fugitive Bill tomorrow

at 10 A.M. I shall try to go over.—

About 3 P.M. Dr. & Mrs. Breed & sister Amy & Meena came, & I went with them to Claremont. to Smallpox Hos.— this was the rebel Com. Forrest's mansion. It has been a beautiful place. but the military occupied it first & the fences are all gone, & the shrubbery. The trees are left. Only Dr. & Mrs. B. went in. A guard of 8 soldiers are here. There are 113 patients, about 50 soldiers, the rest are colored men, women & children. The place is clean, & they all seem well cared for. No difference apparently between white & colored.— Dr. Bentley visits it once a week. Dr. Moore is the resident physician, also Dr. Beeson an Indian herb doctor is employed by govt.—He asked Mrs. B. to send 8 cows there, They take only 2 gals. of milk a day. & sometimes can not get this. Dr. M. says the poor colored people suffer for want of clothing. We have neglected them this winter. There has been but very few there until recently, & I have hardly known who the surgeons were until quite lately. I shall send all

the made clothing I have, & I must make an appeal for more. Mrs. B. is a noble woman. Where is another one who wd. go into a Small P. Hos. as she does. She goes to Kalorama also that is near W. It has now 500 patients. A Small P. ambulance in advance of us & we followed it for a mile or two. & we saw a woman leave it & go into the house, no one assisted her. Not far from this house is the railroad B. that the guerrillas attempted to burn a few weeks since. The country is very interesting. I wish Forrest & other leading rebels

could see the devastation of the country in the vicinity of Alex. I talked with the guard at the Hos. He says they are expecting the guerrillas there.

The ride home was pleasant I am tired tonight. The sun, wind & dust have spoiled my face, & it feels very uncomfortably.

Saturday Mar. 19.th

Fine. warmer, went on 9 A.M. boat to W. Went to Capitol, but Senate not in session today. House in session this P.M. but I was

stupid not to go. Mr. Berry sent a second Telegram last night to inform me that the debate on the Fugitive Bill had been put off until Tuesday. —But I did not get it. I found Mrs. Marshall better. Went to see my photograph, but did not like it, & sat again, in a dress & collar of Mrs. Marshall's. Called on Mrs. Lake. Met Mr. G. & Mr. O. there, & Mr. G. insisted upon my riding back in the ambulance. I called at Judiciary Sq. Hos. & saw Mr. Wetherbee. He does not improve at present.—Came back over Long Bridge. The draw was open & we examined its action. A portion of the Bridge is raised by weights, & another portion slides under this. It is moved by a number of men at a capstan. —Got back to Alex. about 6 P.M. The first news was “Moseby & a large number of Cavalry in within 7 mi. of Alex. With Virginia L. I went out to reconnoitre, around by Slave Pen & Barracks. A guard on the railroad as usual, & these two soldiers were all

we saw, A remarkable change for the city has been alive with soldiers for several weeks past. But very few people in the streets. Only two gates in the stockade were open; not a soldier to be seen at the Slave Pen. The absence of these, the soldiers, the unusual quietness of the city, were ominous of something.—I returned & read the papers. I was very tired & having eaten lettuce for supper, I slept all night, & if the rebs had shelled the city I am not sure I should have known it. I felt too weary to write in the evening., or to pack up my things, & even Mr. Dan Rice's circus, which is in full blast only one square distant, failed to disturb me at all.—

Today is Sunday the 20th.

which hardly seems possible. The spring also will soon be gone. Today I learn that a brigade lay just on the outskirts of the city last night. every available soldier was sent out to guard the approaches to the city, only 2

were left at the Pro. Mar's. office, & all the armies from the west were barricaded with wagons, & cannon were planted in the principal streets, so it would seem there was occasion for alarm. & the Gov. very wisely took precautions to defend the city.—Moseby evidently thinks he can imitate Kilpatrick's raid in the vicinity of Richmond. They had determined on something desperate before Grant takes command. He started for W. yesterday.

To I have cleaned up some & did chores & wrote letters.—Towards night, Mrs. J & I took a walk, went out on King St. until we came to the wagon barricade. I hear there has been fighting at Manasses.

Monday 21st.

Cold & raw. Attended in C. room, but few calls. In P.M. went to Hos. Things are not quite as they should be yet, but much better than they were once.—Called on Mrs. Henry. No further news of the rebels. —

Tuesday 22, 1864

Cloudy, cold, windy, dusty, at night snow! And this is the sunny south! Went on 10 A.M. boat to W. hoping to hear Mr. Sumner in the Senate. Rushed up 7th St. & bought a Neapolitan bonnet, then to Whitehurst's but my picture was not finished. Called on Mrs. Marshall, she is improving. Mr. M came back on Saturday. I went to Cap. about 12. About an hour occupied in miscellaneous business. Then Mr. Willey of Va. made a speech of nearly 2 hrs. duration. An abolition speech, & a powerful one too, but he cannot vote for the repeal of the Fugitive S. Bill. that wd be unconstitutional. He is in favor of amending the Constitution to abolish slavery. But it was a wonderful speech for a Virginian.—After this the Senate went into executive Session & I came back on 4 P.M. boat, not half satisfied with what I had heard. I think I'll not try to hear any thing more. The proceedings tomorrow I dare say will

be interesting, but I was vexed & would not stay over. The dust in W. is dreadful. It is freezing cold. & this evening it snows.

Yesterday a vessel came from Hayti bringing about 300 colored people that went from ~~Alex. 2 or 3 yrs. ago~~. The Gov't sent for them as it proved to be a miserable place for them there & this morning they were sent to Arlington. I must learn the particulars of this, for it is an extraordinary proceeding.—

Mar. 23^d.

Bright. Snow a foot deep this morning. But it melted very fast all day. It is very sloppy— This A.M. I cleaned my rooms. This P.M. I trimmed bonnet.—

Mrs. Jacobs has been to Arlington to see the folks from Hayti—420 persons went from Fort Monroe in Apr last[?]. Smallpox on voyage. Men that took them did not fulfill their agreement. They suffered after they arrived there. Reports of this reached the President & he sent for them, 368 came back—He may learn something on the subject of colonization.

Von[?] grand humbug has been exploded.

Thursday, Mar. 24,

Bright, snow nearly gone.—

Attended in clothing room. Trimmed a bonnet.—About 6 P.M. a train of 750 sick soldiers came in from the front. Mrs. J. & I went to King St to see them. They had been in the cars since 7 this morning, & I dare say it will be midnight before they are all taken off.—They will hardly know themselves in the morning, in the clean hospital beds & comfortable rooms.

A row occurred near the cars on King St. just as we got there. A crowd of civilians had collected, & one of them shot a soldier, it was said. We saw two persons marched away by the guard, It was a hard looking crowd.—

Miss Collier has moved into the other house today, & has made me a call this evening. Letter from Elisa Van W. all about as usual. Letter from Aunt Eliza

also. She informs me that father has sold his farm for \$65 per acre to A. Barber, but they can stay there till fall if they wish. I have resolutely kept this from my mind today,—& then, I do not realize it fully yet.—

Mar. 25

Pouring rain this P.M. Went out the A.M. & did some chores. Mrs. Sweet called. This P.M. I trimmed my bonnets.

Mar. 26th, Saturday, 1864.

Cloudy, raw wind. Worked at bonnets nearly all day, so tiresome. Letters from home & from Angeline & from Frances. Did I allow myself to dwell on the contents of these letters I sh. be wholly unfitted for business. Troubles never come single. Yet it is for others more than for myself that I grieve, that I am anxious about. Some of my loved ones are not happy. Cannot bring my mind to write to father yet. or to F., or to C. or Sis.—

Only think of an Auction at our home!

Sunday Mar, 27th. 1864

Went to Methodist Ch. Mr. Davis (white) preached. I do wish the colored people could have more rational, practical & appropriate instructions. “The disciples used to have class meetings, When Peter came out of prison, he went right to sister Mark’s house & held a class meeting” & these people believe it because a white man says it. He appealed to their feelings until he raised them to the groaning & shouting pitch. & such preaching the people like. A white Trustee sits within the altar. Before the war they were not allowed to meet unless a white man was present. & they still submit to his presence.

In the P.M. went to Grantville S. School & taught a class. Mr. Scott superintends it. How much the people & the children have improved in their appearance.

Called to see Martha Shepard, saw a family from Hayti, who did not go to Arlington.

They tell a sad story of wrong & suffering. The government agents did not fulfil their contract. They were seized by the Haytians & made to work without pay.—Experience is a dear school but fools, & the President too, it seems, will learn in no other.—

This evening went with Miss Collier to barracks. Heard Mr. Mace from the Home Mission Soc. He is begging from the Contrabands for his Mission, instead of the Mission Soc. helping the contrabands, as it should.—

On the way home Miss Collier & myself gave him our views of the subject, & I called it wicked to beg from these people before they have had a chance to get for themselves the commonest necessaries of life.—It seems they are beset by sharpers on every hand. When will the right come uppenment, & when will justice be done?—The day has been bright & warm. Great numbers of troops are passing through here on their way to the front.

Wrote to Father.—

Monday 28th

Lucinda did my washing. Attended in Clothing Room all day.

Tuesday 29th

High wind, very unpleasant.

This A.M. did my ironing. Such miserable washing. These people do not know how to work.—This P.M. went to wharf & visited nearly all the rooms in the 3 buildings. I have never seen these rooms or the people in any filthier condition than they are today. It is discouraging. For some of them have had a chance to get better places to live in & be more comfortable. But, of course there will always be a proportion of lazy shiftless ones among them. I must not expect too much. The habits acquired in slavery will not be cast off at once by all of them. Economy & thrift are not suddenly acquired characteristics.

The rooms in Long House were filled with smoke, in some rooms the pipes were taken off the stoves. They say “it does not smoke so bad as when the

pipes are on. In some stoves they could keep no fire, could do no cooking. Quite a number sick, & several well ones were asleep in bed.—The bedding has probably never been washed.& it is by so much filthier than it was a year ago. Some of the floors were black as a stove & so near the river too, where water is handy. Large numbers of children have measles.

I went into the Long House school. It is taught by a soldier. he does pretty well, & it is much better than when that non descript had it.

I saw a fine Regt. pass while I was at dinner at W. House. —This evening it is raining. Hon. O. Lovejoy is dead. A useful man is gone. This is a loss to the cause of humanity.

Wednesday 30th.

Rained all night. Snow squall this morning. This P.M. with Miss Collier I went to the Hospital. Last Sunday about 20 patients were brought from the Smallpox Hos. men, women & children. They needed clothing badly while there, but in other respects

they say they were well cared for. Fared much better there than they do here for here they do not have enough to eat. I went out & bought some bread, rusks & cakes, I stewed some dried cherries, & they relished their supper very much. They were to have nothing but a piece of corn cake & tea. The poor creatures! some are dying for want of nourishment, others cannot get health nor strength with the rations they have now. The surgeons seem to be indifferent to their wants & comfort. I know not where to go for relief, but something must be done.

Alexandria, Va.

March 31st. 1864. Thursday.

The Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. Oh! The sad & weary years I have seen since then. And now the old home where my mother & sister lived & died is sold & we are all to leave it. It is hard to be reconciled to all these changes. But such is life.

I have very much to trouble me even now &

where it will all end God only knows.—I dare not look forward. & thoughts of what is occurring now I try to keep from my mind. To dwell on present troubles wd. wholly unfit me for business.

This morning I went to Fairfax St. & bought 8 loaves of bread, 40 cts, & one lb. of butter, 50 cts. for the hospital folks. Then I attended in Clothing Room nearly all day.

After 4 P.M. I went to Hospital. Miss Collier was there & had made a corn starch pudding. This with the bread & butter was quite a supper for them, poor things!

Sent things to Smallpox hos. today. have been ready to send 3 wks. Such surgeons!

April 1st.

Rainy. In Clothing Room all day, but few calls. Fixed up some old bonnets which will answer a good purpose for women who have none.—I have not felt well today. I am tired & dispirited. Am I to hear some unwelcome news?

April 2d. Saturday.

Rained all day. Reamma Burns went with me for rations. & each of us had a heavy basket full. My arms ached badly. I carried an umbrella & went trudging through the mud as no other white women of my status could do. We had 10 days rations, as follows 2 lbs.

beans, 2 lbs. potatoes, 6 lbs. pork, 2 lbs. rye coffee, a few ounces salt, a candle, a bar of soap 3 ins. long, [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] sugar, [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] meal & [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] flour.

I meet with so many needy ones now, that I mean to get all the rations I can & deal them out as necessity requires. I wouldn't take the trouble to get them for my own use. I am entitled to good soldiers rations, & if Mr. Gladwin was a gentleman I should have them. Miss Evans comes today to room with Miss Collier.

I have cleaned my room, & swept the Clothing Room, & did not get ready to sit down till about 4 P.M.

Sunday April 3^d.

Cloudy. Went with a bundle to the Hos. but wanted 10 times as much to distribute. Some of the women & children from the S. Pox Hos. are lousy & very dirty.

This P.M. went to Grantville S. School. One of the teachers is Mr. Bradley of the 151st. N.Y. from Lockport. 93 scholars today. I have felt tired all day somehow.

Letters from Joe Van B. & Aunt Sarah Wilbur. The latter is desirous of having a colored servant. Joe writes from Mt. Clemens Mich. ___ where the 2^d. Mich. are recruiting. & expects to start tomorrow for Annapolis Md. The 9th Corps being ordered there. So I may possibly see him before long. —26th. Col^d. Regt. to be in 9th Corps.
Apr. 4th.

Rainy day. Went with Mrs. J for pass. Attended in Clothing Room. & fixed 3 bonnets. 18 new people came in yesterday. & they mean to stay in Alex. & not go to Arlington.

Apr. 5th.

Rained all day. Worked in my room. Did various chores. No interruptions.

Apr. 6th. 1864

Cleared off this A.M. & the sun appeared once more. Went on 10 A.M. boat to W. called to get photograph. Concluded to have half a dozen. Called to see Mrs. Marshall. She is better.

Went to Capitol. Sat in the Senate 4 hours. Heard a fine speech from Harlan on Amending Constitution. He proved that there is no title either human or divine, moral or natural to Slave property. Mr. Saulsbury replied. Said it was a conflict with the laws of God to say that it was not right to hold slaves.

Mr. Hale spoke in his own way, but briefly. Then McDouglass rebuked Hale, & accused him of playing fantastic tricks before high heaven. Felt paid for the time I spent there. but I had a headache & was very tired. Had an interview with Mr. Channing.

Went to Dr. Breed's to tea.

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²⁰ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26004_169 to HC13-26004_184 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1863 to April 20th 1864.

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With Dr. B. & Amy Browne I went to Hall of Reps. to hear Geo. Thompson. This was the first time I was ever in the Cap. in the evening. It was a fine sight to look over that Hall. There was a bank of music. There was a vast audience of intellect, beauty & fashion. There was the President. There were Chase, Usher & Welles & M. C's. There were also a colored lady & gentleman on the floor, & several in the galleries.—Rev. J. Pierpont & Vice Pres. Hamlin were on the platform with Mr. T. & both made a short speech.—Mr. T. betrayed some emotion at first. He alluded to the circumstances & the scene before him, which were really wonderful. His most radical utterances were vociferously cheered, as were his allusions to the President who sat immediately in front of Mr. T.—But when John Brown's name was mentioned, there was a spontaneous & irrepressible outburst of applause. It was glorious considering all things. I had sick headache but I could not leave the Hall,

Mr. T. is not the orator he was when I heard him in R. several years ago. His arduous labors in India as well as in his own country nearly ruined his health. He is much broken & his sight has failed & the fire of old is wanting. Yet he is a great speaker, & the people were not only satisfied but delighted, for all which I am truly thankful.—I was glad to see Mrs. J. & Louisa & Virginia there. As we left the Hall the Band struck Yankee Doodle, Oliver Johnson is with Mr. T.

I went back to Dr. B's. Met Mr. Van S. in the cars.—

To day at my home there has been an auction, I suppose. I have been too busy to think much about it. Oh! dear.

Apr. 7th

Very fine & people have turned out to enjoy the day & to show the spring fashions. About 10 A.M. I called on Mrs. Griffins, who is ill with mumps. Then on Mrs. Marshall.

who ventured to attend the lecture last evening. I slept off my headache, but I do not feel rested. I went to Cap. & sat about 3 hrs. in the House. There were discussing Dist. of Col. Affairs & at one time there was much excitement & confusion. I did not know the speakers, only Washburn of Ill.—I walked to 7th St. & took 5 P.M. boat for Alex.—W. has been so bright & gay today that Alex. looks more dingy than ever.

Apr. 8th

Fine. Went to Trans. Office for bbls. from Worcester. Unpacked them. Attended in C. Room. Went to Hos. Am vexed with the mismanagement there.—Persons are kept there after they get well, object probably is to keep the Hos. full & draw more rations.

Apr. 9th 1864

Rainy day. No going out. Did various things. About 4 P.M. Cousin Jephtha came. He has been here this evening but is to sleep at the Washington.

House & is to leave tomorrow.—

I am glad to see him & hear directly from home. I am sorry it rains, Oh, the poor soldiers! I wonder where J. Van B. is? I thought perhaps he would be here before this. The storms may detain him.

Sunday Apr. 10th 1864

This A.M. it cleared off & now at 3 P.M. the sun is shining brightly. I have just got ready to sit down. At 9 A.M. I went with Cousin J. to the Barracks, the Hospital, the Soldier's Rest & described the Slave Pen to him as well as I cd. from the outside. Then we went to the Soldiers burying G. The ground wh. is made use of now is low & wet. To bad when better ground can be had just as well.—Went through the other grounds where he could see across Hunting Ck. The bridge is 2/3 of it submerged. Then to the Contraband B. Ground which is the most repulsive & heathenish looking place I ever saw. But no more are

buried here now. Came back & rested a little while & then went round by Christ Ch. to Grantville. Went in to the meeting & staid a few minutes.—& then came back. Tired enough after such a long tramp. Jephtha left in the 2 P.M. boat for W. I have cleaned up a little, & so the day is nearly gone.—

Apr. 11th

Attended in clothing Room all day. Head & eyes have ached since I first awoke. My meals have been miserable.

April 12th.

One of the busy days. Went to baker's on Fairfax St. Then to Hospital & a loaf of light bread was divided & given to the hungriest ones. Some spelling books & first readers. They were very glad to get too.

Then I cam back to Clothing Room & fitted out Eliza Smith all except shoes, even to a breastpin, which she asked for & I happened to have it. She wanted dark gloves but I had none.

The old lady was very thankful & almost happy. She has not a particle of bedding & no one to help her, has a wen on her shoulder & cannot work much. The poor woman! After dinner went in to a large secesh house but the Auction was just over. Very massive furniture but it has had hard usage. A Union family has occupied it. Then went to Old

Mill. Tamar the paralyzed woman was delighted with a calico wrapper.—Two very sick in Nellie Ball's fitting room.—Made several other calls. Then went in the Ambulance to the new Contraband Burying Ground. 65 graves there already. It is as good a spot as could be obtained but very wet now.

Mr. G. is spending all his energies on this. He no doubt intends this as a monument to commemorate his reign, the reign of Albertus I.—

Went to Hospital again. The well people have had permission to leave today.

& they have left rejoicing. A matron is needed exceedingly & also men to do the work in the men's ward.—

They have sufficient food now & better too. They have received some things from the Sanitary Com. & now if the people can get them! Well, we shall see!

The city has been very lively today.

Have letter from Joseph Van B. He is in Annapolis. I am tired tonight.

Called on Miss C. & Miss Evans.—

Mrs. Jacobs is ill today.

Wednesday 13th.

Went to see Dr. Bentley.—to ask if he would a matron [*Transcriber's note: word missing in original*] for the C. Hospital. Has not objection to a matron but first, she must be black & then she must be pious. "Wants to run a black machine entirely." He is evidently narrowminded, conceited & does not feel any particular interest in these people. Niggers are good enough to take care of niggers. I think a white matron is indispensable.

I have not seen a colored woman here that approaches at all to what my idea of a matron should be. Dr. B. says the matron must be found in Alex. Why, "he knows a woman who can do up shirts fit for officers, he knows another who can cook up a good meal." Of course, they will do for matrons. What nonsense! How discouraging. He was barely civil & nothing more. No cordiality, no friendliness of manner. What right had I to propose anything to him! How cd. I presume to make a suggestion to a Div. Surgeon, with the rank of Major? Are there no men in the employ of Govt.? I would like to see one. There are deeds done at that Hos. that I think would not bear the light. In the Hos. here the dead were laid out decently. Now they are rolled up in the clothes they did in taken out at once & that is the last that is seen or known of them. I presume every woman that has died in the new Hospital has been dissected. It is not certain that all have been buried.

One coffin was taken to the graveyard with nothing but a little dirt in it & it was brought back again!—

Mr. Lake came & I went a long walk with him to find a girl. He took with him to W.—

This P.M. I have been almost sick & too tired to do anything. I have hurt Mrs. Jacobs feelings. Indeed, I am always making blunders, & nobody seems to understand me.

Apr. 14

Almost sick. Could not attend in Clothing Room. Mrs. Sweet & Mrs. [*Transcriber's note: no name given*] called. Large box came from Phila.

Apr. 15

Spent most of day in writing. Am tired & lonesome. Wrote to Democrat.—Miss Frances & others here.

Apr. 16 Feel better

Rained all day. Unpacked Phila. Box. Posted all my accounts & have every thing straitened up. Had few interruptions.

Sunday Apr. 17 1864

Fine. This P.M. went to S.S. at Grantville. Room full of scholars.—Then went to Barracks to see the “Old Woman” who came from near Brandy Station yesterday. She had been left alone & the soldiers told her she must not stay there, so they put her in a wagon & took her with her feather bed to B. Station, then to Alex. on cars & she was taken on a stretcher from cars to Barracks & put in to the room with the 4 old women that Mrs. J. takes care of. She is blind & cannot walk now & lies on the bed there & seems so happy. Her name is [*Transcriber's note: blank space left*]. Has had 3 masters, first one named Slaughter, went to Ky. & took all her kinfolks with him. Next master Maj. Long one of Washington's Majors & the last one was Jack Slaughter. She was 17 when Washington's war begun; has had only one child, he died when 3 yrs. old.—Never was treated very badly for she was always ready & willing to work. After Rev. War began, she spun & wove for the masters family, such a fine spinner. Made stripe that when done up looked

[Transcriber's Note: following inserted at top of page]

(Took me away from waiting & tending & put me down to card & spin)
like muslin brought from a distance.

Then she had to spin & weave for the soldiers. Then she was taken from the house & put to work in the field.—They used to go around to get soldiers with the fife & drum & sing
“Come, brave boys & don't be afraid,
You shall have 10 pounds & a new cockade.”

In Washington's war they thought the free wd. come & they were in a great flight about it, but it didn't come. Didn't think she should live to see such a blessed time as ~~good~~ this—Her language is better than some of the whites, but little of negro talk. Her clothes are homespun cotton & wool & undyed.

She is an interesting personage.

Then Virginia & Louisa went me to Hospital.

Saw two regts. go through the city today.

Have letter from Joe. He is at Annapolis.

Monday Apr. 18th.

Attended in Clothing Room till 2 P.M. Then Mr. & Mrs. Earle & Miss Wood came from Worcester, Mass. Mrs. J & I went with them in carriage to Grantville school & made some calls. Then to the Hospital & to the Barracks to see the old woman. She talked so much yesterday that she

seems tired out today. Then into a wing of the Slave pen. Then to the Soldiers Rest. We were told there that 8000[?] men had meals there yesterday. So many going to the front.

These friends left about 5 for W. Mrs. Earle is a lovely woman. She herself pays Aunt Cyrene for taking care of the old folks at the barracks. Mr. Earle left money with Mrs. J. to get a bedstead & rocking chair for the "old woman."

Apr. 19th. Anniversary of Sarah's Death.

Have headache today & feel so tired.

Firstly, called to see Mr. Rush at Hal. Hos. This is the person who was arrested for the murder of a soldier. Secondly, called on Mrs. Garrett & Mrs. Sweet. Thirdly, wrote 3 letters & went to P.O. & to dinner. Fourthly, went to Pro. Mar's for Pass to W. Fifthly, called at Journal Office & paid for paper. Sixthly, called at Mr. Richardson's & Miss Dogan's. Seventhly, went with Miss D. to see Mrs. Merrick. She & her daughter were beaten by a white man not long since. The mother so badly that she was laid up & could not go to the Mayor's Office when the warrant was issued

Her husband has been a cripple for 3 yrs. He is dying this P.M.—Mrs. M. told me that herself & daughter were carrying in wood, it had been left on the corner for them & they saw a man, John Young, beating some colored boys. The daughter said, "see that men beat those boys." The man chased the boys but they escaped. He asked the women what they said & they said "nothing to you." Then he said they did & cursed them & had two strips of wood in his hands & began to beat the girl. The mother stepped between them when the blood began to run & then she was beaten. 2 others of the man's family coming out in the meantime & threw stones & injured the girl.

Then the man, who is low & mean, had warrants got out for them. The daughter was taken before Mayor Ware who told her the law does not allow colored persons to say anything in court, that as the man had taken the law into his own hands, he should not punish them any further, but if he had not done so they wd. have to be punished by stripes. He told the man that he should not have beaten

them himself, but if they are saucy to him after this, bring them to him the Mayor & they will be whipped.—It makes my blood boil to think that such laws can be enforced yet & that men can be found ready to enforce them.

Seventhly, I called on Miss Mary Chase, Teacher. She was arrested the same time the Merricks were for striking a white boy, nephew of J. Young, a wk. before. He called her bad names & she had a broom in her hand & she struck him & told the Mayor that she

would do it again if the boy called her such a name, or anybody else that insulted her. The Mayor told her he could order her to be punished with stripes, but she was only fined "one dollar for costs & 50 cts. for the lick." A number of colored men who were her friends were there & in case she was ordered to be whipped they meant to interfere.

The Merricks belong to Col^d Meth. Church & they are very poor. The husband has been helpless 3 yrs. The wife was not strong before she was beaten & they

applied for help to their church, but the Steward refused to read the application for fear it might seem like dissenting from what Mayor Ware had done. He is a Methodist too, I believe. There are some contemptible people in the Col^d. Meth. Ch. I am sorry they do not understand their own interests better.—

Apr. 20th. 1864

[Transcriber's note: Year written with different pen]

Went to take Mrs. Merrick some things. Her husband died yesterday morning.

Then I ironed & washed a little.

Then went to Con^d. Hospital. Called to see the old woman, Cicely Armstead. She lived near Slaughter Mountain where the battle was fought.

Called at Mr. Fish's school & several other places. In evening went to Grantville school to assist in teaching. Dr. Scott & Miss Collier have done a good work there the past winter.—

I am quite tired enough tonight.

Fruit trees in blossom & tulips &c. but the season is backward.

²¹Thursday, Apr. 21st, 1864.

Sunshine & rain. Attended in clothing Room this A.M. Mr. & Mrs. Marshall came, went with them to Wolfe St. Hospital. 106 patients there. Mr. Gillespie is very feeble yet. Oh! how nice it all is there!

Mr. & Mrs. M. took dinner with me, & then Mrs. S. came. About 3 1/2 P.M. we went to the boat with Mr. & Mrs. M. Saw 10 rebel prisoners, crowds around the Pro. Mar's office & people came to the doors to see them, but there was no unusual noise. Secesh curses were not loud, they might have been deep. After the rebs had passed on, one girl said to another, "Make haste, or you wont see your brother". They were put onto a tug immediately & sent to W. —

On our way met two ambulances, one with one coffin, the other with two. (soldiers) An ambulance with a contraband coffin had just driven away. Then as we looked up Duke St. we saw a long procession of ambulances going at a rapid rate. We went

²¹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26005_001 to HC13-26005_060 in their Folder entitled April 21th 1864 to Jan. 8th 1865.

to the rooms of the San. Com. near the Depot. 700 sick had just come from the front, & they were being taken to Fairfax Sem. Hospital. The San. Com. give them all refreshment, & take in the feeble ones & they rest a little before they are sent out.

Joe came yesterday ~~came yesterday~~ & went through to W. but they all had refreshment here. They pass through the cars with baskets of food & drink. Some of these are hospital cars, & have beds, & a kitchen in each. This com. does much good here. Such kind offices mitigate the horrors of war, & keeps up my faith in mankind.

Preparations are making for fighting, oh! dear. it must come.

Met Dr. Bentley at the San. Rooms. He was very courteous. Asked if I had found an intelligent contraband yet for matron yet. He has 2 or 3 such but cannot spare them! Too tired to go to Grantville School tonight.

Apr. 22.

Went to 68 Prince St. for rations. Attended in clothing room the rest of the day. Trimmed 2 hats & one bonnet. Received a package from Phebe, & a box from S.A. Ferris, & a large box from Phila^a.

Saturday Apr. 23^d, warm.

At 9 A.M. went to W. on the new Ferry Boat, Fulton. Fare 0 at present. There are 2 rooms for ladies, one for white & one for colored, but white folks sit in both, & seem to think nothing of it. I shall make it a point always to sit in the room in wh. colored women are allowed. I think I was never on the River when it was so pleasant as it was this morning. The boat is roomy, airy, shady, clean & convenient.

In W. it has been windy, hot & dusty. Went for my pictures, which are as good as I can get probably. —Went to Dr. Breed's, met Miss Perkins there & Miss Robinson.

Rode in a car full of rebel deserters, left Lee's army at Orange Court House 3 days ago.

They were a shabby set of men, all young, some men boys, no uniform, poorly clothed & dirty, going north under guard.—

Went to Mr. Lake's. Mrs. Marshall went with me to Capitol. House in session.

Discussing amendments to Tax Bill, some excitement over the wine part of it.—

Somebody made a speech, we could only gather from it that the member was down on Chase, so partly in disgust we left, & spent rest of P.M. til 1/2 past 5 at Mr. Lake's —

Took 6 P.M. boat. Great crowd came over. Fare so cheap today. I am too tired to night to do anything. Have letters from Joe & Mary.

Sunday Apr. 24th, warm.

Went to Christ Ch. The minister expected from W. did'nt come, & I came away.

Letter from Mary. She is getting along well, but she can't be reconciled to Joe's going away again. Wrote 3 letters,—

When I went to supper about 6 P.M. I saw 2 Regts. With music & it sounded like

a funeral dirge. Saw also a squad of cavalry. I am told that Burnside's Corps is between here & Washington, on their way from Annapolis to the front. 30,000 men, So I suppose Joe is near here. Hope I shall see him. It is a sad & solemn sight to me to see these troops go south, so many of them will never return!

There are to be stirring times now. I try not to think of it. Oh, dear, but it must come.

Monday Apr. 25th, 1864

Unpacked Phil^a Box, & waited on people till 4 P.M. Then Joseph Van B. came. I was very glad to see him. He is well & looks well, He came on boat from W. this P.M. I went with him to the Barracks, the Hospital & the Soldier's Rest. He took supper with me & has been here this eve^s. Will stop at W. House tonight — Two barrels came from Worcester today. — The cars run constantly, & their noise is almost incessant.

The 9th. Corps left Annapolis Saturday morning. That day & Sunday were quite warm & very dusty. Tuesday night it rained. Joe slept in an ambulance. But the troops had nothing but shelter tents for men & officers. Their blankets were so wet in the morning they had to be abandoned. Joe says the entire road from Annapolis to W. is strewn with the things they had to throw away. Burnside's Corps (40,000) now lies about 3 mi. from Alex. just this side of Convalescent Camp. I have a great desire to see it. There are 6 or 7 colored regiments. & in the 1st. Mich. sharpshooters there are 2 companies of Indians. They do not know their destination.

Tuesday Apr. 26th.

Attended to the people part of the day. I called on Mrs. Sweet, Matron of Grovener Hos, & saw 2 squads of colored soldiers.

Have seen Joseph but very little today. He is very busy. He commands the 1st. Div. Ambulance Corps The Am's are got in W. but here he gets stretchers, tools for minding am-

bulances, harness etc. Dr. Shaw has returned. Miss Wheelock came about 1 P.M. & took dinner with me. I went with her to the Hos. & to the Soldier's Burying Ground. She has a brother buried there. He was wounded at the battle of Chantilly. She has spent the evening here. But Joe has not come. I think he has gone to W. on business.—

Wednesday Apr. 27th, 1864.

A day to be remembered. Fine but windy. Joe came back from W. early this morning. He learned that the Corps were ordered to move this morning. He sent an ambulance at 8 1/2 o'clock for me to go & see them. Mrs. J. & Louisa & Virginia & Miss Wheelock & Miss Evans & Miss Collier went with me— It was a grand sight. We very much wished to see the Colored Regts. but they had all gone when we got there. They moved first. We saw nearly all the rest. Staid till the field was cleared. It is astonishing with what celerity they pick up

their traps. There is no confusion. No yelling, no very loud talking. Only one Div. & the artillery came this way, & passed through the outskirts of the town. The rest went in another direction, towards Fairfax C. H.— As we sat in the ambulance in the midst of them, we cd. overlook nearly the whole ground where they rested. They did not encamp. They were mostly in a hollow. Regt. after Regt. passed on one side of us in one direction, at the same time that others were passing on the other side in a different direction. When they halted they wd. drop down wherever they happened to be. They seemed in good spirits. All well clothed. They have 3 days rations (hard bread & meat) & nothing extra but one shirt. One soldier on the ground was eating a cracker with evident relish. I said I feared his rations would not hold out. He said they were ample and excellent too, & gave me a Burnside pie, wh. I mean to keep. The poor fellows! They seem to know that it is better to laugh than cry.

The Regts. in the 1st. Div. are the 2^d Mich. & the 8th. Mich. & the 17th. Mich. & the 27th. Mich. & the 51st. Pa. — Col. Hartraupt, com^{dg} the Brigade, & Gen. Wilcox com^{dg} the Div. Joe's is the 1st. Brig., 3^d Div., 9th. A.C. We fell into the Ambulance train, but before we could get to the main road, the Artillery got ahead of us, & we had to wait till it had all passed. Each battery is followed by its own wagons. The train must have been 2 or 3 mi. long. The men were very fine looking. Each Division is followed by an Ambulance train (45) & by a wagon train. The ams. are all new, & the horses are good. & every thing is in fine order. But all will look very different after the first battle. Many of these men came out 3 yrs. ago, others are new recruits. I noticed but one Maj. Gen. & he wore 2 silver stars, but no straps. I saw a Major's leaves without straps, also a Colonel's. This is a new idea. They are probably tired of so much brass.

Gen. Burnside was there in the morning but I did'nt see him. —

We got back about 1 P.M. & Joe left shortly after. He likes his present position. He has a good horse to ride, has a good tent with him, & baggage &c— He is not in so much danger as he would be with the Regt.— The Col. told him if he wd. remain with the Regt. he wd. probably have a Captaincy very soon. Joe says he does'nt care about promotion. He thinks he will resign when this campaign is over. I could'nt advise him to do either way, but told him to do as seemed right & best. He left his home with more reluctance this time than ever before, & Mary is not reconciled to his leaving again.— Only a portion of this great army, & perhaps only a small portion, will ever return to their homes.

There is no doubt but a battle will soon be fought. But if Richmond is taken it must be by strategy, or by siege. Oh, dear!

Chap. May called this P.M. He makes easy work of it. — Joe thinks he (Chap. M.) is not so good a man as when he first entered the army.— Miss Wheelock called again. I have written three letters, & am very tired tonight.

Apr. 28th.

Fine. Cool. Good day for marching.

I have helped Lucinda wash, & I have cleaned my room, & regulated clothing room. I cannot get any one to do work as I like to have it done. I am very tired to night for I have done a hard day's work. Quite a number of new people arrived yesterday. Some go to W. & some stay here.

An old house on corner of Water & Duke St. was burnt either up or down this morning. There were 7 families in it, & one of them, Green lost every thing in their room, including \$300 in money wh. he had saved to build a house. Judy, his wife was home at the time it took fire. I am very sorry for them.

Friday Apr. 29th. 1864.

Fine. Worked in clothing Room from 8 1/2 A.M. till 6 P.M.— Am very tired tonight. I gave away 87 pieces, sold 47 for \$28, in all 134 pieces. — 49th. Mass. went through about noon, fine looking Regiment & full.

A deserter from the 1st. ~~Mich.~~ Ohio Cav. was shot today in the presence of several regiments of soldiers, just in the outskirts of the town. A great many citizen spectators too.

A soldier was shot this P.M. by the guard, who were taking him to slave pen & he resisted. I do not know how many funerals have passed here today. It has been an eventful day. — A colored man killed on the R.R. was buried today. [*Transcriber's Note: blank spaces*] It is said the 9th. Corps is going to Aquia Ck. — It has been a good day for marching.— Yesterday 4 Colored soldiers were assaulted by 2 white soldiers in the street.— There are so many wicked things done that I am heart sick & sometimes well nigh discouraged.

Saturdy. Apr. 30

Went with woman for Rations. Did 4 wks. Ironing. — Cleaned Clothing room, & overhauled boxes, & contents. I have had a hard day's work.

Hear that Mr. Griffin has been thrown from a horse & injured.

Alex. Sunday May 1st. 1864.

Very fine, but cool, so tired I did not rise till ~~half past~~ after 8. Dressed hurriedly, took breakfast, & went directly to Hospital. Tried to have all the women & children change their clothes. 24 colored soldiers there, some are well enough to sit up & walk about, but they are not allowed to have their clothes, so they are obliged to be in bed.

There is somehow dreadful neglect or mismanagement here.

I got back at 11 A.M. Did my work, took a bath & dressed & at 1 P.M. started for dinner. But a Colored Regt. from Camp Casey was passing through & my dinner was dispensed with.

They number 600, some of them new recruits. I wonder at such being sent to the front. They are the 27th. U.S. Col. Regt. They halted near the Depot awhile & men were put on to the tops of cars. People came from all parts of the city to see them. There was a great crowd, & they moved off with cheers & hurrahs. The poor fellows. I hope there will be no more Ft. Pillow affairs. Plenty of secesh out too, but they dare not say any thing. Henry Dangerfield with the rest.

Went to hospital again & got back at 4 P.M. & begun a letter to Mrs. Barnes. It was finished at 9 P.M., for when I began, funerals were passing, & it seems irreverent not to pause while a soldier's funeral is passing. Then the slow beat of the drum has such a depressing effect. — Soon music was heard in another direction. A Colored Regt. was going through. They had music & banners. It was a full regt. & nearly all had muskets & many made a much

greater show than the one that left this P.M. It seemed as if every body was out to see them, secesh & all. They went to the Soldiers Rest, where they will remain till morning. I must go to see them, if I can.

This has been a glorious first of May in more senses than one. The day has been delightful, & to see these armed negroes passing through Alex. Virginia, passing by these Slave pens, one in ruins & the other occupied by Union soldiers.

We hear the remark on all sides "Well, bless the Lord, I did not think I should live to see such a sight!—

But I must go to bed & try to get rested for the morrow's labors.—

May 2^d

Went to Soldiers Rest to see the Colored Regt., 29th Illinois. It left Quincy last Tuesday, about 500 of them, all the non, com^d officers can read & write. They look much more intelligent than these Virginia negroes. Some of these are from Canada, some have been free a

long time & have never been south before. One man is 64 yrs. old, said The Lord told him to go. He was raised to believe that this time would come. Col. Bross commands them. They like their officers. I talked with Lieut. Flint; he appears like a noble young man. Says they have been treated with respect & kindness all along their route, & they are treated well here at the Rest. —There is a band of 16 singers among them, & they seem in fine spirits.—We have given them papers & books. —Went to hospital, men's ward full of soldiers. They are putting up tents in the yard for them.—Spent rest of day in Clothing Room.

Tuesday

I have only been out to my meals. Had some interruptions, but have written letters most of the day. Letter from Joe written Saturday at Warrenton Junction. They went to Fairfax

C.H. the 1st day, before night the ambulances were full of men who were tired out. —Do not know where they are going.

May 4th, 1864.

Fine. With Miss C. went to Hospital. Dr. B. was there. & the people were being examined. Ambulances were ready to take to Arlington all that had chronic diseases, or were infirm & too old to work.—Only 2 or 3 are left in the Women's ward. But the men's ward is filled with soldiers.—The people were in quite a panic for they knew nothing of this until Dr. B. & the ambulances came to take them, & they have a dread of Arlington. Poor things! They are treated with little or no consideration. Tents are being put up in the yard for more soldiers when they come. More than 29 large buildings here are used for hospitals & some are nearly vacant, but Colored Soldiers must not go into them.

I went to the Rooms of San. Com. to get some pocket hdkfs. for the soldiers. The Sup^{nt}. told me they should have delicacies & all that they need.—

I have written 5 letters. Have been to King St. & P. Office, & read the news. Letter from Mary Julia. Mr. Griffin is in Hos. at Geo.town.

It is believed that fighting is in progress. Guns have been heard, & at 3 P.M. several empty trains were ordered to the front. A number of sick were brought in last night—

May 5th.

Fine, warm. Attended in C. Room nearly all day. About 5 P.M. we attended the funeral of a Colored Soldier.

He was buried in the usual way, in the new Burying Ground for Freedmen. Had a white escort. Mr. Gladwin officiated. But made no allusions to the peculiar circumstances of the case. He is the first Col^d. Sol. who has died here. There was no reference to the war, nor to the brave defenders of the country, either white or colored. There is no heart, no sympathy for these people, nor for the country, in his canting, sanctimonious, hypocritical way of speaking. I think a distinct part of the Ground should be appropriated to

the soldiers, & their graves should be distinguished from others. They should be honored in some way. But we can't make Mr. G. see it.—

We hear that our troops have crossed the Rapidan without opposition, but reports of fighting are not confirmed.

May 6th.

Went to Hos. All the women gone & only Uncle Rolla & Naylor left. & colored soldiers are in the women's ward.—

Had a skirmish with secesh woman on King St.—Called on Mrs. Henry & Mrs. Sweet. Did various chores. Did little in Clothing R. About 4 P.M. Dr. & Mrs. Breed & Meena & Jas. M. McKim came, stopped but few minutes. I rode back to W. with them, very

pleasant there now. Went to Mr. Lakes & took supper. Saw Mr. & Mrs. Marshall. They are better. Went to Dr. B's for the night. The Penn Friends have sent 3 teachers to W. & intend to supply the wants in that respect.

In 1860 Washington had 75000 inhabitants including 14000 col^d. people. It now has 30000 colored, & 10 or 12000 children under 15.

May 7th. Saturday.

Hot.—Called at San. Rooms & got 50 hdk. for our hospital. —Went to Hospital in Georgetown to see Mr. Griffin. He is improving.—Shoulder has not been undone yet. Hopes to be allowed to go home. Expects Charlotte to night.—But he is well enough to go out or to go home alone. The Seminary Hos. is for officers & is a pleasant place.

Called on Judge Day. In his office were several Colored persons from Arlington. One, Patsey Scott was the person that Mrs. Nichols stuck with a griddle & injured her very much. They agree to pay women \$6 a mo. But they are made to pay \$6 for a gingham dress—or \$4.30 for the gingham & 10 cts. for a spool of cot. & 50 cts a yd. for cotton—They gave one woman a pair of small shoes for 1 mo.s wages. Another woman, Mary Hunter said she

went there when the camp at W. was broken up. & cooked for Mr. Nichols' family, & the Guard, (10 of them) & 16 colored men, & was paid nothing for it. They complain, & rightly too.

Came back on 12 M. boat. Called at Mt. Vernon House to pay Mrs. Robinson. Called on Mr. R. He says all the people have been removed from Claremont, & it is to be used entirely as a Soldiers' Hospital.—I have sewed a little, but somehow can't accomplish much.

We hear that there has been fighting today, near Chancellorsville —I am told that 25000 cots are ready in W. for the wounded.—There is a general complaint against Dr. Bentley, & Miss Dix thinks he is a brute. How unfortunate it is that so many are under his charge—& that our hospital is in his Division.—

May 8th. Sunday

Very hot. About 11 A.M. went to the Hos. 19 men were brought in yesterday. Some are very sick. Clement Frisby, Teamster in

Gen. Tyler's Artillery is dying.

I had a hdkf. for each one, & it really added to their comfort.—They have but little care or nursing. Went to San. Room. Dr. Colwell has been to the Hos. & says he will send some stores.

10,000 wounded are expected to come in this P.M.—

Came back. Wrote to Anna B.—went to dinner & then back to the hospital again with Miss Evans, & staid an hour or so. —so much to do there.

We hear that there was severe fighting yesterday near Chancellorsville, & we lost heavily.—Hear this evening that we have 10,000 reb wounded on our hands, & 3000 rebs are killed, & that we have lost severely too, & that Meade is pushing Lee very closely—great many rumors. The wounded have not come yet. We hear that the trains can go no further than Manasses. The wounded were to be taken on at Rappahannoc Sta.

Very hot, Monday May 9th.

Rose early & cleaned my floor. Worked in clothing room & did various things. — Letter from Mother, she says father has bought Esq. Mott's place in E. Avon, & will go there in Sept.

Letter from Phebe, she is in Phila. & I have written her to say that I will be there on Wednesday if nothing unforeseen happens to prevent.

May 10th.

Very hot. Went to Hos. with Miss Evans. She will look after the people there while I am away, & I feel better about leaving. Went for a pass. Packed my carpet bag, & did various chores.— & intend to go on 9 A.M. boat to morrow.—

Hear that Gen. Wadsworth & Gen. Hayes are killed, that our loss has been very great, but we have a decided advantage of the rebs. & the wounded are put into hospitals in Fredericksburg.

May 11th, 1864.

Left Alex. on 9 A.M. boat—for W. Dr. McKenzie, Mrs. Daylon &c. on board. Went directly to Balt. Depot & took 11-15 train for Phila —Made no stop till we reached Baltimore 40 mis. There 5 horses in single file were attached to each car & they were drawn to the other depot.—The woods are very beautiful. The young foliage is of the most delicate colors. —Two bridges over the Susquehannah & the scenery is very charming—

at Haver de Grace The train is taken over on a boat. 3 cars abreast. Engine & all, H. de G. is 38 mi. from B.

Just as we had got started from H. the engine was overturned, & it took 2 hrs. to get under way again.—

Stopped at Elkton, & Wilmington, 28 mi. from Phila. Fine along Del. Riv. Dark when we reached city. Then took 15th St. cars 3 mi. to 1214 Mt. Vernon St. to Stephen Cox's— Found Phebe there —Had a very kind reception.

Philadelphia, May 12. 1864.

Last evening I went to a meeting of the Women's Assoⁿ. for relief of Freedmen, the same that sent me 2 boxes. Reports & letters were read. I was urged to speak but I did not feel it my duty to do so. I dare say they thought it strange that I did'nt say anything as I had been in Alex. so long.

This morning I went to Greene St. Meeting for worship. 6 women & 2 men spoke. Went to Jane Johnson's to dinner. She has a nice garden, & house & is wealthy & benevolent, a very nice & useful but quiet woman. —Met Harriet Longshore there from Bucks Co.

In P.M. went to Race St. Meeting House, to business meeting. Largest assemblage of women that I ever saw, 1500 probably. The floor was more than half filled with plain bonnets. In the galleries were the young women & some of these were a great way from being plainly dressed—Epistles from

other yearly meetings were read, fireside amusements, music &c. were discussed. Geo. Truman came in & spoke at length. This was a very interesting sight, so many Quaker women. The house is large & convenient. A school house is near & 600 pupils attend.

Went to Edw^d. Townsends to tea. Ann Townsend is a lovely woman. Met W. Hallowells sister, & several very pleasant persons.—Called at William Neal's.

Friday, May 13th.

Called at Sarah W. Copes 1312 Filbert St. Then at Margaret Robinson's school, cor. Race & Franklin—Then at 635 Walnut St. to Mrs. Evans friend Dr. E.

Then at Dr. Childs, Race St. — Took dinner & rode out with Mrs. Ellen Childs to see the town. Saw Penn. Hos. where my father once received treatment for his eyes, bronze figure of Wm. Penn in yard. Old looking place. Dr. Childs & Cornelia Hanovek gone

to Belle Plain to look after wounded.

Many are badly burnt too.—

Back to S. Cox's, rains to night. I am pleased with the city, & the people.

Saturday, 14.

Rainy, but Phebe & I went out to do some shopping. Saw so many beautiful things. The best place I ever saw to buy things. Townsend Sharpless (Friend,) large & elegant store —Phebe went out of town in P.M. & I went to see Mrs. Chew, a friend of Mrs. Jacobs. — Mary Peast called this morning, she is collecting things for hospital for me to take to Alex.

Sunday, 15.

At 9 A.M. with Mary Reed went to Germantown, to see Miss Robinson. She resides here in a beautiful cottage. Met John R. of R. —Rainy P.M. so that I could not go out to see the place. We hear that there is terrible fighting, 20000 killed wounded & missing (Union).

This is a beautiful retreat from the noise & dust of the town. —

Mondy, 16.

Left G. at 9 A.M. with Mary Robinson. Called at Abra^m. Barker's 1118 Spruce St. Sarah W. his wife is a lovely woman, & both are very active in the Relief Societies. These are Hicksites, but not plain. In P.M. called to see Harriet E. Stokely.

At 6 went to Depot. Met Dr. Evans & 2 Miss Collins, friends of Miss Evans, & went with them to Mr. Abbott's, cousins of E. They are 5 miles from town. Have one of the most delightful country residences that I ever saw. We stopped at Falls Lane Station. A carriage was in waiting, & we drove through a beautiful lane & woods to Abbotts ford. —Mrs. Richards, a sister of Mrs. A. lives near in a palace of a place. The view from these places is the finest I ever saw. They seem to have everything that can be desired.

Tuesday May 17th.

These people received me very kindly. This A.M. Mr. & Mrs. A. went with me to Laurel Hill Cem. This is near the Schuylkill, & there are some fine views here. The Cem. is crowded with monuments of the distinguished dead, Gen. Mercer, died 1777, Godfrey, the Inventor, Commodore Isaac Hull died 1843, the wife of Ex. Gov. Wise of Va. she was a sister of Gen. Meade's wife.

There is a figure of a woman with 2 babes in her arms, which was sculptured by the husband, who was a Prussian artist. It is on the brow of the precipice. It is very beautiful—

At the, or near, the entrance of North Laurel is a group who was brought from Scotland. Sir Walter Scott, a pony[?] & old Mortality cutting away at a stone, all as large as life. — This is very interesting.

At noon Mr. & Mrs. A. went back & I came on to the city. The road is beautiful.

In P.M. went to Women's sewing meeting, in Race St. Meeting H. —They tell me that they will send me any thing that I ask for, or need in the way of clothing for contrabands, —The friends, both Orthodox & Hicksite—are doing a great deal. They say they have means, & all they want is to know how to apply them.

May 18.

Mrs. Abbott came & went with me to the Academy of ~~music~~ Fine Arts. Some fine paintings here. There is "Death on the Pale Horse", "American Inventors", "Deliverance at Leyden", "Asking a blessing", & many beautiful landscapes & portraits. There is not much Statuary. There is the "battle of the Centaurs," & "Tam O'Shanter." This last consists of 4 figures larger than life carved in brown stone. They were brought from Scotland. Some broken statues in the yard from Greece. —

Then we went to Independence Hall. Saw the old Bell, which was rung when Independence was declared, various relics of Washington & the Revolution. Curious chair, made of wood from Wm. Penn's House, & Columbus's House, & the frigate Constitution & the Ironsides.

It is an interesting place. There are many old portraits too. —

At noon I took leave of my kind friend Mrs. Abbott, & went back to S. Cox's. Then went with Mary Cox to Girard College. —The grounds are extensive & beautiful. The Central building covers 9 inches over one acre of ground & is of marble over one acre of ground. & is of marble from the ground to the roof, & this is of large blocks curiously lapped.

The stairs are self supporting, each step is a single block, & a peculiar notch makes one support the other. There is a statue of Stephen Girard in white marble, & also a Sarcophagus containing his remains

within the building. There are rooms containing his household effects & clothing, coats, waistcoats, breeches, buckles, hats, a wig, Masonic regalia. Great number of account books.—Boxes marked with the names of his ships, each containing the ships papers &c. his iron safe, Tables, Chairs, bedsteads, jars, bureaus, Japan Tea Chests (inlaid).—A piece of furniture wh. belonged to Louis XIV of France, a cabinet of minerals & curiosities given by Admiral [*Transcriber's note: Name left blank.*]. —There is a portrait of his wife, a beautiful woman. I am told that Girard lost the sight of one eye in this way. He was fond of entertaining French officers, & he thought his wife received to many attentions from them, & he was quite jealous of one of them.

On one occasion he supposed this officer was in the room with his wife, he looked through the keyhole & she jabbed a knitting needle into his eye & put it out.

He was very hateful in his family. Was jealous of his wife, & declared she was insane & succeeded in having her put in to an Insane Asylum where she died. He was a bad man in some respects.—But this is a noble charity 600 orphans from the city are here now, & all who have the ability acquire a complete Education.—

This is an immense institution & was deeply interested in this visit. In the Library are drawings made by the boys. For there are geniuses among these. They are taken in from 6 to 18 yrs. of age.

The scene from the roof is magnificent. It is on the highest ground of the city, 6 ft. higher than Fairmount, which it overlooks, also the State prison. Penitentiary, reservoirs, & the whole country around, Rivers &c.—

Have heard of the death of Silas Cornell of Rochester.

In P.M. heavy shower. Started to go Chesnut Hill 10 mi. from city, but were too late for cars. Then went to Hospital on Cor. Broad & Cherry, which is being put in order to receive the wounded.

Phebe came back this morning.

Thursday, 19th.

Left Stephen Cox's at 7 A.M. intend take 8 A.M. train but no train left for W. till noon.—so I called on Mrs. Chew, & walked on Chesnut St, & admired the fine things in the

windows, a pair of diamond earrings valued at \$5000, & the only gold medal ever given to Washington; & pearls, & laces & silks, & bonnets &c.

I think I never saw so many good looking people in any other city as there are in Phila. & they dress in such good taste. These modern quakers dress so becomingly. —& there is no such flashy finery, & gaudy fixings as we see in N.Y. The principles of Friends

Have made an impression on nearly all that pertains to the city. The streets are narrower than I supposed. But Wm. Penn laid them out so much wider than the London streets that 100 ft. for the principal ones & 60 ft. for the others was thought to be wide enough. The street cars are very numerous but few carriages are seen—railroads on nearly all the principal streets. It is a vast city.—& I am glad to have seen it & the people it contains, for as a stranger I have been treated with great kindness & friendly hospitality, & this visit will be remembered with pleasure during the rest of my life.

Left at 12 M.—with large trunk filled with things for Hos. by the good Friends of Phila.—Very hot, tiresome ride. The vicinity of Phila. is very beautiful. The Delaware is a fine River.—

At Wilmington is the oldest looking

Church that I ever saw.—Made but few stops.—

When we got to the Depot at Washington (7 P.M.), there were wounded soldiers lying all along on the dirty floor & people stumbled over them. It was a painful sight. They had been there since morning. These were to go to Phila. There must be gross neglect or mismanagement some where.—

I went to Dr. Breed's, met Elisa Yates.

Friday 20.

Left Dr. B's. Went to see Miss Dix, & to San. Rooms. Dr. Colwell says we may have something for the Hos. here.

Called at Mr. Lakes, then to see Mr. and Mrs. Marshall.—Then to Depot for Trunk & to 12 M. boat. —Told him my Trunk had hospital stores & the Sergeant at wharf did not examine it. —

Things in Alex. are about as usual only Peter Washington died this morning. This was quite sudden, as He was as

well as usual when I went away.

Letters from Frances & Mary & Joe & Griffin & Mrs. Earle &c. Unpleasant news from Rochester. Mary & children have had mumps, Joe writes from Fredericksburg, where he goes to take the wounded. Says our losses have been very heavy. This P.M. have done various chores.

Saturday, 21.

Very hot.

Went to Hospital. About 100 men now including several Indians. (sharpshooters) (1st. Mich.) One new tent is filled up. I am not pleased with the management of thing there. — Oh! dear, so hot I could not stay long.

Mrs. Jones called to see me. Her husband, Capt. in 19 Conn. has gone to the front & she is going home. About 1 P.M. Misses Taylor England & Froshay came from W. They have been

sent by the orthodox Friends of Phila, to teach Colored Schools in W. — A house is to be built there for School purposes & to accommodate Teachers.—

These ladies took dinner with me. Then we remained here to witness the funeral of Peter W. The people assembled in the Yard, & the coffin was taken out there. It was quite an impressive scene. But John Shippen a fellow servant of Peter's launched forth in such a way that the people made considerable noise, kept up a sort of wailing.— These ladies were amused. I was not.— Mrs. Jacobs says there was almost a howling at the grave. I did'nt go there; but I went with these girls to the barracks, the Hospital, the Slave Pen, the Soldiers Rest, & Christ Church. I was so hot & tired when I got back. — Samuel Dickinson came also (Anna's brother.) Miss Taylor "did not know what a Slave Pen is for, had never read about

them, had read no Anti S. books." I told her I really did'nt know how at this day to teach the A.B.C. of Abolition. It was so long ago since I had occasion to teach it. I told her I was surprised that she should come here to teach contrabands & not know what a slave pen is for.—

I hope no more girls like these will be sent here to teach colored school.

Sunday May 22^d.

This A.M. went to River to witness a baptism. Mr. Scott baptized 18 persons, 11 women & 7 men. A multitude of people were present. It was right under the guns of Fort Rodgers, near the 400 pounder,— It was a very slow process, so long getting ready, & such long prayers & hymns. It was so hot down there, I came back tired out & went to bed.— This P.M. a severe thunder shower. I have not been to hos. to day as I intended to do. This P.M. I have filled up my Diary &c.

Monday May 22^d. [*Transcriber's note: Preceding day, Sunday, also listed as May 22*] Comfortable day. Been in Clothing Room nearly all day. Overhauled boxes &c.— We hear that the cars &c. which have just been sent to Aquia ck. are to be brought back. Tactics have been changed suddenly. I think Grant is in a tight place, & that Butler has retreated or else been taken.

Tuesday

Very hot. Called on Mrs. Sweet. She is ill. Went to Hospital, & took 4 doz. fans wh. were given to me in Phila. Also one apple apiece. Thunder Shower in Evening.

Wednesdy.

Comfortable day. Worked in C. Room 2 hours. Sewed rest of day.
Lee has retreated across the N. Anna & Grant is following him up.—

Thursdy

Rainy. Attended in Clothing Room all day. Wounded soldiers were brought in last night.

Friday May 27.

Helped Lucinda wash, & sent for rations. Attended in Clothing Room.—With Mrs. J. went to Newtown. What a filthy town!, I only wonder that anybody can keep well. —

Received 3 bbls. & 5 boxes from San. Com. for the Col^d Soldiers.—

Such sad sights as we have seen today. This P.M. 6 ambulances passed here & they contained 11 coffins on their way to the Soldiers B. Ground, & before these passed I saw 3 ambulances at least 4 [*Transcriber's note: 4 superimposed over 3*] coffins in them.

These were the wounded that were brought in last night or night before—

May 28.

Fine day. Rose early. Made a fire in my room & Ironed. Then opened the San. Boxes & counted the articles of clothing. Oh, such nice things, 100 new shirts & socks & drawers of good material & well made.

I could not keep the tears back when I saw them. The benevolence of the North is astonishing. How much suffering the San. Com- alleviate! Then we have Lemons, wines, sugar crackers &c. —We have reason to think some of white hospitals here are not very well cared for. Too bad.

In P.M. went to our Hospital & made lemonade for about 100.

Several colored ladies came in with lots of good things, a feast for them all. Hope there will not be a famine tomorrow.—very tired to-night. Shower while I was at Hos. Tents are very good.—

230 wks. Since my darling Freda was taken from me. It is so long since I have heard from her!

Sunday May 29th.

Fine. Cool. —Went to Hospital & took shirts so that all could have a change.

Put up pictures, which pleased them very much, gave out some Hymn Books.

Then went to Pitt St. to see a woman. Taken dinner & now it is 2 P.M. & it seems as if Sunday had just begun.—

Evening

This P.M. went to cemetery with Miss Evans, Miss Collins, Master Abbott, Virginia, & Mr. Briggs. Long, but interesting walk, first went to Soldier's B.G. Then to Potter's Field, & then to the new Colored B. Ground.

Never had a finer day.

Grant has advanced back to this side of the N. Anna. Changed his base.

There has been more severe fighting. 800 wounded have been brought from there to W—All the wounded have been brought from Fred^{bg}. —very bad cases came last. On one boat coming up 5 died & on the wharf 5 died, & others had to be carried on stretchers to the Hospitals. This was a day or two ago.

Alex. May 30 —1864

Perfect day & one to be remembered. I have seen enough to think of a week,—I first went to our Hospital, sent 2 bbls. of bandages &c. there—The patients fare very well now, & shall make an effort to visit some of the white soldiers' Hos^s

Worked in Clothing Room awhile & regulated my own room. About 11/2 P.M. 3 colored Regts. from Camp Casey, marched through our streets. They went first to Soldier's Rest, but as that is used for hos. now, they went down Duke St. to the wharf, & are waiting for transports to take them down the River. They are the 29th. Ill. the 28th Ind. & the 81st. N.Y. —over 1,000 in all. It was a grand & inspiring sight. They had banners & music, & at our suggestion they sang the 'John Brown' song & other appropriate songs while coming through this secesh city. Secesh dared not say a word. Oh! I did enjoy it.—

There was a long wagon train & a drove of cattle. The men seemed in good spirit, & the officers I talked with say they have no trouble with them. There is good news from Grants Army. Burnside has flanked Lee, by crossing the Pamunky.—

This P.M. went to King St. Hospital with Miss Evans, Miss Collins & Griffith Abbott. —150 there, wounded in various ways, some with limbs amputated. One mere boy with one arm shattered & the other one off. Entirely helpless. Some interesting & affecting cases. Nearly all were cheerful, & not disposed to complain, but they need nursing & woman's care, wh. they do not have here. They do not know whether there is a matron or not, some of them had once seen a bareheaded woman, & they contended she stopped there. But she had done nothing for them.

I wish Frances and some others would come here. They might be so useful just at this time.—

Tuesday. May 31st.

Called on Mrs. Sweet & to see Dr. Bentley. Then went to our Hospital & put up window curtains in the women's ward, & worked till nearly one P.M. Very hot there.

I learn that which pains me very much. Some 2 wks. ago 11 women were brought from Arlington to this Hos. to work, I suppose, but they are very bad women. They do but little work, & have a bad influence on the men & boys. How can Dr. B. allow such a state of things?

This is the hottest day yet. In P.M. went to Wolfe St. Hos. with Miss Evans, Miss Collins & G.A. [*Transcriber's note: probably Griffith Abbott, mentioned earlier*] 260 patients, mostly wounded, & bad cases. It did some of them so much good to see us. One boy has both legs off. They have the best place in the city, & pretty good attention, & fare pretty well, on the whole.

Then went to St. Paul's Ch. Hos. one ward contained the sick, but the large ch. is full of wounded. Their wounds were

being dressed & we did not go among them. But this Hos. has a matron & I think it is well cared for. —

June 1st. Wednesday, 1864.

So hot. First went to Hospital, saw Dr. Barker & told him what I think about having those women there.—Went with Miss Evans, Miss Collins & G.A. for passes & then to wharf with them. Miss C. & G. have gone back to Phila.

Called on Dr. Coventry the N.Y. agent for the relief of Soldiers. —
So hot that I thought it best to remain in the house.—

Letters from Frances & Mary Julia. Did various chores. —

After tea I called on Mrs. Henry. Cars have not run on Orange & Alex. R.R. for 2 wks. Guerrillas have destroyed it all between Union Mills & the Rapidan. —
Good news from Sherman. No news from Grant or Butler.

Alex, June 2^d. Cooler, cloudy—

Attended in clothing room all day. Miss Evans left for Phila. —
Have seen 9 funerals this P.M.

We hear that Lee has retreated to Richmond, & Grant is besieging the city. There has been severe fighting & heavy losses probably. —

June 3^d. 1864

Fine.—Attended in C. Room part of day. Mrs. Marshall here. Mrs. Sweet called. I took tea with them at W. House.—

June 4th, comfortable day,

Called to see Mrs. Marshall & Mrs. Sweet. In P.M. went to Hospital. Enlarging accommodations there. One of the Indians is a grandson of Red Jacket, & great grandson of Mary Jemison. His wife Catherine is "Queen of Squaws," that is, the highest by birth of [*Transcriber's note: rest of sentence left blank*]. Joseph Jemison is an interesting man, from Cootnawaga C.E.— belongs to 24. Mich. Miss J. & I called to see Dr. Bentley, satisfactory interview, Toward eve^g. went to Summerville.—

Alex. Sunday. June 5th, 1864.

Cloudy—Went to Grantville to teach Miss Evans' class. A great want of Teachers. Then with Miss. C. I went to meeting at barracks to hear several persons on the life & character

of Peter Washington who died 2 weeks ago. Our speaker said that “brother P. now was out of gunshot of wicked men & out of gunshot of fiery devils, we can’t add nor diminish to his happiness,” & don’t let brother P. catch you at the bar of God without the wedding garment on.” The people sung & wailed & moaned & groaned & responded in various ways. There was swaying to & fro & shaking hands besides the unearthly sounds I have mentioned.—The room was full, & there was a crowd all about the house. I only had standing room, & I stood when I cd. see a group of children in the yard trying to dance a cotillion! Shade of Gladwin!

Just one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. —When we got back a funeral procession was passing, 2 ambulances containing 4 coffins, & we walked along to the soldier’s burying G. & saw them deposited in Virginia soil, far from friends & home. Poor fellows! 4 before these had been buried today. Quite a number of people had collected, & I listened with reverence to the Chaplain’s reading & prayer. It was a solemn scene. 18 were buried yesterday. They die rapidly in these hospitals. for many bad cases have been brought here.—

I have asked myself for the first time “will it pay?” We must receive some great good to make it pay. —

Letter from Phebe, & I have heard from home too. Like many another I am putting far away the evil day, but it will come, when we must leave our old home & see it in the possession of strangers.

June 6th.

Hot. Shower towards night. Helped Lucinda wash. In P.M. Ironed. Very tired to night.—

June 7th.

Cool & pleasant. Had my room white washed, & helped clean it. Tired again tonight.—I have been very uneasy. I do not like to spend my time thus. I felt that I should be at the hospitals instead of attending to my own comforts.

June 8th.

Went to Hos. 3 times. Had book shelves put up, sent up clothes. Made lemonade for them all, &c. very tired to night.

June 9th.

Attended in Clothing Room most of the day. Quite a number of new people have come, & have little or nothing to begin with, yet they seem hopeful & happy, & generally try to get work.

Mrs. J. left for Phila.—

We fear Grant has come to a stopping place. No progress has been made for several days. Skirmishing is kept up, & men are killed & wounded. Talked with Mr. G.

June 10

Fine. Cool.—Went to Summerville, & found woman for Mrs. Augur.—Waited on various persons. —Stewed cherries & took them to Hos. for those who do not go to table. They relished them very much. —

In P.M. went to King St. Hos. with Louisa Jacobs. A great many patients there, & many very bad cases. Some of them were suffering very much, & looked as if they might be made more comfortable. Their comfort depends a good deal upon the ward master. — In some wards they had things from Sanitary Com. & in some they had not. —Two large buildings are used, & there is a prison attached to it too, for deserters & other bad fellows.

Letter from Joe Van B —Written last Saturday, was engaged in taking wounded from Coldwater to White House. 1000 wounded in 9th. Corps. He is well.

Lewis's wife has come to day. They have been separated 2 years.

June 11th. Saturday.

Called on Mrs. Sweet. — Went to King St. Hos. The stench there is awful, in one part of the House. Louisa had made mush for one & broiled a bird, & I had strawberries for another & I went to take these. I wish she cd. have seen how they relished them. Some wards are much better kept than others.

They need san. Stores & a responsible woman to deal them out & take charge of them.

This P.M. with Miss C. I went to Wolfe St. Hos.—Norris Roatch, 7th. Mich. is better. Akin Holoway of 24th. Mich. formerly of West Avon, is better. A boy of 18 with his arm off lies beside him. Oh! so much suffering. Took over some dried fruit &c. to the matron.

Sunday June 11th. [*Transcriber's note: previous day, Saturday, also referred to as June 11th*]

Delightful weather. — Letters from Mrs. S.W. Barker & J.M. McKim.

Went to meeting in Court Room. Mr. Hooker preached. —Went to S.S. at Grantville.

Monday June 12th.

Fine. Waited on people in Clothing Room. Went to Hospital 30 new ~~people~~ sick ones. In P.M. with Mrs. Collier went to Sickel's Barracks Hos. 700 men, nearly all wounded, such a sight! Things looked very nice & comfortable as a general thing. Saw 2 Rochester men. But few ladies visit them—Called on Mrs. B. Came back exceedingly fatigued. About dusk Harriet Stokely of Phila. came. We called on Mr. Gladwin. He says the Mil. Gov. has forbidden the Freedmen to build any more houses.

Tuesday

H. Stokely left at ½ past 6 A.M. —

I spent A.M. at L'Overture Hos.

Went to Newtown, & saw a distressed family—so filthy, & several sick of course.

In P.M. went to Wolfe St. Hos. Then called on Mrs. Sweet, & to Ex. Office & on Dr. Coventry & twice to see Dr. B. but did'nt see him. Went to Slave Pen & Hos. again & am oh! so tired to night.

90 wounded soldiers have been brought in from Wilderness Battlefield, 90 mi. from this. An escort of cavalry was sent after them. About 200 had been carried off by rebs.

Wednesday. Delightful weather.

This morning went to see Dr. B. Says he cannot promise Frances a place unless she comes very soon. I am quite disappointed for F. says she is not ready to come.

Went on 10 A.M. boat to W. very pleasant. Went to Dr. B's —& in P.M. with Dr. & Mrs. B. & Meena & Aunt Amy rode about 12 miles. First to Piney Branch, a stream that empties into Rock Creek. The road is through the woods & is wild, shady, quiet, entirely out of sight of cities, forts & every thing that pertains to business or war. It was so refreshing.

There was a clear stream & the hillsides were covered with laurel in blossom & other flowers. We then, by a winding road, went on past the race course, & Fort Stevens & Battery Sill. Then we stopped at a swampy place & gathered magnolias & white azaleas & various other flowers. Then on the fine[?] military road past fort Slocum, Battery Bunker Hill & Fort Sumner, & near the Soldier's Home, where there is a Summer residence for the President, & the Sec. of War, but Stanton has never used it—Gov. King of the S. Home is a secesh Md. Slaveholder, & Lincoln allows such a person to remain there! — It is on the height of Ground & a very beautiful place.

The Soldier's Burying Ground is near, I went in to it. 8000 have been buried here, 6000 remain; the balance has been removed by friends to other places. There is a grove on 2 sides. It is in a retired & beautiful spot. There are walks, & flowers.

& green graves & white headboards, & white summer houses, & it is so clean & nicely kept! This ground is full & instead of enlarging it as might be done, & have them all buried in the District, they have lately made a new plan on the Arlington Estate, & within a month past 1030 have been buried there! The idea of going into Virginia, 5 or 6 mi — from the Hospitals in W. how absurd! & I am told it is because the secesh Gov. of the Soldier's Home, objects to men taking more land adjoining the present ground.—

The ride back was very interesting. The scaffolding has been taken away from the Statue on the Dome of the Cap, & the Goddess of Liberty looks like a Queen of all she surveys! The Dome is grand & beautiful now. —It was nearly dusk when we got back to 359 I St. —& after tea Aunt Amy, & Meena & Mr. Newton & I went to the Patent Office to attend the Ratification Meeting. It is said 8000 people were present.

The whole front of the Patent O. was illuminated by a candle to each pane of glass. The P^{ost}. O. building was also illuminated. The pillars of Patent O. were wreathed with evergreens. There was Lincoln & Johnson in huge letters. There were transparencies & mottoes & words for liberty spoken by L. & Johnson on various occasions. The speakers were Judge Kelly, Lane of [?], & Patterson of N.H. —There were fireworks from the roof of the Patent O. The moon looked calmly down on a such a scene as she never witnessed before in W. but the glory of the stars was paled by so many lesser lights, being concentrated tœin one point.

The speeches were radical Anti-Slavery & altogether it was a great meeting. We stood until 10 o'clock. The crowd was orderly & quiet. Many women were bareheaded. I do not expect ever to see such a scene again. I was very tired when I went to bed. The evening was very fine.

Thursdy June 16th.

Hot, windy, dusty. I came from W. on the 10 A.M. boat. Mrs. J came from Phila. this A.M. She brought Mrs. Hazzard for a matron for L'Ouverture Hospital. I confess to a little disappointment, for I supposed Mrs. J. knew that I expected Frances to have a place there. But if the women she has selected are only competent I will be satisfied. But it seems sometimes that every body takes the liberty to impose upon me. I wish I had more spirit.

This P.M. I went with Mrs. Moore to L'Ouverture Hos. & barracks & soldier's Rest where there are 350 sick & wounded.

June 17.

Very hot. _____ Went to Quarter master's Hospital, 6 colored men there, & seem to be well cared for. In P.M went to Soldiers Rest & staid 3 hrs. These 400 do not fare any too well.

Saturday June 18th.

Went to Fairfax St. to see a sick woman. Went to Pro. Mar's & to Hospital. Went to Newtown to see some sick persons. Sam^l. Dickinson here but I did'nt see him.

June 19. Sundy

Intended to accomplish considerable to day, but I have only laid in bed & read a little.

June 20.

Called on Mrs. Sweet. —Went to Hos.

40 men left for their Regiments.

3 have died within 2 days.

Attended in C. Room, but few calls.

This evening have heard H.H. Garnett lecture at old S. House to the colored people.

June 21st.

Hot. Went to see Dr. B. about Blinds for Hos. & Flag. He would like to have both if I can get them. — took long walk to see painters, carpenters &c.—Hear that 3 bbls. sent me

from R. are in Georgetown now. Saw the Wenonah, a large boat, wh. appeared to be loaded

with wounded going to W.

Returned & wrote several letters. The big gun has been fired 3 times & it jarred the house considerably.—About 4 P.M. I went to Soldier's Rest & gave each of the most feeble ones a spoonful of Peach Cordial.

128 men left to day for N.Y. to make room for others who are expected.

There has been fighting at Petersburg & great loss in killed & wounded. It is terrible.

June 22^d

Went to W. to see about blinds for Hos. Called on Mrs.[?] Lake & at Dr. B's & came back at 3 P.M.—Went to Hospital. Matrons not treated with much consideration. They will have many difficulties to contend with. But I hope they will succeed in commanding respect of both white & black.

June 23^d Very hot.

Called to see Dr. B. about blinds. Then went to Hos.—Wrote several letters. Letter from Joe dated "before Petersburg. June 18—He was well

²²June 24.

Very hot. Cleaned my room. Unpacked 3 bbls. of old clothes from R. In P.M., went to Parker's school, & to Wolfe St. Hos. It is not full now.

June 25

Hotter yet. Rose early. Helped Lucinda wash. In P.M. did my ironing—Suffered much from heat.

June 26th, Sunday

Hottest day I ever knew. Have only been out to my meals. Have written most of the day. A high wind & a sprinkle this P.M.

June 27.

Shower in P.M.—Worked in clothing R. nearly all day A.M. fitted out 6 new people. This P.M. went to Hospital. Washington ladies there. Some things are very discouraging. Mean, low hired white men counteract all the good we might otherwise do. These soldiers are tyrannized over & treated

like dogs by a white ward master, & as yet they can get no redress.

Tuesday June 28th, 1864.

Memorable day. I have been made ashamed of my race, & of the world in toto.—Waited on some new people this morning. Then called to see Fanny Lee, & discussed theology with a colored woman.

²² Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26005_061 to HC13-26005_137 in their Folder entitled April 21th 1864 to Jan. 8th 1865.

Then went to Hospital. New case of tyranny of part of Ward master. He curses the men, drags them about by the ears, & uses them like brutes. But I could'nt muster courage enough to speak to Dr. Barker about him. —Went to Cameron St. to learn about a sick woman who is at our Hos. & I learned that which makes my heart ache.

This P.M. went down there again, & visited 15 houses mostly on Pitt & [Transcribers note: last location left blank] Sts. These are inhabited by about 100 persons. Many of the children are sick. Some are quite comfortable, others are living in a very filthy state. Found myself at the door of a house of

bad repute. Several young colored men & women there, & several col^d. soldiers & one white one. I talked with one who told me they were recruits of 54th. Mass just come to Alex. on their way to their Regt.—I was so sorry to see them here drinking & with vile women. I then made several calls, & by that time I saw these soldiers pass. My first impulse was to follow them, & I did so. The company were on Royal St. & these men mixed in with them. I called to an officer & told him what I had seen. But by that time the white corporal was lost sight of.—I am so angry. To know that white officers go with colored soldiers to such low places. I could hardly believe it had I not seen it. —Made several calls in Sumnerville. Then after tea went to Hospital again with clothes for woman.—While I was there, the guard arrested one of the women

& marched her to Pro. Mar's—The white Ward Master should have been arrested too. Mrs. Hazzard has told Dr. Bentley about some things, but not all. Dr. B. insists upon the matrons eating with those women! How it will be decided I know not.

June 29th.

Went with Miss Collier to W. at 8 A.M. Went to see about blinds.—Then to Patent Office & Botanical Garden. Then to Cap. & sat in Senate awhile. Heard Trumbull, Wade, Saulsbury, Sumner &c. on admission of Arkansas Senators.

Went into the House a little while, & came back on 2 P.M. to Alex.

Went to Hospital, then to Wolfe St. Hos. & away down King St. Am very tired to night.

June 30th.

Went to W. on 9 A.M. boat with Miss C. Mr. Sumner agreed yesterday to see us this

morning, so we called at 251 F. Street. He has a severe cold, almost sick. He looked very sad, & careworn & troubled. He wore a Nankeen morning gown, trimmed with white & he looked so clean. He was very busy, but listened to us politely, of course. We told him we hoped when the Freedmens Bureau Bill was passed there would be a change in Alex. affairs, that the present Super^t. was not a suitable man for the place, &c. He said if that Bill could be passed many things might change, but he really feared it would not pass the

House, & he seemed so grieved when he said this. Oh! he is a noble man. Knowing that his time was precious we made a very brief stay. "He would be glad to serve us if he could," so he said. He seems to be one of the faithful few.

Then we called on Mrs. Griffin & Miss Searle & Mrs. Brew.
Went to shop & made bargain for blinds, & then came back on 2 P.M. boat. Caught in shower & stopped at house on Prince St.—Then went to our Hos. & to see Mrs. Henry.

July 1st.

Very hot—Waited on several people, wrote letters. So hot did not go out till 4 P.M. Then called to Freight Office & paid \$4.27 for 3 bbls. from R. Called at King St. Hos. Looks very uncomfortable there. So many flies, so warm, & air so impure. These men might be more comfortable I am sure.

Saw about 100 men guarded by Cav. They looked like secesh prisoners.

July 2^d.

Very hot —Worked in house til noon. Then went for pass. This P.M. went with Miss C. to King St. Hos. took a little soup.

I went to W. on 4 P.M. boat, went to shop & paid for blinds, (\$45 for 15 prs.) & brought them back on 6 P.M. boat. Went with them to L'Ouverture Hos.—
Saw several ambulances with wounded. Went to my tea, & am quite tired this evening.
—Sec. Chase has resigned.

July 3^d.

This A.M. went to Christ Ch. This P.M. so hot I have not been out. wrote to Mrs. B.

Alex. July 4th, 1864.

Not so hot. Last evening I ate some iced custard & the consequence was I was sick all night, & have kept my bed nearly all day, a dull Fourth of July for me. Mrs. J. the girls & several others have been a few mi. out of town a blackberrying, & got a fine parcel for the hospital. If I had been well I would have enjoyed the excursion vastly. There has been no celebration by the city. The stores were closed &c.

Bells were rung & guns were fired at sunrise. At noon the great guns at the Forts banged away right smart, & I imagined I knew how an artillery fight sounde.

But a small amount of fire crackers used here today, indeed, it has been a little quieter than usual.

Congress adjourned at noon. The Freedmen's Bureau Bill has not passed, & we have no hope for any thing better at present. Old Nichols & Gladwin will continue to tyrannize over the people, & Col. G. will carry on his swindling operations ad libitum.

July 5th.

Not so hot. I feel much better. This morning went to Bank, then to Mr. Carlan's to get fastenings for Blinds. This P.M. went to Newtown. Called on Mrs. Henry, waited on several families of new people. All the women barefooted. No men came with them.

July 6th, 1864.

Very hot. Very busy day—Went to P.O. Then with Mrs. J. to Hospital & to Newtown. Called on Taylor family. Then to Annabel Davis's school. She has 6 scholars, none for Mr. Gladwin now. Rather small teaching, & I try not to despise the day of small things—Then to Mrs. Crouch's School, has it in yard under the trees. It looked really picturesque. Has 45 scholars. She is going to build a School Room. Called on 4 families on Prince St. Mrs. Dana & Mrs. Crosby came.

Mrs. J. & I went out with them. Could'nt get into the Slave Pen, went to Soldiers Rest, full of sick & wounded now. Mrs. D. & Mrs. C. left at 3 P.M. —Then I went with Louisa & Virginia to Mr. Crows' School on Patrick St. Mr. Young has charge of it. It averaged 175 scholars before the hot weather. Those that can afford to pay do so, from 25 cents to 1.00 a mo. & many of them pay nothing. Nearly all the children of Freedmen. This is a "Reformed

Presbyterian Mission" school. Mr. Crow receives clothing & gives it to the poor ones. The scholars are mostly from Newtown. Then we went to Mr. Fish's School in Concert Hall. He has 45 scholars, & a method of teaching peculiar to himself, & is quite successful. Miss H. Mitchell, a colored girl, assists him. He is employed by the N. F. Assoⁿ. in N.Y. at \$50 per mo.

Then I went to get pass to Slough Hos. of Dr. B. Then went to see Mrs. Sweet. This is considerable of a day's work.

July 7th.

So hot. Slight shower at dusk. Waited on new people, went to Pro. Mar's Office. Letter from Mrs. Earle. In P.M. with Miss Collier went to Slough Hos. an extensive Establishment. About 400 there. Looked quite comfortable. Went to see Chas. Ellenbeck of Canada, —saw several N.Y. men & Mich. men &c.—Miss Evans has returned.—It is so hot.

July 8th. very hot. windy.

Have been on the go nearly all day. Can get no carpenter yet to hang the Blinds. Went in wagon to Hos. with box of things, visited all the wards, & did various things. —Saw them at their dinner of bread & mackerel & water. One man took the bread that belonged to another, & was to be court-martialed for it.

These work women are very troublesome. It is such a pity they are there.—

This P.M. Mrs. Johnson & Mrs. Underwood came. I went with Mrs. J. to the Hospital again. I have been in the sun & wind so much that I am getting as black as a 'nigger'. —I have written 3 letters. Had letter from Joe Van B. He is well, is near Petersburg.— Had letter from Margaret Robinson. They will send a Flag for Hospital. The Germantown ladies send it. How nobly they respond to every call!—

Alex. July 9th. 1864

Very hot. Windy. In A.M. went to the Hospital. In P.M. wrote an account of L'Ouverture H. for N.Y. Chronicle. Rebs have invaded Md. Have taken Harpers Ferry, plundered Hagarstown & set fire to it, & are cutting up generally. They have a large force, & hope to call Grants forces from Richmond. The militia of N.Y. & Pa. are called out. Baltimore is in danger. They are only a few miles from the city & there has been severe fighting at Monocacy Bridge.

And Moseby's men have been in the vicinity of Alex. again. There will be another great scare here soon. So many men have been drawn from Alex, That the city may well be alarmed. Somehow I cannot realize that the North is being invaded again.

This may be in the way of my going home when I get ready.

236 weeks since my little darling was taken from me.—

Sunday July 10th.

How fast the time is going. I do not mean to leave until the Blinds are on all right, & I would like to be at home now.

It is hot and windy. Spent all the A.M. in in [*Transcriber's note: "in" repeated*] cleaning & regulating my room & myself.

In P.M. called on Mrs. Henry.

July 11th. 1864.

Very hot. Lucinda came to wash. I did not help her much. Too hot to go to Hos. or to do any thing. Towards night I went up Washington St. to [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] which is barricaded with wagons, & a guard is there, several colored men were there armed, & there is a great deal of stir. Every precaution is being used. Every body is in the street. I never saw them look so lively before. Colored men & civilians are sent to the entrenchments near the city. We are in danger no doubt of a raid to destroy the Government property. Secesh enjoy the aspect of things vastly. But somehow I cannot realize our danger.

The news this P.M. is that the rebs are only a few miles from Baltimore, but it is Washington they mean to attack, & that since reb. Cav. have had a fight at Fort Stevens 4 mi. from W. that the rebs can cross the Potomac at any point above Georgetown. I have some fears for the safety of the Colored Home.

Report to night that Mr. Gladwin is arrested & taken to the Pro. Mar's Office. He certainly is not in the house & has not been here to tea.—

I mean to go to W. tomorrow if I can, & see how the city looks under excitement.

Tuesday eve^g. July 12th.

Went to W. with Mrs. J. on 9A.M. boat, had to wait for car in Colored persons can ride, boats were landing troops of the 6th. Corp. who left Petersburg last Saturday night. They were up 7th. St. towards the front. Such hard looking men! bronzed, dusty, tired, banners torn, & it is so hot, & some are in heavy marching order.

Not much business done in city. Government buildings closed, clerks all organized to protect the buildings. "No mail to day, no questions." Army wagons in every direction. —I went to Dr. Breed's. —Met Miss Carter, who has been sent from Boston to W. to look after the wants of the people, & to do just such work as I do. A colored doctor has been employed by Gov^t. for these people, & Stanton has said the sick shall have rations. At intervals heard firing at Ft. Stevens, about 4 mi. from city. Fine shower about 4 P.M. laid the dust, but it was no cooler.

Towards 5 P.M. I rode out with Dr. & Mrs. B. & Aunt Amy & Meena towards the front. Went up 14th Street, past Columbian Col. Hos; & Carver, & Mt. Pleasant, to Piney Branch road. There was a guard & no one without a pass could go any further. These several carriage here & the people in them were quite disappointed, for we were 2 mi. from Ft. Stevens yet. Some colored people were coming in with their goods, cow &c. very lively place. Some body's headquarters here. Officers on horseback &c.

Guns had all been quiet for an hour or more. Went out towards Soldiers Home, but were stopped at toll gate on 7th. Street. From this point to the city it was an animated scene. There is a group of fast riding officers with a white flag bearing the red cross of the 6th. Corp. There were straggling soldiers & civilians, on horseback, on foot & in carriages. In one carriage sat the Sec. of State overshadowed by an immense Panama.

Then we met regiments of men. Oh! The poor fellows; we stopped & they passed on each side of the carriage, faces as red ablaze. heads as wet as if they had been dipped in a stream. It was very hot then. I think not one in a hundred had pocket hdkfs. We handed out all we had with us. They tried to look cheerful, & sometimes wd. attempt a joke. Many seemed impatient to get there, others could only drag themselves along, & some gave up entirely, & all along the way men were sitting & lying on the ground.

As we neared the city, drinking places

were frequent. At one of these there was a fight between 2 soldiers. Their heads & faces were covered with blood. There was a crowd of soldiers & others, but no one interfered. They were both drunk. It seemed so disgraceful. Dr. & Mrs. B. left the carriage, & succeeded in pacifying one man.—But there were some pleasant features along the way.

At the gateways leading to some of the residences that are back among the trees on the East side of 7th. St. were people with water for the soldiers to drink, at one gate, just inside, were several young girls in white frocks & pink sashes giving water to the soldiers. —But not a cheer for the “Fighting 6th.” was given during that march. No demonstration of welcome to those veterans just from Petersburg, & now hastening to the defence of W. —Those sunburnt, dusty, nearly exhausted men, with their torn battle flags & faded banners now hastening to this other front was an affecting sight, an eloquent appeal to every

patriotic heart.—I shall never forget the sights of to day. —We saw coming in on ~~the~~ 14th. St. an Ambulance loaded with wounded men. —It did look warlike up there. Had we known a pass was necessary we might have got one & gone nearer the Forts. The rebs were within a few yards of the Fort Stevens. —This P.M. they have appeared before Lincoln still nearer the city. — I left my kind friends at the point where the cars start & rode to the landing to take 7 P.M. boat, & got back here about dusk. —I have enjoyed the privilege of going out there very much.

Great precautions are being taken here for the safety of Alex—

The R.R. between W. & Baltimore is cut, & train was stopped at Magnolia, people ordered out. Then it was fired & sent to Gunpowder bridge, & both bridge & cars were burnt. Chas. Sumner was on the train, but he was not imprisoned by the rebs. Gen. Franklin was aboard & taken prisoner.

The secesh knew of this, for there were many aboard, & there were ladies with bottles of liquor who treated their rebel friends.

Wednesdy July 13th.

Very hot. In the morning I ironed. Then went to L'O Hos. Talked with Dr. Barker. He does'nt look upon these people in the same light that I do. He does not seem to appreciate the great wrong of working these women without wages, & he cannot treat these people as he would white folks.

I talked with Miss Hazzard. The women have been told that they will get no pay, & this morning they refused to work. I cannot blame them.

I called on Mrs. Crouch & Miss Chase & left little books for all their scholars.

In P.M. with Miss Evans I went to King St. Hospital. The state of things there is deplorable. It seems wrong for me to keep quiet, such inefficient nurses, no women, so dirty, so many flies, such smells, Oh! These misused men, who might recover, many of them, if in

some comfortable place.

The sick prisoners from prison on corner of Fairfax & Prince are brought to K. St. Hos. We visited them. Some of them terribly, some say their offence was slight, overstaid

furlough or something of that kind, others confess they are deserters. They were very sick & the place is very unwholesome & they complained of their treatment.

This is an awful Hospital I am out of patience with Dr. B. who is Surg. in Ch.

Then went to Mansion H. Hos. Saw Mrs.[?] Hazen & got information on some points. The men who die here have decent burial. They are washed, & drest in clean shirt, drawers & socks, furnished by San. Com. This is as it should be. 300 patients here. Albert Ellis, the little boy, with one arm off & the other entirely useless is here & getting along. He wd. have died had he been left in K. St. Hos. —One Indian here. It all looks so nice & comfortable. The men look

satisfied & cheerful & clean. Why cannot Dr. B. manage to have his hospitals like this.

Then went to Wolfe St. Hos. —Saw Miss Looks[?]. She says the men for 2 wks. have had to buy their own medicines & plasters. Dr. Stuart is so penurious—Some things he has done well. Every thing must be kept neat, & the nurses must be faithful. Miss L. says the men who die there are laid out in uniform & prepared decently for the grave.—I hope to bring about a change in this matter at L'Ouverture. —These people are wronged when living & wronged when dead. —Will justice never be done?

To think that the sick soldiers are left to suffer, & comforts withheld from them when Gov^t. provides so amply for them!

Finished ironing by moonlight. Then called to see Dea. W. about hanging blinds, very tired to night. Read the papers, & took a bath —Rebels have recrossed the Potomac, & now they fear an attack on Alex.

Thursdy 14th. July.

Such a disturbed night. Cars coming to & fro, & such unearthly noises!

This morning I learn that an attack was expected, & the Gov. Stores were all moved to W. —in the night. But I went to sleep amidst it all, & slept so well that I feel right smart this morning.

It is thought, however, that the rebs are all on this side of the River, & there is no particular news. — Later.—The rebs have left vicinity of W. & our Cavalry are in pursuit.—

July 15.

First went to Hos. with Carpenters. Then went to see Painters. Then to get wagon & pass to go to Mason's Island but failed. Cannot go beyond the lines. —Then to Newtown & called on 4 sick families, & A. Davis's School of 5 scholars. Then to Mrs. Crouch's Examination & to the Hos. Letters from Frances, Joe & Mr. Coleman. First mail for 4 days.

July 16.

Great precautions taken to defend Alex. Went to Hospital. Blinds all on & ready to paint. Then to Newtown & visited 24 families, all own their houses, & nearly all have small gardens. A great many children sick.

In P.M. went to Barracks. Miss Owens' School had Festival. School appeared very well.

Then with Miss Evans to Slough Barracks, visited about half the wards, & left papers & tracts. Men complain of not having enough to eat, & of not being well cared for. Too bad! Something like King St. Hos.—& both in Dr. Bentley's Div. Rode part of way back. Very, very tired.

July 17th, Sunday

Hot. Sick all day, did not sit up till 3 P.M. then wrote a few letters. Feel better this evening, & hope to be well tomorrow. Heard no news for a day or two. Excitement seems to be over.

July 18.

Feel better. 7 A.M. went to Hos. 40 men sent to their Regts. —Miss Semmes has left. Went to Newtown & called at 50 houses, in wh. live 250 persons.—31 own them.

This P.M. with Miss C. went to Newtown again. Called at 54 houses, 9 rented, & 260 people. Many children sick.

July 19.

Went to St. Asaph St., S. & Franklin St. & made about 50 calls.—400 people This P.M. went to Hos.—with Miss E to Hayti. Called at 40 houses.

President calls for 500000 troops.

July 20

Very hot. Shower went around us. This A.M. regulated clothing room. Sent for painter, & to the Bank. Went to King St. with Miss E. & treated men, including prisoners with raspberry V. Then went to Hayti & called at 16 houses. People live very comfortably.

July 21st.

Went to both Slave pens & all through the Barracks, 250 persons in Bs. — Then to Grantville & called on a great many people. In P.M. went to houses in the Stockade &c. people both freed & freeborn. Found one woman with six children, the children of her former owner come to her for help, ask for 5 cts. & ten cts. &c. After tea went with Miss Evans to Grantville & made call until dark, very tired to night.

July 22^d.

Cooler. Spent all A.M. in visiting people at Grantville & vicinity, & think we have not overlooked a house, found some new families, some very destitute, & others getting along well. All the approaches to the city are barricaded with wagons. We went to the Rifle pits—After dinner I waited on people till 3 P.M. then with Miss E. I went to Soldiers Rest, & gave to all the worse cases a drink of Raspberry Vinegar.

After tea went to Sumnerville & called at every house (23). Left tracts &c. Read some to people, & they seemed to enjoy it as well as we. This has been a hard day's work.

July 23^d.

Went to Hospital, several new patients. Lucinda did my washing & the Hos. curtains. Blinds are all finished, but 3 or 4 of them need mending already. Whether the people or the painter broke them I do not know. If it were not for this I would be satisfied with them. They have cost \$80.75.

In the P.M. I ironed. After tea I made several calls on Prince St. & Pitt St. Found some people in wretched places, & one school in a miserable alley.

I have now called on nearly all the people, & their numbers are not near so great as Mr. G. estimates them. But he will hardly be likely to use my estimate.

This evening we met in Dr. P.'s office to talk about having a general school celebration in September.

Sunday July 24th, 1864.

Cloudy, smoky, dusty. Looks like rain. All parts of the country are suffering from want of rain. —I have been to the Hos. & put up clean curtains.

Have done various small chores. It has been a dull day. Not very hot.

Virginia has heard of her father's death & she has left for Boston. The poor girl takes it very hard.—Mrs. J. goes as far as N.Y with her.

July 25.

In A.M. went to Grantville & took some things to a family. In P.M. went to our Hos. through every ward. Then with Miss Hazzard & Miss C. to Soldiers Rest, & through every ward. — Met a former Scholar Fred^k. Heinold of Rochester.—

Distributed A. S. & other Reform Tracts.

The wounded Reb. of Alabama is a fine young fellow. I gave him one of each kind. He received them gladly, & said "he had been inclined to think for some time that Slavery is wrong".

He has lost an arm. I said Slavery was accountable for that, & he assented, & owned it was the cause of all the present trouble.

He is in a long tent filled with the worst cases of wounded.—& they have very inadequate nursing.—All new to Miss Hazzard & she was delighted, the first time she has been out in the day time.

After tea I went to Union St. &c. & called on several families. —

Have letter from Joseph Dupee, who is in Camp Distribution, very grateful letter, & very interesting. He says "i have felens for you is much as I would have four my on father and Mother and I thank you and God four what you have Do four me"" &c.

July 26th.

Very pleasant. With Miss Evans went to W. on 8 A.M. boat. Went to San. Com. Rooms. Gave us all we asked for. Seem to do business rather loosely there. Dr. Colwell & Mr. Fowler have left.

We went to Colored Hospital. Saw the Surgeons & matron. 72 patients. 9 women. Look quite comfortable.—

Called at Dr. Breed's, then to the Bal. Depot, Then to Mr. Lake's. Mrs. L. is quite ill. Came back at 2 P.M.—Rested a little, then with Miss Evans went to S. Rest. through every ward.—Had a Standard for the "Black abolitionist," & Lovejoy's Speech for the reb, & a Democrat for my quondam Scholar, &c. then explored Hammerdinger ally & Friendship alley &c. & called on several families. —

Letter from Mrs. Coleman. She is going to be matron at the Geo. T. Home. We hear that the Rebs are in Md. again. Too bad! Our people must be asleep.

July 27th, Alex.

Went to Trans. Off. & Journal Off. & Chris. Com. & King St. Hos. & L'Ouverture & said good bye to the people. Opened San. Boxes & Miss Evans is to distribute the things. Tried to pack up but have not accomplished much. Reckoned

up the results of my visits. There are about 538 houses, & 4,374 people. But there are those who dispute this; insist there are more. Well we will call them 5000, & this will include those at Fairfax Sem. & in all other places in the vicinity of Alex.

July 28th.

Spent most of day in packing things I am to take, & in putting up snug those that I leave. I got very tired —Miss Evans went to boat with me at 5 P.M. Lewis took my trunk —& soon Alex. disappeared from my sight. Went to office on Cor. 6th. St. & bought ticket through from Baltimore. Waited at Depot awhile & took 7-20 train.

Mrs. Day & daughter & Mrs. Slough & child & Mrs. Dr. Griffin & 2 children were all going in pursuit of health like myself to various places of former residence. —

July 29th.

Oh, such a night! I was persuaded to take a sleeping car at Baltimore. The one State Room

was to hold Mrs. Griffin & 2 chil. a gentleman & myself. —I suffered till 3 A.M. then several persons left at Harrisburg, & I got up. —I neither slept nor rested, & shall not try a Sleeping Car again —

I have felt miserably all day, could hardly keep up till I got to Avon. So tiresome. Mrs. Griffins party left me at Elmira.

Reached Avon about 6 1/2 P.M. I went to Mr. Winans. All about as usual.

July 30th. Rush.

Feel a little rested this A.M. & early Mr. & Mrs. W. very kindly came home with me. Found father quite well. The house & premises look as if nobody cared for them. Ruinous & desolate enough. All I have done is to unpack my Trunk & take my things upstairs. I have had chills & fever, & have felt badly.

Sunday, 31st. 1864. Rush.

Slept but little, chills & fever again to day. I fear I must give up & be sick.

Rush. Sunday, Sept. 4. 1864.

Have been home 5 wks — and existence has been almost a blank, sick all the time & not able to do any thing until within a few days. When I helped to pack up things to move & yesterday I worked pretty hard, & feel a little the worse for it to day—

Aug. 4. [*Transcriber's note: dates of diary entries out of sync, perhaps a recounting once JW felt better*] Frances & Neddy came & went back next day.—Aug. 7. Sunday. Frances & Mrs. Coleman came & went back same day. Mrs. C. is to be Matron of Colored Home in Georgetown, ~~To go~~ I went next day. Aunt Elisa here.

Aug. 9. Margaret Hathaway & husband came but I was so sick I could not visit with them. Alvira Hartwell came & staid a few days. She was very kind to me. Aug. 12. Alvira went away & Frances & Neddy came. — Cool. Had fire in stove. I was so sick all the while.

Aug. 20. Frances & Neddy went to R. & F. came home alone in buggy about 9 P.M.

Aug. 23^d. Frances went to Springs for Sally Ann Ferris & she staid here till next morning, & I had a good visit with her. Her sister, Mrs. Booth, was at Springs too but I did not see her.

Aug. 26th. Frances went to Rush Station for Angeline, got here about dusk. Was well enough to visit some.

Aug. 27. Frances & Angeline went to Springs met Alfred there he came back with them.

Aug. 29. A. & A. left. Frances went to Rochester with them & I got back about 8 P.M.

Aug. 30

Packed my choice crockery, & buggy load No. 1 went up to the House. Letter from Mary. Has been sick 5 wks, but is getting better. Hears from Joe often, he was well —

Sept. 1st. Neddy came for Frances. His mother is sick & wants F. to come. We hardly know how to spare her. She has attended to the housecleaning, & the moving of my things. How I shall miss her.

F. was up to the house & I rode up there with Neddy. The house looks old & out of repair & very poor, not half so pleasant as this. Father has been cheated. My strength comes slowly. There is so much I wd. like to do now. But I should be thankful for the pleasant place I have been in & for the good care I have had. I have used the parlor during the day, & go up stairs at night. Frances has attend- to every want. I have had every facility for getting well. Dr. Jenks called about 10 times. I have taken a great deal of medicine, but it has done me good, & I think Dr. J. understood my case.

I have been very weak, & a great trouble was inability to sleep, for nights in succession did not sleep a wink. Then with the help of medicine I slept 2 or 3 hrs. each night. Now I sleep half the night perhaps. My appetite is good, & I think I shall be well soon. I have

not worried about any thing yet. I see things carried away day by day, that have been here for 30 yrs. the walls are stripped, & the rooms above nearly empty, & yet I am not troubled. It may come over me at the last like an

avalanche crushing me to the earth. I have not allowed myself to think about it much. The place is not pleasant to wh. we are going, & I shall realize it all, no doubt, when I get there, & sadly too. —This is the last Sunday I shall spend in this old house probably. I realize how pleasant it is here, that is the place itself. But I must not call up associations of the past. If I do, I shall be ill again & unfitted for work. I mean to be brave. This is not the worst thing that can happen. —not the worst thing that has happened to us; & I will thank God that it is as well with me as it is. It might be a thousand times worse. —I will not think of the future until we get somewhat settled. We shall leave here probably in 2 or 3 days, & strangers will take possession of what has been my home for 36 years. Oh! The joys, the sorrows, the sad changes that have filled up those 36 years! And I am just half a century old. My father is *[Transcriber's note: space left here]* & there are 8 children left.

East Avon N.Y.

Sunday evening, Sept. 11th, 1864.

The last week has been a busy one. Monday last was mostly spent in packing up. Tuesday. Mother was up to the house nearly all day, & I attended to the packing up & loading up. 4 loads were sent away, & there are 2 or 3 more to go. About 4 P.M. father & I left the Old Home, for the new one in E. Avon. I cannot realize it yet. I have left home so often & staid away so long, that I do not feel that I am not to go back again. Sept. 6th, 1864 is an era in my life, but I am so stupid I do not appreciate it. I believe I am past caring for ordinary events.

Wednesday. Rodney & George came & helped us set up bedsteads &c. Uncle Jephtha's folks have been very kind, they have helped us a great deal.

In the evening I was about going to bed, when who should coëme but Cousin B. Halsted & Abbie. Mrs. Wilbur was mad as a hoe & said she would do nothing for them. I told her to go to bed & Ann & I would attend to them, & she did so, & we got along very well.

Thursday P.M. I went to the Springs with them, & around by Uncle Jephtha's to show them the country. They enjoyed it. Had letter from Mary. She is about well. She is so disappointed that Joe does not come home, & he is disappointed too, for he expected to leave the service, but he has been promoted to a Captaincy & mustered in for another 3 yrs. or during the war.

Friday. B. & Abbie left in morning. Had a good visit with them although we were not settled yet —Worked all day.

Saturday. Did various chores, & wrote some. I get very tired & have to rest occasionally.

Made some progress in settling things, but cannot do as I wish till all the things come.—

To day, Sunday, I had a general cleaning up, did a few chores, & spent rest of day in writing letters, & so has passed the first Sunday in our new home. I have had a fire in my room. It is quiet & retired & I have accomplished a good deal. I wd. be lonely here were I not so busy. I have done nothing yet with reference to going away. I may not go, but I shall be deeply disappointed if I do not. I wd. like to go back the last of October.

Sunday, Sept. 18.

Fine. I do not go out, the spirit does not move me to spend any time at these two churches. I presume some people consider me quite heathenish. I do not feel more than half well. The past week has been a busy one.

Monday helped wash & worked about

house. Tuesday, ironed & in P.M. begun to make Report to Society.

Wednesday, engaged Mr. Chapel to go for a load, so wet he did not go.

I worked at Report. About 6 P.M. Cousin Phebe came & I spent evening pleasantly.

Thursday, Phebe went with me in buggy to old place, seemed odd to knock at such a familiar door. Mr. Chapel came & I helped him load up the parlor furniture. I may not go back to the place again. It looks lonely there now. Drove home & I helped unload, & then Phebe & I went to Uncle Ephraim's. Came back about 4 P.M. & she left for the Springs about 5. Phebe is going to work for the Freedmen again. She does not lose her interest.

Friday. Arranged things in parlor, & we now look more settled. Regulated cupboards &c. & got very tired.

Saturday. Wrote nearly all day. Cousins E. Tyler & Emmaline here to dinner.

Sept. 21st. At Home.

Most of the time for the last 3 days has been spent in writing Report, & is a tiresome job. My arm & hand are lame & I cannot drive business. State Fair in progress in Rochester. But I do not care to go to it.

Letters from Mrs. Coleman & Mr. McKim. Mrs. C. is full of trouble yet. —

Mary Julia was married on the 16th. Inst. to Wm. Henry Milstead of Washington. She was in N.Y. with her mother & was married at the St. Nicholas Hotel. They ~~are~~ were expected back ~~next~~ last Monday. She is in her 17th year, & he is 21. — Well, I have nothing in particular to say.

Friday, 23d.

Finished Report & feel relieved. In P.M. went with father to W. Avon. Called at Mr. Winans. Recruiting in progress. Ever so many soldiers in W. Avon.

Saturday Sept. 24th.

Left home in Stage for W. Avon at 8 1/2 A.M. Staid at Depot till 3 P.M. How tiresome! Reached R. at 4, & went to Charlotte's.

26th, at C's

Yesterday spent with Sis & the rest. This evening went to Miss Porter's & Mrs. Marsh's & Mr. Laing's. At night went to Irondequoit. Aunt Elizabeth quite smart. Gold is down & so is dry goods. —27th. At B. Wing's & I felt very stupid

28th. Came back to city with Phebe & Eliza. Bought a dress Repp at \$1.75 a yd. Cost \$17.50.

In P.M. met ladies at Miss Porter's. Read Report, which was accepted.

At evening went with Frances to the Babcock's. Had good visit.

29th. Called at Amy Post's & Mary Hallowell's, & Charlotte's.

Fridy Sept. 30. Cold.

Left R. on 8.40 train & waited in L. till 3 P.M. Then rode to Somerset with Morgan & Stephen who had come to go to Co. Fair. Two yrs. since I had been to S. The children have grown considerably.

Oct. 1st. At Morgan's.

Sewed all day, first sewing I have done for myself since I left Alex.

Oct 2^d. Heavy rain last night. Alfred & Angeline here this P.M.

Oct. 3^d. Ann came, but sewed nearly all day

Oct. 4. In A.M. did nothing. In P.M. went to Alfred's & sewed some.

Oct. 5 Copied Report. Alfred went to Buffalo to attend McClellan meeting.

Oct. 6. Heavy rain last night. Wrote some, & sewed some.

Oct. 7. At Alfred's. Wrote nearly all day.

Oct. 8th. Tempestuous. Lake is a grand sight, wrote all day.

Sunday Oct. 9. Wild weather. Finished copying Report & feel relieved. Allie came for me & I went to Morgan's.

Oct. 10. High wind.

Sewed some. Elizabeth and Eliza went with me to Morgan's. Frances does not come as I expected —

Oct. 11. Fine. Warm, Alfred & Angeline went with me to L. Took 2.20 train & reached R. at 4 1/2 P.M.

Oct. 12. Staid at C's last night. Called on Mrs. Barnes. She looks feeble —Called on Miss Porter & Mrs. Marsh, & at City Hospital. Not a very satisfactory call. Went to Isaac Hill, & Bank & got New Bank Book. Left my Book with C. who lost it, & to get a new one we both had to make affidavit to the facts of the case & I had to give bonds to the amount contained in Book. All of which cost me \$2.35. —

Oct. 13.

Last evening I called at John R's, & then went to Mr. Angle's, had pleasant visit, & came back this morning. —

Bought cloak for \$22, scarf for \$8.50, & breakfast shawl for \$6, & parasol for \$3. Money goes fast with present prices.

In P.M. met ladies at Miss Porter's. Read Report. They think it best for me to go back to Alex. —

In evening heard Anna E. Dickinson at Con. Hall. Hall crowded, subject "Chicago, the Last Ditch". It was very fine & I enjoyed it exceedingly.

Oct. 14. Came home on 10.30 train & in Stage, found things as usual, quite unsettled.

Letters from Mary, Joe Van B. Miss Collier & Miss Evans. —They want me to come back & bring clothing for the people. Mary is well & getting along well probably knows by this time.

Joe is mustered out, is coming home, & has written to her to meet him here about the 15th, which is to-morrow. At the fight at Poplar Grove Church the 30th. Sept. he had a horse shot under him, & his leg bruised, but he is well now, & is in Washington. I am glad on Mary's account that he has left the service.—

Oct. 15th.

Sewed some & did various chores. This evening about 8 Joe Van Buskirk came. We were very glad to see him. He was hoping to find Mary here, but I think she will not be here in several days yet. Joe has been in the service 3 ½ yrs, & has been in many fights & skirmishes. It hardly seems possible that he should escape such dangers. I am devoutly thankful that he has returned safe and *[Transcriber's note: page corner turned up so that last words in sentence cannot be read]*

Oct. 16. Joe went this P.M. to H. *[Transcriber's note: page corner turned up so that rest of sentence cannot be read]*. — I have written a little &c., Rainy

Oct. 17th.

Sewed & wrote. This evening sister Elizabeth & Alice came from S. Frances stopped in Rochester.

Oct. 18.

I went to W. Avon with Joseph to meet Mary. She was there with Minnie & Stewart. Minnie looks about the same but Stewart has grown & talks a great deal. Mary is rejoiced that Joseph has left the Army & they were all glad to meet again.

Oct. 19.

Packed Crockery &c. Sister E. has bought my white set for \$18.50.

At 5 P.M. E. & Allie left for home. Joe took them to W. Avon. Allie is 14 but it is the first time she has been to her Grandfather's.

Oct. 20.

Mary took Joe to W. Avon. He went to R. to attend a Mass Meeting.

In P.M. I took Mary & children to Harvey B's. Called at Uncle J's.

Oct. 21

Ann W. came to sew for me. I sewed some, & feel anything but well. The meeting yesterday in R. was a glorious one.

Oct. 22^d.

Sewed some & wrote some. About 11 A.M. Joseph and Mary came, & were here about an hour, & then went back to Mr. Dailey's. They will not be here again. I intend to see them in Rochester on Wednesday.

Sunday Oct. 23^d.

Finished copying Report, & wrote 3 letters. I have been very busy all day, but such close application does not agree with me. I am very tired. I am impatient to go back to Alex. I feel that I ought to be there.

Oct 24.

Dark day. I have sewed as hard as I could, such work makes me feel badly.

Oct. 25.

Did chores & sewed, intend to go to R. tomorrow. Pleasant A.M.

Oct. 26.

Fine. A.M. Cloudy P.M.

At 8 went to Avon in Stage. Called at Mr. Winans., & took train at 11 ½ for R. Called at Miss Porter's, dined there. Went to C's & saw Mary & children. Went to Wm.

Hallowell's to stop all night. Anna Barnes there & Miss P. & Harriet Tubman &c. H.T. is employed by the Army as a scout. Has been in S.C. & Florida 3 yrs. & done good service.

Oct 27.

Did shopping. Joseph & Mary left for Mich. & F. went to Holley.—I went to J. Rapalje's to stop for the night. Sorry I cannot see more of my friends, but I am so hurried.

Oct. 28.

Pouring rain all day. Walked to Depot but Frances did'nt come in time for train, & I walked back & spent 2 hrs. in drying my clothes.
Did up some last chores, & at 5 went to Depot again, rain all the time, waited in Avon one hour for stage, dark ride home, which we reached at 8 & wet enough. Worst time I was ever out. Driver cross too.

29th. Rainy day.

A. Whitmore here, & sewed most of the day. Alvira here, just returned from East.

30th. Sunday. Sun shines.

Alvira here, I have done various things.

31st, very rainy.

Frances washed, but there is no drying clothes. I have sewed all day. Intend to leave next Monday for Alex.

Nov. 1st Cloudy & wet

Sewed all day & feel miserably tonight. My arms & hands & feet & toes ache.

Nov. 2^d

Ann W. finished sewing for me. She has been here 8 days. I feel some better. Letter from Sister E. —Stephen is ill.

Nov. 3, sunshiny, cold

In P.M. went with F. to Uncle Ephraims & Uncle Jeptha's & Leland's, & Harvey B's & then went to old place & took up shrubbery to set out in our Burial lot at W. Avon! Intend to go there tomorrow.

Heard from Freda by way of Lilly B. who has been to Reviles lately. Freda is quite well, but is a pale, delicate looking child. She talked but little; & not a word was said to her about me or any of her Mother's friends. Lilly saw none of the playthings & trinkets that Freda took with her, & I dare say she has nearly forgotten all about us. Poor dear child! It is a year since I have heard from her directly & I must go back to Alex. & not see her. But I am thankful to have heard from her.

Nov. 4th.

Pouring rain all day nearly. Could not go to Avon to set out our shrubbery. I have spent nearly all day in sorting & arranging things preparatory to leaving next Monday. McClellan meeting & pole raising.

Nov. 5.

Very cold. windy. Frances & I went to W. Avon, Mr. Salsbury went with us & helped us set out our shrubbery.—Our lot is grown over with weeds, & I would like to clear it off, but we had not time to do so today. We called at Mr. Winan's—I got a box at Provost Mar^s. to pack things in for Alex. This P.M. I cleaned my room. Frances washed & went to Mill, & is almost tired out, & so am I too. About 8 ½ P.M. Charlotte & Neddy & Mary Julia & Harry came very unexpectedly & then we had to fly around instead of going to bed.

At Home, Sunday, Nov. 6th, 1864.

Bright once more. About 8 this morning F. took Sis & Harry to Depot & C. & Neddy walked.

This is the first time I have seen Mary Julia's husband. I like his appearance very much, & am glad that they all came to see us, & wish they could have staid all day. But tomorrow morning Sis & Harry are going to Utica where he means to vote for Lincoln. That is his home. Then in a few days they are going to W. & we shall probably see them before long, again. My father has not been in this County 4 months, so he can not vote. Most too bad, as he wd. like so well to vote for Lincoln. Jephtha W. called this evening. Frances has gone out. I have tried to rest today, & be ready for a hard day's work to-morrow.

Nov. 7.

Very bright & warm. I packed trunks & box, & did various other things. Cleaned up my room, & put every thing in order. Frances did some cooking & went to Leland's & back.

Nov. 8th. Tuesday. Election.

Left home at 9. R. Chapel took us to Avon to depot. left there at 11, in rain. It has been hard work to get away somehow. I should think father & mother would be very lonely. I am sure I should be lonesome were I to live there long. Then L. takes pains to make it uncomfortable for me. I am sorry for my father, but he has brought this upon himself. Oh! how he is deceived & imposed upon. Poor blind man that he is, & his children all at a distance from him.—

We reached Elmira about 4, & staid an hour or two. Depot so filthy, that we were obliged to go to a Hotel. Great numbers of soldiers have been going home to vote, & being detained over night the town has been full of them, but the cars are not crowded going south.

Nov. 9.

Last night we had a hard time. It was warm, smoky, & dusty—Rained this A.M. reached Baltimore at 7 1/2 & staid till 9, reached W. at 11—Called at Mrs. Breed's, & went to Pro. Mar's for passes. Then to boat. Mrs. Beach from R. with us. She was going to see her husband at Fairfax Sem. Hos.—Found the ladies here in considerable excitement. I left the key of my room with Miss Evans, & Mr. Gladwin had demanded it of her, & she was obliged to give it up.

He tried to get possession of my room before I came back, but Mrs. J. & Miss E. refused to take charge of my things. He let me have my key to go into my room. I then went to

see Col. Wells & Capt. Mason, who have acted for Gen. Slough during his absence. Col. W. said he had given him no orders to take the room, & Capt. M. said he would come over & see the rooms. This puts me to great inconvenience. I have no boarding place & know not what to do. It is evident Mr. G. intends I shall have no room in the house.

Took tea with Mrs. J.—

Thursday Nov. 10.

Capt. M. does not come. This P.M. F. & I went to the Hos. Everything looks strange there, patients nearly all strangers, & all the doctors too. I think I never shall feel the same interest there that I have done.

Nov. 11.

This morning F. & I went to W. to Dr. Breed's.—In P.M. went with Dr. & Mrs. B. to Giesboro Point, the rendezvous for cavalry horses. There sheds and stables for 10 or 15000 horses. Every thing is whitewashed & kept as neat as possible. All the worn out horses are brought here to recruit, & horses are also brought here for sale. About *[Transcriber's note: no number given]* colored men are employed here. There are general mess rooms, but houses have been built for the men to sleep in & these are in rows. The place is laid out regularly & is very extensive. It is well worth a visit. One gets here some idea of the magnitude of government affairs & the extent of the preparations necessary for the Army of the Potomac.

We went by the Navy Yard, crossed the Bridge over Eastern Branch, passed near the Insane Asylum, to a Fort on the Height of Ground, the name of which

I could not learn. A very fine road has been made lately & there is a great deal of going to & fro from Washington. It is like a world of itself over here. Giesboro is 3 or 4 miles from W. I had understood there were a great many colored people at Giesboro & they were very destitute. But there are but 4 families & but 4 women there. The men get good wages & are regularly paid, & told us that they send their money to their families in Maryland.

This has been an interesting visit. We did not have time to visit the Insane Asylum. We returned by moonlight. I am indebted to Dr. B. for several pleasant rides around W. —

Saturday 12. Nov.

F. & I went to Mrs. Swisshelm's to see Mrs. Coleman, but missed her.

We called to Adjutant Gen^l's Office & learned that Harry & sis had got back.

Then we went to Georgetown, but did not succeed in finding them. Came back on 1 P.M. boat. Found that Mrs. C. & others had been here. Went to hospital to find them, but missed it & only saw her a moment as she was going to boat.

I went to Magnolia House & 3 other places to find board, but am not suited exactly. Had orders from Headqrs. to vacate my room at once, but as it is Saturday night I shall

venture to stay here till Monday & then I shall see what I shall see. Went to see Mr. G. & told him If I cannot keep this room, I wd. be glad to have a room in the other house which has been vacant all summer. He keeps saying he has control of both houses, but still will not say I can have a room. I really do not know what to do.

F. & I took tea with Miss Collier & Miss Howard. Then called on Miss Evans & Mrs. Jacobs.

Sunday, fine. cold.

I have a bad boil on my chin. Cleaned up a little, but cannot get settled, nor unpack trunks.—

About 1 P.M. Charlotte, & Sis & Harry came. At 3, F. went with them to boat. —They have a good boarding place in Georgetown.

Monday, cold.

Packed up my things, but Mr. G. wd. not give me any satisfaction.

About noon several regiments came in on the cars, to go into winter quarters in the forts, & Gen. Slough came with them. From that moment Mr. G. was another man. “Why, yes, of course, you can have the room. Can I do any thing for you? &c.” The corporals were ordered to help me move, & I shortly found myself in another room which is not half as comfortable, or convenient or pleasant as the one I left, & which he wants for his own use.—

Alex. Tuesday. Nov. 15-1864.

Frances & I went to Washington. I regulated things in A.M. Then Mrs. Coleman came, & Rev. Dudley & Rev. Whittemore. About 4 I went to Washington with them. Went with Mrs. C. to Mrs. Swisshelm’s to tea. Then to Georgetown to Mr. Gangewer’s to a meeting in relation to the Col^d. Home. Then back to Mr. Holt’s about 12. Very cold. I tied up my face & went ahead. Cold & tired.

Nov. 16.

With Mrs. C. I went to Georgetown, & saw Charlotte & Harry & sis. C. is to go home tomorrow. Frances there.

I called at Mrs. Breed’s, & Judge Day’s Office, then to Mrs. Swisshelm’s, had lunch. Mr. McKim called hoping to see Frances. He had been to Geo. T. but missed her there. I came back at 4, & F. came at 5. Sorry she did not see Mr. McKim. So tired to night.

Nov. 17. very busy day.

Went for rations & for wood. Went to see some old women. Lucinda helped me regulate Clothing Room.—Miss Evans has left.

Has a room in W. with Miss Howard. She will not stay here & be under Mr. G’s control. He was angry because she left, but she told him her friends did not wish her to stay here.

He likes to be thought well of by Miss E's friends in Phila. & is very much worked up. I am sorry to have Miss E. leave, but I presume she is needed in W. more than she is here.

Nov. 18

Last night had no sleep at all. My tooth & face ached terribly, & nothing that I tried did any good. Have not had such a time before in several years.

To day my face does not ache, but I am sick & have not been out of my room

Frances has done my work.

Mrs. Jacobs has gone to Phila.

Mr. G. is trying to make amends for his meanness by putting my room in repair. Has had plastering done, a lock put on the door, &c.

Nov 19.

Slept well last night after taking morphine, but I was sick this A.M. Put things to rights' in my room.

This P.M. went out for things.

About 4 Mrs. Coleman came.

This evening I feel much better & have looked papers &c.

Sunday, Nov. 20.

I have not been out. But this P.M. Frances went with Mrs. C. to Barracks where Mrs. C. was to speak. Very rainy. They were invited to the Magnolia House by Mr. Baker took tea there & spent the evening. I wondering where they were.

Nov. 21.

Cold & Rainy. Mrs. C. left this A.M. Mr. Baker called. I worked some.

Letter from Miss Porter, sends my Report to be copied. I have written all this P.M. & evening.

Nov. 22^d.

Wrote nearly all day & evening & finished copying Report. Feel relieved. Have been out for some things. Miss Evans has been here. She is satisfied with her migration to W.

Nov. 23^d.

Frances went to W. this morning. I have helped Lucinda wash. Then I went out & made some purchases. Then brought in clothes & ironed some & this has taken all day. Feel well but I am tired enough tonight.

Nov. 24th. Thanksgiving.

Bright & cold. Frances came about noon. I wrote to Miss Porter.

About 3 P.M. we went to the Soldier's Rest to a Thanksgiving Dinner. This was a complimentary Dinner to the members of the Sanitary & Christian Commissions, & given by gentlemen of this city who wished to have a good time. There was a very nice

dinner, speeches & a Band of Music. All seemed to enjoy it. We left at 7. The dancing was done after that time. Mr. Baker was master of ceremonies.—

Last Thanksgiving I dined at Mr. Augur's, & went to meeting &c. The Thanksgiving before that I dined in Camp of Paroled Prisoners & had a good time. —Wonder how the folks at home are today.

Nov. 24.

Fine. Waited on several people. Then F. & I went to Depot & Barracks & Soldiers' Rest & Slave Pen & Hospital.

Have seen Dr. Fletcher. Mrs. Hazzard called this evening. Frances has been to meeting & I have been writing.

Saturday.

Pleasant, warmer. Frances has been to W. has seen Harry & sis. She cannot find a boarding place in G. Miss Evans has been here but I did'nt see her.

I went to the Hospital this morning & took some baked apples to John Smith, & took some things to Jane Butler. 3 persons buried from L'Ouverture today. Had colored escort, & coffins covered with Flags.

Then I went & made some purchases of tin ware. Went again & bought crockery & did some marketing. Sweet potatoes are \$3.20 per bu. & Irish P's are \$2.40 a bu., butter is 50 & 60 cents a pound. How do the poor manage to live? There will be much suffering this winter.

Sunday 27th, Nov.

Cold. F. has been to Grantville to S.S. but I have not been out. Have regulated things, written letters &c.

Mrs. J. & Louisa came back from Phila.

Monday 25th, Nov, 1864.

Fine. Warm. Got ready for a trip to Vienna, went for passes, but Col. Webb refused us. I felt unusually disappointed somehow & gave it up. But F. went again & succeeded in getting passes. We were then very much hurried, but succeeded in getting on to the train wh. started at 10 A.M. from Alex. for V. At the junction took up 4 or 5 platform cars filled with soldiers which we left at Camp Distribution. It is a wild region nearly all the way to V. There are a few farms & several poor farm houses. There is a great deal of waste land. There are 'runs' or deep ravines, & rocks, & deep cuts, & wood & swamps. The most

convenient country in the world for guerrilla operations. I did not count the Forts we saw. Falls Church is about a mile from the R. road, & we cannot see it. We looked for a village

at Vienna, but at first could see none. But there are 7 or 8 straggling houses & a few other buildings in ruins, & this is a Virginia village I suppose.

Mr. Commins[?] lives about 80 rods from the Depot. We walked there. Found Mrs. C. at home in an ancient farm house, chimney outside of course, & log kitchen. The visit was worth making if for no other purpose than to stay all night in this old house in old Virginny.

But the house is in the center of a Camp. The 16th. N.Y. Cav. have been here about a week, they are fixing winter quarters, building sheds for horses, & houses of logs & mud or boards or canvas for the men.

It is a full regiment, & it presents a lively scene. This is all on Mr. C's farm of 300 acres, in every field of which are forts or rifle pits. This same regt. had this for a camping ground last winter, & the foundation of some of the huts is left, & some stockades for sheds. An abbatti of felled trees encloses this Camp, wh covers many acres. Mr. C. bought this farm 8 yrs. ago & was also carrying on a foundry when the war broke out. This was destroyed, & Gov^t. has taken possession of the farm which lies on a fine elevation, a capital place for a Cav. Camp. At the time of the 1st. battle of Bull Run they were obliged to leave, taking only a little clothing with them. They were away 2 yrs. & returned to find their house riddled, even windows & doors broken out. They have repaired it & it is very comfortable now. Col. Switzer has his headquarters

here, & Mrs. C. seems to drive a thriving business with the soldiers as there is a continual demand for her pies, cakes &c.—

A guard protects their peach orchard, turnip patch, corn crib & well. But timber is cut on the farm whenever it is needed, & no doubt Mr. C. will be remunerated by Government. Mr. C. & family claim to be union, but I find this Regt. has not entire confidence in them. They are on the best of terms with their secesh neighbors.

We took a walk around the Camp & went to the Guard house, & saw a live guerrilla brought in, he was shot in the head, & the surgeon had dressed his wound. He was as hard a looking specimen as I ever saw, a freckled, red haired, great, overgrown youngster, ignorant & illmannered. We talked with him, he wore blue pants but a gray coat.

Mrs. C. is a great worker, but she visited with us in the evening & told her experience in Virginny.

Nov. 29th. 1864. Tuesday.

One of the finest days I ever saw. Real Indian summer, & warm too. Last night F. & I occupied a chamber which had the oldest look of any room I ever slept in. I did not sleep all night, but I rested well. The firing of a single gun was all the unusual noise I heard. It was so quiet, we could hardly believe that there were 1000 men & as many horses so near

us. With a light in every tent a large camp is a beautiful sight. We did not rise at the morning reveille exactly, & after breakfast we went out to find Capt. M^cPherson's company wh. was partly recruited in Rochester. The Capt. invited us into his tent wh. looks very comfortable & we had quite a visit with him. He is from Caledonia.

He showed us about the camp, & we went to the guard house again. Three prisoners there, several of this Regt. have been captured by guerrillas within a few days past. This Regt. has many good horses. It has been with Sheridan through the summer. About noon we took leave of Mrs. C. & went to the Depot, but the train did not come until 3 P.M., & in the mean time ~~& in the mean time~~ we rambled about & over the other side of the R. road to an old farm house, wh. is the head qrs. of Col. Gallup of the 5th. Penn, which is encamped near. The view from this hill is a remarkable one. All over these slopes & in the hollow through which the railroad passes are the burnt ruins of stockaded huts, & new log houses & tents & men, & horses, some guarding forage & others galloping to and fro.—

The office at the depot is occupied by the Com. Sergeant & 2. Mas. Sergeant & a Yankee Corporal. Names Wm. Reed & Robert Porter & Wm. Davis. There was a prospect of our having to wait so long that they offered to get us some refreshments, wh. of course we declined, but before we were aware of it they had brought in a table & upon some clean looking dishes was some good bread & butter & apple pie & fruit cake, & some very good coffee. The butter & cake were from the home of one of these men. We really relished it all, & I think the men enjoyed seeing us eat quite as much as if they had eaten it themselves. One of these Rob^t. Porter is from L. Isl. He knows Dr. Day, formerly of Rochester, Lucretia &c. was in Kansas with them. This was an interesting part of the day's operations. We then went back to Mr. Cummings, &

had just got comfortably seated, when the whistle of the locomotive was heard, & we took a second leave & hastened to the depot again. The cause of the delay was this. Orders had been given to take a guard for the train from Falls Church, but it came as usual & found no guard there, & went back to Alex. Then Gen. Slough furnished a guard & they came on to Vienna. It was nearly 4 when we left V. There was a guard inside the car, & also on the outside. The train went slow & cautiously till we reached the pike which leads to Falls Church.

We hear that the guerrillas have never been more active than now. The cars only run to V. to carry forage & provision for the troops & horses. The weather is perfectly delightful, & the

ride back was very pleasant. We have enjoyed this trip exceedingly. It is an event for a life time. To go 15 miles back into Virginia just at this time when the ravages of war are seen on every hand, & when the parties are contesting the very ground over which we passed, & guerrillas infest the woods & ravines, & capture almost daily some of our men; indeed such a trip is full of interest & excitement, & as I write this evening in my quiet room in Alex. the past two days seem like an interesting dream.— No general news has reached me for several days. There is no P. Office in Vienna & no any thing belonging to a civilized community. I think there has never been a church there.

Dr. Pettijohn has been to Annapolis & just returned with his brother who is one of the 10,000 prisoners just being sent north. He is sick & much emaciated.

Wednesday Nov. 30th.

Fine. Warm. We wrote some & then F. & I went to the Soldiers Burying Ground. This has been enlarged, & it is being improved too.

Went to the Hospital & then home. Felt very tired, but in evening I went to hear F. Douglass lecture in Liberty Hall, on the Mission of the War. There was a large audience, including some white persons. There were a number of officers too, & all seemed to enjoy it & appreciate it, too. I am told there even some secesh present. I spoke with D. after the L.

Thursday Dec, 1st.

Weather mild as spring. Have needed no fire to sit by today.— Frances went to Washington, & I went for rations. Cleaned closets, &c. Then F. Douglass came. Mrs. J. &

I went with him to Soldiers Rest. The white men there were very civil & deferential, & some seemed amazed. Mr. Gladwin was with us, he passes for white as well as myself, & there were Douglass, Parker & Mrs. J. colored!

Then we went to the Slave Pen & were admitted to the interior, but it was about as much as the guard could endure to see whites & niggers on such terms. It is nearly a year since I have been in the prison before. Mr. Arnold is there for 90 days, put in for selling a boy as a substitute after his mother had said she could not let him go. Good enough for him. Then went to the Hospital & through all the wards, after which the men who were able assembled in the dining Room, & Douglass spoke to them a few minutes, & they sung John Brown with a will.—

²³The surgeons were all very polite & received us just as they ought. Then we went to Grantville school. This school is much improved in its appearance, & the house has been made very comfortable.

²³ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26005_138 to HC13-26005_168 in their Folder entitled April 21th 1864 to Jan. 8th 1865.

I went home & wrote awhile & then went to dine at Mr. Beckley's, being invited there to meet Douglass. In evening went to Liberty Hall again. Douglass spoke on the unity of the races, & spoke exceedingly well. There was a large audience again. & they seemed to appreciate the lecture.— Douglass is much pleased with his visit here. To stand on the 'sacred soil' of Va. & talk against Slavery! It is truly wonderful. & 3 yrs. ago we would hardly have thought it possible. I am glad he has been here. It has done him good & the people too, both white & colored.—

Dec 2^d, Rainy P.M.

I went out & made some purchases & then wrote some.
Frances came about 2 P.M. —She has found a boarding place, she staid last night at Benj. Taber's & intends to go into the school in G.town next Monday.—
Have letter from Mary, she is well & happy.
Encouraging war news. Rebels have attempted to burn New York & other Northern cities.

Dec. 3^d

Went to market. Wrote & sewed a little. Called on Mrs. Belden at Magnolia House.
257 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from us.—

Sunday, Dec. 4th, very fine. Cool.

Frances & I went to Christ Church.

This morning early 58 colored folks from Sussex Co. away below Petersburg,

were landed here. They all came to the house. It was an interesting sight. There were several middle aged men, rather feeble looking. A great proportion were children, some were bare headed, some were barefoot, & they were all much chilled. We gave them some clothing, & food, & warmed them in the 2 kitchens. Then they were sent in 4 army wagons to Mason's Island. They were good looking people & it seems a pity to have them sent away from Alex. If Gov^t. would give them shelter awhile & rations a few months, they would ask nothing further, but take care of themselves. Too bad. With a sensible Superintendent here, things wd. be different.

Dec. 5.

Went to W. with Frances, to her boarding place on 12th. St. Miserable looking place. Called at Mrs. Breed's.

Then to Georgetown. To the school in basement of Mt. Zion Church where she is to teach. A wretched place, I was sorry to leave her there, but she feels as if she must do something & this is the best that offers.

I took a long walk to see sis. Found her well & in good spirits.

Called at Mr. Lake's. Mrs. L. absent. Tried to find Miss Evans, but did not succeed. Came back on 5 P.M. boat. Cold & very tired, feeling that it don't pay to spend the day as I have done.

Tuesday, Dec 6th, 1864

Dined for first time at Magnolia House. Very good dinner. Cleaned my room with Ednah's help. Miss Evans made a short call. This P.M. went out with Mrs. Belden, to see people in Old Mill & Long House, & to Corp. Bearmor's school,

Dec. 7th.

Rainy. Went to journal office &c.

Three bbls. came from Farmington, unpacked them. Very good things. My small ration of wood came— Ednah cleaned hall & stairs &c. I am very tired with going up & down stairs. So inconvenient to do work here.—

Dec. 8.

Worked in clothing room nearly all day. Very uncomfortable. Mr. M^cKim & daughter & Mr. Garrison here. I went with them to Slave Pen & Hospital, then I called at Baptist Church Hos. 118 col^d. soldiers there.

Dec. 9. Very cold.

Spent all A.M. in C. Room without fire. Robt. M^cC. & brother here this eve. So cold I have only been out to my dinner. How the poor will suffer.

Dec. 10.

Cold. Several inches of snow this morning. Sleighs out & bells jingling. I have done but little today. Frances came about 2 P.M.

Dec. 11th. Sunday

Very sloppy & wet & unpleasant.

Frances dined with me at M. House, & this is all that we have been out. We have rested, & written letters. Letter from Phebe Cornell.

Dec. 12

Very cold. Went to market & had wood sawed &c.— Went to Bap.Ch. Hos. Men look very comfortable there.

Dec. 13.

Milder. Spent A.M. in Clothing Room. This P.M. went to Bap. Ch. Hos. took books &c. Then to L'Ouverture. Tents have been divided. Very comfortable now. Called on Mr. Leonard, he has quite a school & has a comfortable room too.

Dec. 14. 1864.

Fine, like Indian summer. What a change in the weather!—

I started for W. this morning, but the walking was so bad, wet & slippery, that I went as far as the P.O. & came back.

Did various chores this A.M.

This P.M. I went to Barracks. Took a bottle of camphor to Aunt Cicely, & a new cal. dress to Jane Butler. Found one old woman without a bed on a blanket. (gave her a bed quilt.) — Went to L'Ouverture. Saw Mrs. Hazzard for the first time since she was married. A foolish woman!

Went to Grace Ch. Hos. A long class of men were learning to read, not more than a doz. were in bed. They have improved remarkably. It was the cleanest looking place I have seen. Went again & took some pictures of Camp Wm. Penn. Phil^a. They were much pleased with them. Went to Bap. Ch. Hos. & took pictures. The men want spelling books & first readers & I have but few for them. Now many things are wanting. ———

Dec. 14.— continued.

Phillip & Jane Butler came from Md. Worked for months here & could get no pay. His family suffered. Two children died. Three had measles last spring, before they were fairly well they were sent to school to Mr. Ax. Their faces & heads were sore, & Mr. Ax sent them to the pump or hydrant & ordered a boy to put their heads under it. The mother was informed of it & she got them away. They were all made sick by this inhuman act. One of them has died, & the other two probably will die soon. They require all the care of the Mother & she can do no work for their support. They left one boy in Md. They have heard from him recently. The master has turned him off with others. & they are nearly naked.

To-morrow the father is going for his boy & I have given him clothes to take to him. The Mother is delighted. She says “Saturday I shall see my boy, & I’ll bring him to see you, Miss Wilbur”. Poor woman, I hope she may not be disappointed.

Five new persons came today from Sussex Co. near the Weldon R.R. Warren’s Corps. last week went some 40 or 50 mi. below Petersburg. Quite near N. Carolina. Destroyed railroad for 15 mi., bridges, &c burnt houses, barns & mills. These people came with the troops when they returned to City Point. They left their home last Friday night. & landed here this morning. One woman said the Yankees made clean struction as they went. She saw them burn 15 buildings. She doesn’t know what the white folks down there will do. They were all used to carding & spinning & weaving & knitting socks for soldiers.— We gave them some clothes. They had lost the bundles that they started with. Mrs. J. gave them some food, & then they were sent to Mason’s Isl. Monday is the day the whipping is usually done, one woman reckoned they didn’t find many to whip last Monday. She said she had been used mighty hard lately

Dec. 15th. Alex.

Very cold. Nearly 100 persons were landed here this morning in a pitiable condition. No fire on the vessel, & no food for 24 hrs.—Some barefoot children, many were in rags. I gave about 30 pieces of clothing & Mrs. J. came some. They were hurried off in 6 great wagons to Mason's Isl. There were a great many small children. There should be a receiving room in the Barracks for such persons, where they could be warmed & fed, & stay long enough to find their friends, before they are sent away. Mr. Gladwin seems to have no feeling for them. The women & children came into the kitchen to warm. It was stowed full.

So I did not begin to wash till after 10, I helped Aunt Lucy & hurried her up but then we did not get through till 3 P.M.—too late to dry any clothes.

They were frozen but I had to bring them all in; dried some by fire and ironed some. So tired this evening that I can do nothing more.

Dec. 16th. Friday.

Not so cold. Very busy day again. Went twice for rations & the 2^d time waited long enough for hogs & corn to grow. For 15 days' rations got 9 ½ lbs. meal. 1 qt. beans. 4 ½ lbs. flour [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] burnt rye, [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] sugar, [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] salt, 9 ¾ lbs. pork, ½ of a candle, & piece of soap about 3 in. square.

Went to wharf & bought ¼ cd. of wood for \$2,35; carting & sawing amounts to \$3,03. at the rate of \$12 a cord. How do poor people live. I attended to bringing it in & handled most of it.

I went to bakers. I ironed and swept stairs, hall & sidewalk. & did other chores beside. Frances did not come till after 6. We shall try to go to Mason's Isl. tomorrow—

Dec. 17.

Foggy morning. So wet thought it not best to go M. Isl.—

This P.M. Mrs. Belden called & we went to Bap. Ch. Hos. & to Wolfe St. Hos. Not many very sick men. Nearly all convalescent.

Dec. 18. Sunday. 1864

Cloudy. Very wet. Only went out to dinner. Did but little. 4 new women sent to Mason's Isl. from Sussex Co.

Great war news. Yesterday 200 guns were fired in W. Report that Sherman has taken Savannah & 11000 prisoners. In Tenn. Thomas has beaten Hood's army & done great things.

Dec. 19.

So wet and muddy. Frances went before 8. She has undertaken too hard a task I fear. This A.M. I went to milliners &c &c

This P.M. Mr. Hawkins & Mrs. Coleman called. She is agent of N. F. R. Assoⁿ.

Dec. 20th, cold.

Went to W. on 10 A.M. boat. Took dinner at Dr. Breed's. Margaret Robinson there. Went to 207 I St. to see the house, Mr. M^cKim is fixing for teachers. Called at Miss Grove's school. Came back on 5 o'clock boat—

Dec. 21.

Snowy. Rainy. All slush, & the worst walking I ever saw. Only been out to my dinner. Made over my velvet bonnet. Dr. Heard called. He is to be Asst. Surg. in L'Ouverture Hos.
A call for 300,000 more men.

Dec. 22^d

Very cold. So much ice in river boats have stopped. I am afraid Frances cannot come over tomorrow. Terrible walking. Only been to my dinner & to the bakers. Waited on people in the clothing room. Got nothing from Rochester yet. I am getting discouraged.

Dec. 23^d. 1864.

Went to L'Ouverture. Saw the case of instruments presented to Dr. Fletcher by the patients of L'O. —Saw Dr. Platt the successor of Dr. F—
This P.M. waited on people.
Took 2 long walks. Frances has not come. River frozen so that boats do not run.

Dec. 24.

Made a bonnet, & been down st. once. Barrel from Phebe Cornell.
F. came this eve on cars. She has had a tedious week, so cold & walking is so bad.

Dec. 25th. Christmas.

Unpacked Phebe's barrel. Cleaned up. Had very nice dinner at Magnolia House. Took tea with Mrs. Jacobs. This evening read "husks." Does not seem like Sunday nor like Christmas. A few guns & fire crackers & that is all that is peculiar.

Dec. 26. Alex. Va.

Very wet. Walking very bad. F. & I went to Barrack's & to Hospital. Mr. Gladwin in office reading order from Gen. Slough that col^d. soldiers are to be buried in colored burying ground, wh. is under the control of A. Gladwin Super^{mt}. Soldiers are indignant. I think Mr. G. is in personal danger. Capt. Lee Q.M. has ordered them buried in the Military Ground & 4 have already been buried there. Well, we shall see!

Gen. Sherman has taken Savannah.

Mrs. Coleman came this P.M. In evening Frances, Mrs. C. & myself called on Mr. Baker. & looked in on a dancing party at Magnolia House for an hour or so.

Dec. 27th

Misty. Not fit to go out.

Box came from Rochester. Unpacked it & waited on a few people.

Mr. Joy (Mrs. C's intended) spent evening here. Very tiresome to me. After he left, F. & Mrs. C. & I went to the Magnolia House to see the party. Soldiers had a dance there. This P.M. two colored soldiers were to be buried. & Mr. G. said if they went to the Mil. B. Ground he would have the escort arrested. The bodies went to the Colored Cemetery without an escort. & Mr. G. thinks he has triumphed. The soldiers are furious. & there is danger of a fight. Mr. G. has sent a one-armed sergt. to the Slave Pen. The Chap. & Stew. & Mr. G. went with the ambulance & while stopping here at the door for a headboard, Mrs. Jacobs expressed her feelings in some very uncomplimentary remarks about white men who come here from the North and pretend to labor among the colored people. —Mr. G. & Mr. Owen

considered the remarks personal & were pale with rage.

About an hour afterwards Mrs. J. received an order to appear at Gen. Slough's headquarters at 9 tomorrow. She feels quite disturbed, for she does not know what is coming. But no harm will come to her I am sure, good will come of it.

Wednesday, Dec. 28th.

Arranged things in Clothing room. In P.M. Mrs. C. & F. & I went to Fort Rodgers. Saw Capt. Spear & saw the 440 pounder & the ammunition for the same. I did not attempt to bring away any of these balls. There are 5 200 pounders here too which will shoot 5 miles.

We went to the Colored Cemetery. A muddy walk. 120 soldiers have been buried there. This morning Mrs. J. reported herself to Gen. Slough. He told her that Mr. G. had

misrepresented the matter to him, had told him the soldiers did not wish to be buried in the white ground &c. But now the Quartermasters orders wd. be carried out, & after this the col^d soldiers would be buried in the Mil. ground, & those buried in the Colored Cemetery would be removed, & furthermore he wd. discharge Mr. Gladwin today. Mrs. J. is in high glee. but I do not regard the thing as accomplished yet. Gen. S. did not appoint him & he cannot discharge him & the Gen. has been made aware that ~~that~~ he has no power to say where soldiers shall be buried, but this is the Q.M.'s business. & the latter personage is indignant that the Gen. has interfered as he has done. & Gen. S. is now trying to smooth over the matter.

When Mr. G. is really removed, we intend to have a rejoicing, a jubilee.

F. & I went to King St. Hos. 162 patients there, & 60 of these are prisoners. It is a distressed place.

Miss Parker who visits this Hos. has been here today. She says those sick prisoners suffer for want of clothes & she tells of great wrongs towards the men in this Hos. I try to keep it out of my mind.—This evening Mr. Joy came & went with us to Liberty Hall to hear

Louise De Mortie read. It has rained all the evening. The attendance was small, about 75 persons present, about 20 white persons. I enjoyed the reading very much. After this we went to the Fair wh. is being held at Lyceum Hall (Hos.) for the benefit of the soldiers. It is a nice place for a Fair. Came back tired enough. Have been out late three evenings in succession, & not being used to it, it affects me somewhat.

Dec. 29

Two bbls. came from Worcester. Waited on people in C. Room. Made several calls with Mrs. C., went to Grace Ch. Hos. It looks so nice there. & so comfortable.

This P.M. Mrs. Belden called & Miss Parker too. Mrs. C. has gone with Miss P. Louisa Jacobs is quite ill.

Have been alone all the evening, & enjoyed it in writing.

Frances has gone to the Fair with Dr. P. & Miss Owen.

Dec. 30th.

Cold & raw.—Waited on people in C. room nearly all day.—sold \$37 worth of goods & gave away some.

Mrs. Coleman came back & left at 3 P.M. Mr. Joy called this morning. Two Miss Chamberlains called & Frances went around with them. I have been to baker's. Louisa J. very ill. I went to Barracks

for Dr. Heard & then went for Dr. Bentley.

Alexandria, Virginia

Dec. 31st. 1864—

Snowy & wet & sposhy.

But it would not do to stay in all day. This A.M. Frances & I went to look for pictures (views in Alex.) but cd. only get the Marshall House.

Then went to Miller's & bought \$8.40 worth of crockery, including china & glass. The oddest & most antique pieces I cd. find. These are partly for use & partly to gratify a taste for old things. I intend to take some of them home. This P.M. washed my dishes and did various chores. Went to baker's &c. While waiting for dinner at Magnolia House we called on Mrs. Dewell.

Louisa Jacobs is some better today. How the poor people will suffer in this wet storm. Mr. Gladwin is yet in power. & I fear

he will not be removed after all. & the people must be tyrannized over still longer. How long, oh! Lord, how long?

Letter from home today. Father is well. They are having a cold, stormy winter.

The military situation is very favorable, at least it looks so. Sherman is in Savannah & we hope Charleston will be taken soon. —Grant is near Richmond. I can hardly realize that

this is my 3^d winter in Virginia. How time flies! My situation is apparently the same as one year ago, but personally it is not so. I feel 10 years older than I did a year ago. My sickness made sad havoc on my frame. I cannot endure as much as I could before. In short, I realize now that I have seen half a century of years. My hair has nearly all fallen off, my faculties are dull. I cannot think nor act as I once could. I am very stupid. I know it, & feel it, & realize it thoroughly.—

Five years ago today my darling Freda was taken from me, & in all probability she has nearly if not quite forgotten us. She is now nearly 9 yrs. old. When I heard from her last, two months ago, she was well, but she was a pale looking, delicate child. I wonder if we shall ever see each other again! I dare not hope that we shall ever live together again, oh! dear.

Frances is here now, but intends to go back to W. on Monday. I am thinking about leaving Alex. & going to W. to work there.—I cannot yet quite decide to do so. I shall leave here with many regrets. I shall be sorry to leave the people, & then, there are some pleasant things about Alex. as well as discomforts & inconveniences. & W. is by no means free from inconveniences. It is a tiresome place to me. Well, we shall see.

Alex. Va. Jan. 1st. 1865

Cold wind. Cleaned up this morning. The misses Chamberlins came & went to church & after dinner F. went with them to 3 hospitals. I have written 2 letters & done but little else. I am not satisfied with myself today. I intend to go to W. with F. to-morrow. Had a New Year's gift from Aunt Lucy. It consists of 2 pieces of peach pie, a turn-over & a leg of chicken.

Jan. 2^d Monday

Cloudy. Cold. Frances & I went on 10 A.M. boat to Washington. Great deal of ice in river.

Called at B. Tabor's, 467 [*Transcriber's note: Blank left in original*]. Then to the Misses Chamberlins, & about 12 we all started for the White House to make a New Years call. We stood at the gate & saw the carriages containing the Foreign Ministers, Members of the Cab. &c with their families. We had a glimpse of some elegant ladies. The ministers were in court costume & gold lace was abundant.

At 12 ½ P.M. the officers of the Army & Navy were admitted. We saw them enter & come out, over 500 of them & there were some noble looking men among them. At 1 the public were admitted. We were in the crowd. & were pushed up the steps of the portico & as far as the door. The breath was almost crushed out of us. At the door the policemen kept the men off at arm's end & we passed under their arms into the ante room. The marine Band sat a long table. There were 20 or more. & they were dressed in scarlet & gold lace & wore green hats. But we were not allowed to stop here at all. We passed through the red room into the blue room. I shook hands with the President, but hardly saw

him. I merely felt his presence. Mrs. Lincoln stood in the middle of the room between 2 gentlemen.

She wore a purple silk trimmed with black velvet. but no one stopped to look, & some did not see even her. We paused a few moments in the East Room & then were pushed out of a window over a platform built for that purpose.

It is said that 5000 & 200 persons passed into the House & all shook hands with the President. I should think his arm wd. be lame after it.

If I had known how it was I should hardly have gone into that crowd. It don't pay. I saw a few colored persons. Such had a hard time to get in, but when once in all were treated alike.—

We went to Georgetown & took dinner with sis & Harry. They are expecting C. & Neddy tomorrow. Then F & I went to Mrs. Brown's to stay all night. This family is nearly white. They are old residents, & Mrs. B.

lived at White House when Jackson was Pres. & sewed for Miss Donelson. After this she was in Ed^w. Livingston's family. Went to N. Orleans with them & then to France & spent 2 yrs.—

Her daughter Emma is well educated & teaches the public col^d. school in W. I had an interesting visit here.

Tuesday, 3^d

Frances went to school & I went to Mrs. Clark's & staid while Harry & sis went to the Depot to meet C. & Ned. They waited till 2 trains came in, but C. didn't come & they came back. I left at 2 & went to Dr. Breed's. Then to see the agents of the New Eng. Friends Assoⁿ. They have a house & a sewing school. & have built a store where they sell goods to the Freedmen at cost. & keep wood also to sell at cost & to give away. They are doing a good work.

Then I called at the Hospital, saw Dr. Rapier & C. Douglass &c. A new & better hospital is being built for the colored people.

Went to Dr. B's for the night. Mr. Hicks, there from N. Y. going to a place near Pt. Lookout to see what can be done for the colored people there.

Wednesday, 4th.

Snow several inches deep this morning, wind blows, & it is cold. & the snow flies, but the sun has shone bright all day. Waited awhile to see Mr. M^cKim, but he did not come— Then I went to 207 I St. to see the House for teachers &c. Then went to Landing and waited one hour for boat. Great deal of ice in river, got back at 1 P.M. went to dinner. Then went for rations. Wood came & Lewis sawed it & brought it in. I went to baker's, & worked some in clothing room. Water pipe burst

last night. & things in clothing room have been moved & they are all topsy turvey.—I have run up & down stairs & am very tired tonight.—Louisa is better.

Jan. 5th. Very bright,

but has not thawed much.—

Men fixed water pipe & bothered me very much, could not wait on folks. Helped Lucinda wash &c.

Cleaned my room, & this evening ironed some. Am quite tired. Have been in the cold & wet & have run up & down stairs all day. Miss Moore called. Mrs. Belden & Mrs. Seaton called.—

30 adults & 30 children draw rations now. Col. Trimble lectures at L. Hall this eve. but I am too tired & too busy to go.—

Jan. 6. Rained all day.

Worked in Clothing room all A.M. Ironed in P.M. & did various chores.

Such terrible weather! Frances has not come. Have only been out to my dinner. Cheerless day. How the poor people & soldiers must suffer.—

Jan. 7. Very cold. Windy.

Frances came about 9 last evening. Boat did not come back. & she came on train after waiting 3 hours at Depot on Md. Avenue. It rained all day & evening & she was wet & cold & hungry & tired.

This A.M. went for Passes, & to P.O. about 2 P.M. Neddy & Harry came. More than 2 hrs. coming over, so much ice & such high wind. I went with them to Soldier's Rest, to L'Ouverture & to Grace Ch. Hospitals full of smoke, & tents flapping in the wind. Nothing pleasant today. I went with them to Magnolia House to dinner & then they took the 3 P.M. train to go back. Sorry they couldn't stay longer. I wish Neddy could have seen more of Alexandria.

Then I worked at a bonnet; afterwards went to Express Office. Very tedious being out. Barrel came from Hartland for Frances. filled with eatables such as cakes, cooked meat, pickles, dried fruit &c; —& drinkables, such as wines &c.

This evening went to the Fair at Lyceum Hall with Frances, Minnie O, Dr. Pettyjohn & Minnie's Uncle.—

The colored soldiers and others seemed to enjoy themselves mightily. It has been kept open 2 wks. for the benefit of soldiers.

Sunday Jan. 8. 1865

Very bright. Very cold. Cleaned up & went to Friends' Meeting. It is held in Dr. Janney's parlor. The meeting house is nearly ready for them. There were 12 persons present, but no minister so we had a silent sitting of one hour. Such quiet was so unusual for me that I became sleepy & very much feared I should be seen nodding.

[Transcriber's Note: following written in pen at the bottom of page in different pen]

Jan 8-1865

Sunday 8th, continued, 1865

²⁴F. went to Christ Ch. & to Hospital & to Colored Meth. in evening.
We took supper with Mrs. Jacobs. Rev. Mr. Leonard & wife present.

Monday 9th. January

Very fine day. Rose early (for us) & went on 8 A.M. train to W. Went on our free pass, obtained through the kindness of Dr. Pettijohn. F. went directly to school, I went to 207 I St. but could do nothing there. Such slow work. House neither cleaned nor finished. Looks forbidding enough. Nothing pleasant in the vicinity for the eye to rest upon. Filth & dilapidation on all sides. Small lot. Small house. I cannot see the way clear to go there & F. will be disappointed if I do not go.—

Went to G.—Charlotte, Sis & Ned went with me to Mt. Zion Ch. & sat in Frances' school a little while. The children sang for us. They appeared very well.

Jan 9 1865

We went to the Capitol. & into the House a little while. Nothing of interest going on. The scaffolding is removed from the center of the Rotunda. The dome is very grand. Went into the Sup. Court Room. Saw Chief Justice Chase. Looks much older than when he lectured for our society in R.

Went into the Senate Gal. Davis of Ky. was speaking against the Bill for freeing the families of Colored soldiers. "They wd. suffer so much if set free." After him Reverdy Johnson spoke to the same effect & was tiresome. C. & Sis & Ned left, but I staid & heard Wade make a powerful speech against Slavery & for the President. He was followed by Wilson, author of the Bill, in some very good remarks.

I took 4:30 train for Alex.—Met Miss Evans. The day so fine. Every thing looked lively & people were out in their best clothes. Only one thing occurred to vex

me. & that was seeing 3 col^d. men ordered out of the passenger car into the baggage car by a soldier, a guard probably. When F. came over Friday evening, she saw several women ordered into the baggage car.—

Jan. 10th.

Pouring rain all day. Of course C. did not come over. Frances came at 5 o'clock. This A.M. I worked in C. room, &c. This P.M. I made bonnet.

Jan. 11th.

Very fine cold. Frances left on 8 train. I worked some in clothing room, & made a bonnet. Went to Pro. Judge for permit to get alcohol.—Letter from Mrs. Earle. Mrs. Belden here this P.M.—

²⁴ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26006_001 to HC13-26001_030 in their Folder entitled Jan. 8th 1865 to May 13th 1865.

Gen. Butler has been removed, causes quite a sensation. I wonder if he is to blame for the failure at Wilmington?

Jan. 12th. Bright. Cold.

Went for wood, bought 1/3 cd. green wood for \$4.00, & gave 80 cts. to have it sawed. &c. Worked in Clothing Room nearly all day. Harriet Tubman here.

Jan. 13th. Very fine.

Waited on people in C. Room. This P.M. went to L'Ouverture with Mrs. Belden & saw Dr. Platt &c. Took books for Library. & called on Mrs. Leonard.

Called at Mr. G's room to ask for rations for several families. "Oh yes, he will do anything he can, & whenever I know of suffering cases please report them to him." Mr. Owen does not show as much sympathy as Mr. G. but I see through the latter. He realizes the precariousness of his situation. People begin to suffer for want of food. They are pinched on account of high prices.

Frances came this evening. We have both been vaccinated. She thinks she has been exposed to small pox.

Gov. Pierpont & family have taken board at the Magnolia. He is an enemy of Butler & exults over his removal.

Saturday

Arranged my household affairs as soon as possible & then made over Frances' velvet bonnet. Went to bakers' &c.

Miss Chamberlin came & she & F. have been to King St. Hos. About noon Mrs. Coleman & Mr. Dudley came, took dinner with me at Magnolia.— Mrs. J & Louisa & Virginia called this evening. I did a few chores but cannot accomplish much when I have company.

Sunday Jan. 15th. Fine day.

Mrs. C. here. Mr. Joy called this morning. They kept house while I went to Friends Meeting. Silent meeting but more present than last Sunday. Frances & others went to Christ Church.

Mrs. C. & F. went with me to dinner. —8 new people came from Sussex, & gone to barracks.

This evening Mrs. C. & I went to Grantville meeting. Mr. Parker performed. ___ Rev. J. Dudley spoke at some length. Very orthodox. & was followed in the same strain by Rebecca Collins of N.Y. She is called a Friend, but spoke & prayed like a Methodist. Talked of "everlasting fire prepared", &c, I was so disappointed in the woman! Not one word of practical instruction was given to the people this eve, & there was a crowd present. It is the "blind leading the blind"! Then came the singing & dancing. It was a sad sight. To think that some of these people have been here nearly 3 years & have not

outgrown these foolish practices yet. & that white folks still encourage these plantation performances! Oh! It is discouraging, it is vexing.

When we returned from meeting, Dr. Pettijohn informed us that Capt. Ferree

was really to supersede Gladwin & an order to that effect had been given by Sec. of War. But I was a little fearful yet. But Cor. R. had heard the order read at Gen. S's Headquarters. Well, well.

Some unpleasant things have happened today. Oh! Why will people act so?

Monday Jan. 16th. 1865

Ventured to rejoice a little & flung my Flag to the breeze. Mrs. Y. & Miss Collier do not approve my method of manifesting approval; but, whenever the foot of a tyrant is removed from the necks of the oppressed I must be allowed to rejoice in my own way. I have no front window; Miss C. refused to have the Flag suspended from hers. But Mr. Banfield was perfectly willing to have it put out of a window of his room, & it has waved over the front entrance all day.

Frances left early this morn. I made over Mrs. Coleman's bonnet & she left about 3. Then I went to Old Mill to see sick man.

Then to L'O. Hos. & took some books for Library.—Have new nurse in women's ward. Mrs. Martin from Phila. The women who were brought from A. to work there have, to my great joy, all been discharged. And now women come to work during the day & go away at night. A great improvement. Dr. Bentley seems to fall in with nearly all my views.

Dr. P. tells me this evening that Mr. G.'s removal is not so sure after all, & that Gen. S is exerting himself to have the order countermanded!

Cavalry & infantry have passed through the city today. Mr. Joy has been here this evening. He wants my Flag, but I do not wish to part with it.

Jan 17.

Worked in clothing room. New folks from Sussex came for things. Went for rations, & gave them nearly all to Aunt Fanny & Emmaline Walker.

Capt. Ferree came this P.M. but Mr. Gladwin had just left for W. so he was not seen by the Capt. but the Capt. is coming tomorrow to begin operations, & I would like to have just one more look at Mr. G. to see how he takes it.

Frances came this evening.

Jan. 18th.

Cold. rose early. F. left on 8 A.M. train. I have been to Grantville school & Sumnerville. & this P.M. Mrs. Belden went with me to see several families inside stockade. Then to Barracks & to Hospital & then to Newtown. & to Grace Ch. Hos.—

This evening I have made a bed tick for room at 207 I St. ! Am very tired.

19th.

Very cold. Went to W. on 8 o'clock train. Went to 207 I St. saw Miss Ford & Miss Lane. Then to see Mr. M^cKim. Talked awhile & decided to go to 207 to live.

Called to see Mr. Hunt at San. rooms. Then went to buy a bedstead; paid \$6.00. Called at Dr. B's & took dinner. Went again to 207 & then to the cars. Got back to Alex. just before dark. Saw about 40 colored women going to the Pro. Marshal's. Things have been stolen from Slough B. Hos. & all those who work there have been arrested. Very tired tonight.

Jan 20th.

Very cold. Worked in Clothing R. all A.M. After dinner staid at the Magnolia awhile. Artist took photograph of the House & the boarders were taken with it.—Then I made several calls.

Frances came this evening, she has just seen Mr. G. — he thinks she put the Flag out. & is highly offended.—I wish him to know that I did it.

Aunt Lucy said today “There is

only one place where he ought to go, that is to the Rip Raps. All his society is there. He's done missionary too long about here now; indeed he is.”

Jan. 21st.

Hail. Snow. Rain, ice & slush.

The worst day to be out that I have known in Alex. Miss Chamⁿ. came from W. & F. went with her to King St. Hos.—

This P.M. I went to see Mrs. Belden & took my work. The first time I think I have done so in Alex. Had a nice little visit.

Sunday Jan. 22^d. '65.

Every thing covered with ice. A beautiful sight. Walking very bad.

Frances went to dinner with me. After dinner an artist came to take photograph of the House. (having spoiled those he took on Thursday.) Such work is not usually done on Sunday & the Gov. & his family

could not countenance the proceeding, fearing, probably, that it might compromise the Restored Govt. of Virginia. But all the other boarders will appear in the picture. After it was over Frances had her doubts about it being exactly orthodox, but it does not disturb my conscience in the least. And then, I am not surprised at anything that may happen on the 'Sacred soil.'—

Letters from Aunt Mary & S. A. Ferris. The former enclosing \$5 & the latter \$3 for the use of Freedmen. I have answered both.

Mrs. J & Louisa have been here this evening.—

Jan. 23^d.

Rainy. Very bad day. Very icy. Have only been out to my dinner. Wrote letters. Frances left at 8 this morning.

Jan 24th.

Very cold. Went this morning for wood, had long walk to the different wharves, & wood yards but could find none. I have enough to last till tomorrow. Dr. P. has none either. When it is brought in from the country now the price will be very high. What will the poor people do? I have kept about such a fire today as I see in many of the contrabands cabins. I sometimes have a realizing sense of their situation.

Slippery walking. Have only been out to my dinner & made two calls. Wrote letters &c. Have made no progress towards moving. I never felt the cold so sensibly as I do this winter.

The Smithsonian Institute is on fire this evening. Oh! what a loss. Such a beautiful building & so many valuable curiosities! I had supposed it to be fire proof.

Jan. 25. Bright & cold.

Went to Grace Ch. Hos. & took some books. Went to L'Ouverture; & sent 75 books there for Mr. Leonard's school. Improvements are being made there, at the same time things are going on which I disapprove. I wonder if the world will ever come round right? Went to Baptist Church & took some books.

Bought wood at \$12 per cd.—

This afternoon went with Mrs. Pierpont & Mrs. Gordon to Grantville School. It appeared very well & things looked pleasant there. The ladies were much interested. Then we went to Castle Thunder. It has once been a nice house but it has been used by the military & now Govt. allows several white families to live in it, rent free. Here are some soldiers' wives whose husbands have been killed, & some refugees, & some who have no claim on Govt. & yet they all draw rations. I wish all the

liberated slaves were treated as well, some of these seemed to be deserving people & others did not.—

A busy day & I am tired tonight.

Jan 26.—

Very cold. Helped Lucinda wash. In P.M. went out with Mrs. Belden. & then went to Miss Lane's funeral at Mr. Beckley's house —Saw funeral procession of Surg. Ivanoff Stanislaus von Willentski of Meth. Ch. Hos. Officers of Hospitals were in uniform & mounted. & there was a procession of ambulances filled with soldiers. Went to Catholic Ch.—Intended to go to King St. Hos. but it was so cold we gave it up.

Brought in my clothes & ironed until 9 o'clock.—very tired.

Jan. 27.

Last night was the coldest of the season. Water froze in my room for the first. Intensely cold this morning. What will the poor people do?

I keep a good fire & yet it is cold. I finished ironing. & about 11^o clock Robert & Susannah Howland of Cayuga Co. & Rachel Howland of N. Bedford. & 3 others came. Mrs. J. & I went with them to Soldiers Rest & to Hospital (L'O.) They were much interested.—

There are 2000 soldiers at the "Rest". They are from Tennessee. & belong to the 23^d Corps. Schofield's Div. The men are from Ohio, Tenn. & Ky.—They have been 4 days coming here & are going to reinforce Sherman. They look as if they had seen hard times. Many of them slept out of doors last night. They seem in good spirits, but their clothes are poor & they are very dirty. The poor fellows!

After dinner I filled a basket with socks, stationery, pins, buttons, pencils & papers, songs &c. Mrs. Belden went with me to the Rest. The Chris. Com. distributed some things, but they do not seem to have a large supply.

It was interesting work. They crowded

around us, & when the crowd became too dense, we wd. ask them to open a way for us a little further on. Every one wanted pins & buttons, & when everything was distributed but the socks, I asked the Col. how I could tell wh. were the most needy. He really did not know; but there was one sick man who he was sure needed a pair & he led the way to him. He was lying on the floor, of course & it was a wonder he was not trampled upon. He was either very sick or asleep, & I entrusted the socks to a comrade who was watching him. The Col. said they nearly all needed socks, & he hoped to draw clothing for them before they left Alex. If I had had 2000 pairs instead of 10 pairs it would have been an easy matter, but some of them took off their old shoes and boots & showed the fragments of what were once socks, & I gave them out very quickly. But few of the Northern people appreciate the suffering of the soldiers.—

They do not see them & of course, do not realize the actual state of things. I feel that I have done a good P.M.'s work.—Frances came about dusk.

Saturday.

Colder than ever. Have not been out much. Too cold. Wrote several letters. Frances has been with Capt. Ferree & Dr. P. to the old buildings on the wharf. Capt. F. is indignant that Gladwin should rent such places to the people, & he says he will see that the most needy ones have rations.

Capt. F. has since been to Gen. Slough & told him what he has seen. The Gen. tells him to correct all abuses & says the people shall have rations.

Serious affray at L'Ouverture last night. Men have been feeling hard towards the surgeons, & a slight occurrence caused an outbreak.

White soldiers were called in, & the colored soldiers cleared them all out, & the doctors too. The white wardmaster & Dr. Platt ran for their lives.—2 col^d sol's were wounded. I am sorry such an affair has happened for it will strengthen prejudice against them. But I am glad they have a spirit to defend their rights.

Sunday Jan. 29. '65

Milder. I went to Friends' Meeting at Meeting House cor. St. Asaph & Wolfe. This is the first time they have met in it since it has been used as a hospital. Government has put it in repair for them, not knowing whether they were legal Quakers or not. Dr. Bentley was there. He came to see what people were there, whether Union or disloyal, & stayed but a short time.

Sam^l T. Janney of Loudon Co. spoke at some length & made a prayer. He made no allusion to the state of the times

He quoted Geo. Fox, but I could not tell he is orthodox or Hicksite, probably the latter.— About 50 persons were present. A few men looked like Friends but there were no weighty looking women Friends. They were mostly young, & some quite fashionable.

Frances went out this A.M. with Dr. P. to see the people.—

Gladwin has not given up his authority in the house yet, & seems to think he will be reinstated in Office. He dies hard. & is bent, evidently, on making all the trouble he can.

Monday 30th.

Very bright. Thawing. Frances had sick headache all night. Went with her on 8 A.M. train to W. She went to G. & I went to office of 7th St. cars to find parasol. Did not succeed, of course. Then went to 207 I St. Could do nothing there. Called at Art Building & saw Mr. Newton.

Then went to look for a stove for my room. Found none to suit. Walking bad. I became disgusted with the National Metropolis & left in disgust on the 2 P.M. train. Skaters on the Potomac, a beautiful sight. —Mrs. Looks[?] went with me to L'O. Hos. Soldiers were being paid off.

Sergt. Wilson gave us an account of the trouble Friday night. All is quiet. None of them have been arrested.

Came home. Got dinner. Then went to bakers & now it is night & I feel that I have accomplished very little today.

Met Gov. Pierpont. He says there is a gentleman here from Accomac that he wishes me to see. Says Gen. Butler ordered slaves to be hired out to secesh & others, at low wages.

The person making the contract for them receiving \$2 for each one, which of course went into Gen. B's fund, but it was taken from the wages of the nigger,

Jan. 31st. 1865.

Bright & warmer.—

Spent nearly all A.M. in clothing room. This P.M. went to Miss Laura Lewis's school. Then to L'Ouverture with Miss C. The cold weather & the fracas last week have disarranged things somewhat. Two white women are employed in the linen rooms, & no one has charge of the women's ward.

Called at Dea. Webster's.

F. came this evening.

Wednesday Feb. 1st. 1865.

Warmer. F. & I went for Passes & then went to R.R. office to get them countersigned. She left at 10 for G. I went to Journal office, & then to Old Mill, & then to 68 Prince St. for rations, for last time probably. Packed boxes & worked until this evening. I now have sick head ache.

Rob^t. M'Carrick here his evening.

Amendment to Constitution passed the House yesterday. There were great demonstrations of joy, & I was not there to see.

Feb. 2^d.

Sent a load of goods to Washington. This P.M. went to Capt. Lee, Q.M. for wagon. I am to have a 4 horse wagon to-morrow.

I have spent most of day in packing Boxes & Trunks.

Mrs. Belden called. Frances came at eve. F. & I went to Magnolia & spent the evening very pleasantly with Gov. Pierpont & wife & Mrs. Gordon. —The Gov. is radical enough. I am much pleased with him. We discussed the Restored Government of Va.; the state of the Country; the condition of the negro, &c. If they are not mistaken then Gen. Butler is a regular [?]. They seem to know all about his career in Norfolk, & it is very damaging to his reputation. They assert that Gen. B. is no friend to the negro nor to the Temperance cause.

It does not seem as if I was about leaving Alex. I have just formed some pleasant acquaintances, & I do not wish to leave them. Then I have good meals at the Magnolia House, better than I have had in Alex. before, & better than I expect to get in W.— But all things considered I think it best to leave. Although Gladwin is to leave, & a regular nuisance is removed, yet with the new arrangements that are to be made it will not be pleasant living in this house. I think I shall part on friendly terms with all the household but Gladwin. But there are many unpleasant things attached to my present way of living which I hope to get rid of by going to W.—I am sorry to leave the colored

people, for I am really attached to some of them. One woman declares that “she is done broke if I go away.” [*Transcriber’s note: following written in different pen*] Feb. 1865

Washington. Friday Feb. 3^d 1865.

Fine. Warmer.

Finished packing up, & at 9 A.M. an Army wagon came & into it were put the remainder of my goods & chattels. During over two years residence in Alex. things have somehow accumulated. Capt. Ferree has been very obliging & helped me nail up boxes &c. & sent a corporal yesterday for an escort & also one today. Hardly safe to send goods alone with a strange teamster.

At 10 A.M. I took leave of the household in part: viz. Capt. F., Dr. P., Mr. F., Dr. S., Mrs. J., & Louisa & Virginia, & Miss Collier, & Aunt Mary & Cressy & Ednah. & also Mr. Whipple who had just called to see us. ___ I cleared my feet of the sacred soil, took a seat in the car, but Gladwin haunted us to the last minute, would shake hands & hoped I would have a good time in W., & I hoped he would have a good time wherever he was. I do not wish

ever to see him again. He tells Frances that he intends going to Savannah. That putting the Flag out as a sign of rejoicing over his removal made him feel worse than anything else. That Gen. Slough wishes to see my Report, & if there is anything wrong in it he will make me answer for it. Poor man! I would like to have an interview with the General & would like to have him read my Report.

When we reached 207 I St., the Army wagon was being unloaded. Thanks to Uncle Samuel for his assistance in my emigration from Virginia.

We have not done much this P.M. Every thing is topsy turvey. & it will take some time to get settled. Things look cheerless & forbidding now, but it may be more pleasant here than I think it will be.—Mrs. Coleman called. I am very tired to night.

Feb. 4th.

I would like to know how many Army wagons have passed here today, & whether it will be so every day. There is no peace from their constant rumbling. I St. is one of the routes most in use.

This A.M. it snowed, but the P.M. has been fine. —Carpenter has put up shelves in my room. (bought stove yesterday & that is put up) Had tick filled with ‘Excelsior’ which cost (28 lbs.) \$3.92. A dear bed, I should have preferred straw but it is difficult to be obtained.—

Frances has cleaned up clothing room & cleared out kitchen so that it looks a little more like living. I have worked all day like a heroine & I am about sick tonight. I miss the Magnolia House dinners.

The ~~Sunday~~ occupants of 207 I St. are Miss Moore, 2 Miss Fords, Miss Lane, Mr. Newton, Frances & myself. Almost too many for so small a house.

First Sunday at 207 I st. Feb. 5th.

High wind. Very unpleasant. Cold.

Did not rise till 9^oclock.

Spent nearly all day in cleaning myself. This evening Mr. Newton read an original essay on Deity. Courtesy obliged me to listen, but I went to sleep once. & he seemed to be asleep at one time while he was reading. Just now I was not in a mood to enjoy a metaphysical lecture. It was I confess nearly lost on me.

The streets seem very quiet today.

Monday, Feb. 6th.

Very cold. Frances went to her school. Harry & sis called in P.M. Mrs. Coleman & Mrs. Smith called in evening. I went out as far as 18th St. to make purchases. Spent most of the day in fixing up my room. It looks quite cozy now, But it is in reality so open, the house being so poorly built, that it can hardly be made comfortable in very cold weather.

Tuesday 7th. Tempestuous.

Snow, hail, rain, Oh! The sunny South!

Frances came from G. about 2. Her schoolroom is so uncomfortable that she could stay no longer. She has a bad cold, seems to be almost sick. I have only been out for bread & oil. Spent nearly all day in Clothing room sorting over & arranging my clothing. Have things nearly all straitened up now. Box came from Ch. Soc. Phil^a. yesterday.—Letter from J. Cornell who has sent box valued at \$200.

Too bad to go among the people today & how they must suffer, in this wet storm. Our room is comfortable this evening. I wish everybody had so good a place.

Have read in the Phila. Inq. that Col. DeKorponay is to have command of a Regt. in Gen. Hancock's new Corps. I wonder if he is the same drunken scamp that he was a year & a half ago?—

Feb. 8th.

Bright. Streets all slush. Walking terrible. Did housework all A.M. Then went to Mrs. Breed's. Then, with Meena, went to E. Brown's school east of Capitol. Came back with wet feet. Didn't pay.

Letter from Ruth Ann enclosing \$4 for Freedmen. Letter from Ella.

Box came from Mendon.

9th. Very cold.

Went to 7th St. to P. Office & Chronicle Of. & looked for matting &c. Sewed a little.

Letters from Mrs. Barnes & Cousin Abbie H. Mrs. Colman took supper with us. A call from Mrs. Clark of Detroit. Fighting near Petersburg. We suffered considerable loss.—

10th. Very cold morning.

Had bedstead changed. Arranged things in new kitchen closet. Unpacked Mendon box.
Things pretty much settled now.
Wrote in evening.

Feb. 11th.

²⁵Bright. Warmer. Went to Alex. on 10 A.M. train. Called at cor. W. & W. sts. Saw Capt. F. Dr. P. Miss C. Mrs. J. & Louisa. About 150 people get rations now & wood also & rents are to be stopped in the old buildings until they are repainted & made comfortable. Bought two tubs & 2 tumblers, & a quart of milk (15 cts). Called on Mrs. Pierpont and dined at Magnolia House. Saw Mrs. Dewell[?] & Mr. B. & c. Dinner not quite as good as usual, still I enjoyed it.

The troops that have been in the S. West seem all to be coming this way. The streets & cars in W. & Alex. are alive with soldiers. I have seen a vast number of shoulder straps today—This war is truly a big thing.

I am told that the white hospitals are to be broken up in Alex. & only the colored (L'Ouverture) will remain.

I came back on 3 P.M. train—

Mrs. Clark has been here. & Mrs. & Mr. Fish—

Sunday Feb. 12.

Cold. Windy. Sis spent the day with us. read a little & c. In evening we all, but Miss Moore went to Capitol to a meeting of American Union Assnⁿ. Commission. Gov. Tension of Ohio presided. Dr. J.P. Thompson & Col. Taylor, speakers. Others spoke but it being nearly 10 we came away as did nearly half of the large audience. Worth going there to see the Capitol by gaslight. Object of this Com. is to aid white refugees. Very cold this evening. came back to 17th. St. on new R.R.—

Monday 13th. 1865

Coldest day yet. Every thing frozen up this morning. I am tired of cold weather. At 11^oclock went to Capitol to hear discussion of Freedman's Bill. Sumner presented it, & talked a little upon it. But there were constant inter-

ruptions &, he said laughingly that he wd. like a vote upon it if Garrit Davis wd. allow it. Sumner said that the "men appointed to take charge of Freedman's affairs should be humane men, men able to resist blandishments & bribes".

At 1 P.M. it was put over till tomorrow, I was so vexed, for I had put myself out of the way to go to day, & cannot go tomorrow. Went into the House a little while, cannot tell at this distance what was going on. Met Mrs. Belden & Mr. Baker. We went into Clark Mills' Studio. Two artists, his son & Miss Reams were modelling, one the bust of a

²⁵ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26006_031 to HC13-26006_153 in their Folder entitled Jan. 8th 1865 to May 13th 1865.

Senator & the other a female head. I never saw any work of the kind before, but I was more interested in the two artists than in the models of wh. there were many. They are remarkable looking persons, artistic looking I suppose.
I mean to go again. There are 2 new pictures in the

Rotunda. A full length picture of Gen. Grant, & a picture of the battle of Lake Erie, when Perry is going in a boat from one vessel to the other. The men in the boat have their heads bound up having been wounded, & the whole is an exciting scene. By Powell of Ohio, it is on exhibition.

Tuesday 14th .

Bright, weather moderated.—Martha washed for us. I attended to it & helped her, & it took nearly all day to clean up, &c. Ironed some this evening & then was so tired I am almost sick. Can do nothing more.

Wednesday 15th. icy in the morning.

Pouring rain all day long; but after I finished ironing I fixed myself, that is, put on waterproof & bonnet cover, took my old umbrella & went to Capitol to see the funeral of Sen. T.H. Hicks, Ex. Gov. of Md.—The galleries were filled with spectators. The floor, every foot of it, was filled with Senators, Members of House,

U.S. judges, Knights Templars, Clerks in the Dept^s from Md., &c. The pallbearers wore white scarfs. The band played a dirge while the procession was coming in. Rev. Dr. M. Moody, Grand Prelate of the Encampment of the U.S. read the ceremonies of the order & the Templars made responses, Chap. Bowman of the Senate made the prayer, Rev. Dr. Nadal delivered the discourse, The President was accompanied by Seward & Dennison & Atty. Gen Speed. I had never really seen Seward before. Lincoln sunk down in his chair all in a heap, that is, in as small a compass as such a long man can contract himself, & looked quite ordinary as any other man. The scene was very impressive, the quiet was so unlike what we usually see there.—Sen H. was very much respected in Md. & by Union people elsewhere, for it was he that saved Md. from secession.
Frances did not come till late.

Thursday 16th Feb.

Unfortunate day for me.

Cleaned up my room, then put everything to rights in clothing room & made some changes. Had been to take some things up to the room over the kitchen & was coming down stairs, had not got so near the bottom as I thought & had & stepped off two steps, falling of course, & doubling my foot in such a way as nearly to break it. It made me sick for a short time, then I came up stairs, & wrapped it in cloths wet in cold water & sat still till F. came. I cannot walk on it at all. I am so sorry, I hardly know how bad it is yet, but I shall be laid up several days at least; & I want to do so much now, go out so much. Had

just got ready to make a business of visiting the people. And now more work will come upon Frances.

She will have to leave her school at once,

She came home very tired to night, & has been this evening to a meeting of the Assoⁿ of Relief of Freedman at Old S. Church,

Mr. M^cKim has been here this evening. Staid but a short time. I wish he would not always be in such a hurry.

Friday 17th.

Very bad weather. F. went to school. She fixed me in the reception room to receive calls, leaving the front door unlocked, & whenever there was a knock, I would call loudly, "Come, Come in, open the door", &c. Mrs. Holt called & a few others.—

I managed to keep the fire agoing & read The "Schonburg Colta Family". This is a fresh, original book, representing life in the time of Martin Luther. He died in 1522. —This morning Mr. M^cKim & Mr. Cope came upstairs an hour or so. Mr. K. says he wishes me to be matron of this house. I do not know how to do it or to be it.

I had supposed this was to be Frances' position. Well I hope we shall get regulated after awhile

My foot is not so bad today as I feared it would be, but I cannot bear my weight on it all.

Saturday 18th. Feb.

Bright. Walking dreadful, so they say. I have not been out to enjoy it. Frances went to Mrs. Lincoln's reception this P.M. I had intended to go, but have not left my little 7 by 9 room today. My foot is badly swelled but it feels no worse, I am using Arnica now. I hope I shall not grow too impatient to get well but it is trying to be shut up so. I have written a little.

Frances is away this evening. 268 weeks since my darling Freda was taken away. I do not realize that I am so far from her. Do not realize that I am in Washington, D.C.

Sunday Feb. 19th, 1865

Bright, but very muddy. Frances has been to Alex. Boats succeeded in pushing through ice today. Trains do not run. Draw of Long Bridge is broken & yesterday several cars went down, also a poodle dog. His cries reached the ears of those above & supposing it was a man, an odd fellow hailed him, no answering sign. Then a Free mason was sent for & gave the sign of distress, but doggy did not recognize the craft, at last they succeeded in getting down to his puppy ship, & brought him up triumphantly. No persons were hurt. It was a wood train. F. did not get back till 6 P.M. Rather a long day for me, with little to eat or to do. I slept some, wrote 4 letters & did a few other chores. Sherman's army has taken Columbia. He goes triumphantly through S.C.

20th. Bright.

Frances has been to her school & taken leave of it today; & I am glad.

I have spent the day in the Reception room, have written 3 letters, & told people to 'come in' when they knocked. They generally did so, but most of them left the door ajar, so I had to get up after all to shut it. It was right smart provoking. 100 guns were fired this morning, we hope it is for the evacuation of Charleston. My foot is better.

Feb. 21st.

Bright. Frances has been out to see the people. I have been in my sitting room & sewed a little. Firing this morning for the evacuation of Charleston. The firing yesterday was for the capture of Columbia. My foot is getting better.

Feb. 22, 1865

Washington. 207 I st. bet. 19 & 20.

I have sewed a little. About noon Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa came. Then Frances & Mrs. Coleman went with them to the

Senate & heard the Freedman's Bill discussed. Report was not adopted. Came back & after supper they went out to see the illumination. The Capitol. & all the public buildings were beautiful, especially the War Dept. but I saw none of it.— At noon guns were fired from all the forts, the Navy Yd. Arsenal, &c. such a thundering roar! I could not work I could only think, & it was the first time I ever enjoyed such a demonstration. It was in honor of the day partly, but more particularly for joy over recent events, the evacuation of Columbia & Charleston, I think it must have sounded like the roar of battle.

Feb. 23^d

Foot is gaining. Rain all day.—Between 12 & 2 P. & I waited on people, gave a large number of garments to women & children.

Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa staid with us last night. They left about 10 this A.M. Capt. Ferree is doing well for the colored people in Alex. & is kind to Mrs. J. & Louise & the teachers. Miss Evans called yesterday, & Miss Kelley.

Feb. 24.

Bright. Frances has been out nearly all day. I have attended to the calls here, given tickets for wood, soup, &c.

Firing at noon. Wilmington is taken.

Feb. 25. Saturday.

Rainy day. Pours this evening.

I have sewed some. Frances has only been to the baker's. I ventured out this P.M. & with Miss Moore went to the Reception. Sojourner Truth went with Capt. Carse, but they, that

is the policeman wd. not allow her to go in to see the President. When I went in she was sitting in the Anteroom waiting for the Capt. to come out. When I said it was too bad, she said

“never mind honey. I don’t mind it.” It did not occur to me until too late that I should have gone directly in & told the President. I would like to know what he wd. have said. I cannot think it was done by his orders.—The Pres. looked better than usual, & Mrs. L. looked, not half as well as when I have seen her heretofore. The gas was lighted in the Reception Room. It was a brilliant scene. The most elegantly dressed ladies that I ever saw were there. Harriet Lane was there. Such velvets & silks & laces & shawls, & the white lace apologies for bonnets! Well, these were worth going to see. Mrs. Lincoln wore a lavender silk trimmed with a darker shade, head dress of lace, white velvet, & purple flowers, necklace &c, &c. The Marine Band was there & played in the E. Room. They wear scarlet coats, & look like monkeys more than any thing else.

There was an abundance of flowers. The perfume of azalias filled every room. It was an enchanting place. We went into the Conservatory too. How nice it must be to live in such a beautiful place! What a contrast to the streets without. The mud is dreadful. & the rain poured. My lame foot has endured it very well. I do hope I can continue to go out now. I saw Mr. Sewell, Mr. Gordon & Capt. Spear from Alex. I should think Lincoln & his wife would get weary of such performances.

Sunday Feb. 26.

Very fine, except the mud, warm.

Had a regular cleaning up. In evening went to Capitol, meeting of Na^t. Freedmen’s Relief Assⁿ, of NY, in Hall of Reps. Chief Justice Chase presided, & made opening remarks. Rev. H. H. Garnett prayed, his choir sung “My Country tis of thee”. C.C. Leigh read object of Assoⁿ, &c. Then Hon. Fred Tompkins of the

London Bar made a speech which was worth listening to. Masses of the Eng. people in favor of the North. Beecher did great good in Eng. Then Theo Tilton spoke & every sentence was interesting, he said some of the very best things. The audience was delighted & the applause was frequent & hearty. He is not only an orator but he is sensible, eloquent, earnest, grand.—The choir sung a John Brown song, the audience joining in the chorus. It was a triumph a success, a glorious meeting, considering the place, the time the object. the speakers & all things else. Both floor & galleries were crowded. A goodly number of colored people were present. I was on the floor and sat in the seat of Mr. Morris, Frances piled up some books for a seat, Mrs. Swisshelm sat on a step, bonnet off, & in raptures. Mrs. Jacobs, Louisa & Virginia were there. —Cars crowded, a collision, got back at 11. Well paid for riding on platform.

Feb. 27.

I attended to washing & in evening ironed some. Miss Collier called. Have not accomplished much today. Martha is so slow she vexes me.

Feb. 28.

Attended to cleaning clothing room. Great many calls from people. Barrel came from Worcester, Mrs. Fish here this evening. Harry & Mary Julia here this eve. They have moved.

I have been as far as 7th. st. & made some purchases. Not easy to walk yet, but my foot is much better.

March 1st.

Did various things indoors. Mr. & Mrs. Earle have been here, Frances has been out nearly all day. Mr. M^cKim proposes to Mr. Newton to have an Intelligence Office here. I shall object decidedly, enough to do now.

March 2^d. Rain all day.

Waited on people & gave out clothing nearly all day; tired enough to night spent entire evening in posting my books.

March 3^d. 1865. evening.

Rain in A.M.—Cloudy P.M.

About 10 ½ Frances & I went to the Senate & staid till 4 P.M. & got very tired. Douglass was in the Gallery. & I saw Tilton & Anna Dickinson too. Great deal of business done today, good deal of confusion debate on [*Transcriber's note: Blank space left*] Grimes, Sumner, Wade, Conners &c. Great many strangers in town F. went to Mrs. Coleman's & I came home. Girls all gone to hear F. Douglass lecture. Mr. Pettyjohn here, & F. has gone with him to the lecture. When they come back we intend to go to the Capitol & be present when Congress adjourns which will be some time to night.—

Washington March 4, 1865

Saturday morning. raining. Frances, Miss Ford, Mr. P. & myself went to the Senate about 11 o'clock last night. There were others besides us intended to stay till the session closed. But when 2 o'clock came I was tired enough to leave. The papers say the session was continued till 5 o'clock. We heard a debate on 'arbitrary arrests' & some excited speeches by Conness, Lane of Ind. Johnson &c.—several appropriation bills were passed. A great many were brought in from the House to be signed by the Vice President. Mr. Foote was in the chair.

M^cDougal slept all the while we were there, Chas. Sumner at last stopped his work[?], which is very unusual for him, Some of the Senators were absent, others walked the floor to keep themselves awake, We think we shall not be able to see much to day. But we must go out & see what we shall see.

Washington, D.C.

Inauguration Day.

And a grand day it has been too. The morning was very unpromising, drizzly, muddy. & we feared there would be nothing much to be seen. About 10 A.M. Frances & I went in quest of something worth seeing. Went in cars to Capitol. A stream of humanity was setting in that direction. We prospected awhile & then took a stand on the corner of the steps of the Portico of the Senate wing. Only those who had passes cd. enter the building. & all had to go in through this portico. We were directly behind a file of soldiers & felt very safe. but now the rain began in earnest. still we did not quit our place, well knowing if we gave up that place we could not get it again. The favored ones came in carriages, Mrs. Lincoln & other distinguished persons alighted at the front steps of the portico

an open space being kept there, others left their carriages at another place & had to push through the crowd on the steps.—

Three hours we stood there before the procession came. & saw the crowd assemble. All at once appeared on the scene about 50 boys of various sizes. Fair specimens of ragged contrabands, mounted on horses as dilapidated as themselves. Both horses & riders bespattered with mud. This cavalcade was from Geisboro. & was the comical part of the Inauguration ceremonies, one boy was dressed in a bag drawn round the neck & holes for his arms.

The marshals made quite a show. There was a Co. of 16th. N.Y. Cav. & a section of 4th. U.S. Artillery, & a band, & a brigade of Vet. R. Corps, a Temple of Liberty Car, authorities of W. Several clubs, a Monitor, 6th. Pa. Band. Eastman's College Band in gay & splendid uniform,

Then the Firemen of W. & Phila, & John Burns the hero of Gettysburg. Oh; it was a crowd worth seeing & such good order too. People of all ages, sexes & colors, regardless of mud filled all the space in front of Cap. except a passage kept open for the procession. The Vice Pres. took the oath in the Senate Chamber, which was crowded. After various proceedings there they came out on to the main portico. A platform was built on the steps & when the President appeared there was great cheering. His escort was very brilliant & imposing. There was the Cabinet & Foreign Minister in court dresses, & elegantly dressed ladies.

Chief Justice Chase administered the oath of office. & then the President addressed the vast throng. I heard two sentences, "The progress of our arms" & "with high hopes for the future". The inaugural was short, & there was cheering several times.

Just as the procession was forming there were signs of fair weather. & just before the Pres. spoke the sun shone brilliantly. & when he had finished not a cloud was to be seen. The day seemed typical of the events of the last 4 years. —Then Venus was to be seen. The star of peace, but I did not see it.—

At the close of the reading the crowd cheered, the Pres. bowed & withdrew & the crowd began to disperse. From our place still higher up the steps than at first, we saw the procession reform & saw all the notables come out & get into carriages. The Pres. with 'Tad' his son & two gentlemen. Then the carriage of Mrs. Lincoln, Sen. Anthony of R.I. was with her, then the carriage of Rob^t. L. & then the Foreign Ministers. We had a fair and deliberate view of them all, for there was more or less delay with

them all, I never saw so much gold lace before, & elegant dresses. Then came in the procession Marines from the Navy Yd. & Band. A battalion of 43th. Regt. U.S. Col. Troops from Camp Casey. & the Col^d. Odd fellows with banner & several other Bands. The procession went to the President's House. & we went out on the western balcony & looked down Pa. Av. It was a fine sight. After awhile the cars began to run & there was a long line of them. we took our seats in one, but they progressed very slowly & we had a good chance to see all that was on the Avenue, we met the procession returning from the White House. The sidewalks were covered with a moving mass of all kinds of people. The city has been thronged for a few days past with strangers. Hotels full. Dreadful weather for several days past. I am so glad that this P.M. has been fine.

It has been a great occasion; worth seeing & worth remembering.

I cannot describe it & will not try to do so.—When contrasted with the Inauguration 4 yrs. ago, this has been a grand triumph.

There was a public reception at the President's this evening. I wanted to go, but thought better of it & came back. Fearing the crowd would be too uncomfortable & I had some regard for my lame foot.

Sunday, Mar. 5th,

I did not rise very early & after breakfast went to bed again. I was completely used up, exhausted.

I had a thorough cleaning up & felt better. Mrs. J. & Louisa & Virginia & Mary called this P.M.

This evening Miss Moore & I went to Garnett's Church to hear Douglass.

He took a text from the Inaugural viz; 'Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's 200 yrs. & 50 yrs. of unrequited toil shall be sunk, & until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3000 yrs. ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true & righteous altogether"'. Douglass did himself justice this evening, & that is all I can say. Garnett made some good remarks. Douglass & a party of his col^d friends went to the

reception last evening. The policemen tried to prevent his going in, but the crowd pushed him in, & when he was in the anteroom a police man told him that his orders were to admit no colored persons. While they were parleying, a gentleman comes & says "The Pres. wishes Mr. D. to come in." Then it was all right of course. Lincoln grasped D's hand in both his own & said "Mr. D. I am glad to see you.—I saw you to day in the

crowd. I think as much of your opinion as that of any other man's. What do you think of my Inaugural? D. replied "I think it a holy thing." Mr. L. would have detained him longer, but D. thought this wd. be unjust to the crowd that was waiting. But as even as it was seen & known how cordially the Pres. received him, D. was the observed of all observers, & many were ready to shake hands with him. I am glad he went there. & it is well that I did not persist in going into such a crowd.

When it was mentioned this eve that a bill had been passed asserting the right of colored persons to ride in all the cars, Harriet Tubman rose & said "They tried to keep me out tonight when I came from G, but I would'nt go out". There was a very fine audience this eve. Some white people, & some

black, & of all shades between.—

I am glad that so many have had an opportunity to see & hear Douglass. Did not get till 11.

Monday

Went to P. office, &c. Four bbls. from Worcester & box. I unpacked some of them & F. & I waited on people most of the day. A great number have been here & we have given out 165 pieces, this has been a hard day's work. Sis was here this P.M.

Tuesday.

Fr. has been out nearly all day & came back very tired. I have attended to calls & done various other things. Rested awhile & then called on Mrs. Earle at Willard's. Then called at Dr. Breed's, & then went to the Festival in Garnett's Church. A crowd there & many very nice looking people, the Col^d. Knights Templars were present. We are so tired to night, indeed we are tired almost every night.

Wednesday, Mar. 8.

With Mrs. Clark, husband & daughter from Detroit I went on 11 A.M. boat to Alex. Had to wait for passes at the Landing. Pleasant morning. We went to the Marshall House. (& I went for pass) then we went to Cor. W. & Wolfe St. saw Mrs. J. a few moments. Then went to Mr. Sluby's school. Then to Slave Pens & then to Slave Pen again. & then to Soldier's Rest. 1800 men there. Then to L'Ouverture, 500 patients there now, we went through nearly every ward. & into Mr. Leonard's School. But few very sick men. We went to Grace Church also. The sickest men from Bap. Ch. have been brought here. It

looks so pleasant here, saw Mr. Craig. At the fight near Petersburg last Aug. he was reported killed, his wife who lives in Alex. had a

funeral sermon preached & went into mourning for him. But it turns out that he & 63 others were taken prisoners & sent to Danville. They, or the 7 that was left alive of the 64, were paroled a short time since & a day or two ago Craig got home to the surprise of every body. It seems like being raised from the dead almost,

We went to Christ Church & sat in W's pew. & then went to the 4 P.M. boat & reached W. in rain, met tug with 3 boat loads of dead horses in tow, hundreds at Giesboro die every day.

I have enjoyed the day because my company, especially Mrs. C. appreciated what they saw & it pays to go around with such people. They feel well satisfied with what they have seen to day.

Mar. 9.

Mrs. Earle & Sarah Barker called, Mr. Clark of Detroit called.

From 11 till 4 F. & I waited on the people & gave out 225 pieces. & then having given nearly all away, we sent the rest of the folks away. The yard was full nearly all the time, one person wished to buy some articles & these were the first I have sold in W.—

We were nearly tired out—hardly time enough left to get our dinner. The air has been bad this P.M. F. has not sat up at all this evening. It has taken me until 9 to post my accounts. & I am nearly sick.

Mar. 10.

Quite cold. S. Barker came & went out with F. this A.M. Then we fixed sewing & Frances has organized a sewing school in Miss Ford's Room. I did not get much time to help her.

Miss Evans & Miss Collins called. Miss Kelly called.—

Mar. 11. cold.

Frances has been to Alex. I have been as far as 7th St. & made some purchases. Tried to fix my satin dress, but was interrupted constantly.

Dr. Pettijohn & Mrs. Fish called. Mary Julia called & went to market with me. There are fresh beets, onions, lettuce &c, potatoes \$2.40 per bu. eggs 45 cts. per doz. butter 65 cts. per lb.

Sunday, 12th, Cold. bright.

Went this A.M. to N.Y. Av. Church. But I slept under Dr. Gurley's dry preaching. His Unionism is rather more apparent than when I heard him in the fall of '62. This P.M. F. & I called on sis & Harry. Last evening Dr. Pettijohn & cousin were here.—Frances missed the 6 P.M. train & did not get back till nearly 12.

Monday, 13.

Fine. warm, cleaned my room. But few calls today. Frances has been out some. This evening we went to Mr. Lakes & to Mrs. Coleman's, & saw the sewing society that objects to having colored ladies sew with them!—
Called at Willard to see Mrs. Earle &c.

Tuesday 14

Fine. Attended to washing & cleaning, & was so tired when Martha got through. Did not help much in sewing school. About 5 F. & I went to Miss Evans & took tea with her. I got back about 8 but F. went to E. St. Church. Miss Evans & Miss Collins go to Phila. tomorrow.
Encouraging war news.

Wednesday, 15

F. & I went to the Phila. School. A long walk & I have been tired all day.

Ironed this evening. Harry & sis called.

Mar. 16.

Waited on people this P.M. so tired. F. has been out nearly all day. Harry & Mary J. called this eve.

Mar. 17.

Mrs. Earle & Mrs. Howland called. I went on a long walk, visited 6 families. Harry & Mary J. called.
Mr. & Mrs. Lake called.

Saturday

Mrs. Belden came from Alex. & after dinner F. & I went back with her to Alex. on 1 P.M. train. We called on Mrs. Pierpont & Mrs. Gordon, then on Mrs. Jacobs. Miss Howland there. Went to L'Ouverture Hos. Then to Hallowell Hos. & subscribed for the "Cripple" for Miss Evans & myself. Back again to corner of W. & Wolfe & then took 6 1/2 P.M. train for home. Mrs. Earle & Miss Wall here this morning.

Sunday

Did nothing this A.M. Almost sick. Cleaned up & felt better this P.M. Harry & sis called.—

Monday, Mar. 20th.

Called at Miss Flagler's. [*Transcriber's note: Blank space left for number*] Pa. Av. Thinking it best to have one wholesome abundant meal in the 24 hours. I have enjoyed my dinners there for the present. They dine at 5 P.M. & I have been over for the first time at .50 cents a meal. I wish Frances would get her dinners there too for we both need better fare than we have had heretofore in W.

I am convinced that unless I have a more generous diet I shall soon be completely exhausted. The tone of my system is sensibly weakened. & it is neither sensible nor profitable nor comfortable nor economical nor respectable nor Christian to see upon how small a

quantity of food a person may subsist. & then when we are tired out with work it is not pleasant to be obliged to get our own dinner. I wish Frances could see it as I do. & try to keep her health & strength. But she says her salary of \$30 a mo. will not warrant her in incurring any more expense. She works hard & should have at least \$45 as some others do. I hope Mr. M^cKim will see it so. I am determined to avail myself of the willingness of the Rochester society to allow me to live comfortably. But I have made such resolves before & many have amounted to nothing. "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak".

Cleaned my room this morning.

Waited on people this P.M.

Sewed a little. Harry & sis called.

Frances has been to Georgetown.

There is a freshet in the Genesee & a part of Rochester is submerged,

Tuesday,

Warm, pleasant. rain this evening. Called on sis; she went with me to Miss Foshay's school & the scholars sung for us. We stopped on cor. M & 23^d. to see an artillery drill. A great deal of stir to day. 11 rebel flags have been presented to the Sec. of War—Mr. Cope home this eve. Sewing school this P.M.

Wednesday 22d.

Windy & the dust flies so that it is too bad to go out, but F. has been out nearly all day. I have sewed some.

Letter from Mr. M^cKim he is not coming at present. Mr. Frances Cope one of the committee has been here this P.M. & talked over assoⁿ. affairs with F. & I. This evening he came & brought a boquet for our sitting room. I am to go to Alex. with him tomorrow. Miss Collier called.—

Sergt. Wilson of L'Ouverture is dead.

About 2 wks. ago he entered a car near 7th. St. Landing. but 3 or 4 men attacked him & beat him & cut his head & put him off the car—two were arrested.

A few days since in helping the surgeon make a post mortem ex. he imbibed a poison which affected his wound, terminating in erysipelas. It is a sad affair. We all held him in high respect. & this day seemed so sudden & expected.

It seems that these people are to be literally baptized in blood on their way to freedom.—

Thursday, 23d.

Tempestuous; sunshine, wind, dust, 2 hurricanes! I met Mr. Cope at the wharf at 11 A.M.—on reaching Alex. went directly to Grantville school. I wished the school to appear particularly well, but it appeared exceedingly ill. Very noisy, & Mr. Banfield made about as much noise in trying

to keep the school quiet, as the scholars did themselves.—Called on Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa for a few moments, & then went to Miss Moore's school & spent an hour. A gale while we were there. Met the Misses Chase & had some sharp words with one of them. She says the meeting addressed by Gov. Pierpont in Norfolk was broken up in a row. The Gov.'s speech "was dis-gusting from its profanity". He said "atrocious" things &c, &c, & gave her to understand that I knew something about Norfolk affairs. & about military government & so on. She said at last that she had heard the other side of the story. & she might regard Gov. Pierpont in a different light, &c.

Went to see a house on St. A. St. & then to slave pen. Mr. C. had to be satisfied with an outside view, & we could

not go into the Soldier's Rest without a pass. we went into the hospital for a few moments. Then came another gale accompanied with rain. & we went to the boat getting considerably wet. Mr. C.'s hat was taken from his head & he had quite a chase for it. & he will take home with him some of the 'sacred soil', I think.—Alex was unusually quiet to day, several hospitals have been closed, & one Mil. prison shut up. The streets were quite unlike the streets of W. I was never so forcibly struck with the dullness of the place. Mr. C. seemed satisfied with his visit, but it has not been satisfactory to me some how.

Frances has been giving out clothing today, & has been hard at work. A supply of clothing, books & necessaries for the sick came yesterday from Phila.

Mar. 24.

Wild March weather. Raw & cold. F. has been out & has had sewing school this P.M. Harry & Sis called this morning. This evening J. Pettijohn & D. Pettijohn called, the latter has been a prisoner since the battle of Gettysburg, 20 mo. ago. & has just been

exchanged. He is an officer & so fared well enough to keep him alive. He was 8 mo. in Libby.

J. Pettijohn was a prisoner 11 mo. & was released last fall, nearly dead. He says there were 30,000 at one time at Andersonville. He has known 200 to die in one day. & 30 is the least number.

I have only been to the soup house & to dinner. Have served a little.

25th. Saturday

Battle cold & raw. Visited 37 families. came back at 1 P.M. very tired. Frances went to Alex. this P.M. to funeral of Sergt. Wilson, 5th. Mass. Cav. Dr. Heard called,

26th. cold.

Sick all day, overworked yesterday & took cold. Fighting near Richmond.

27th.

Feel better. Attended to washing. Waited on people nearly all day, ironed some, spent nearly all evening in posting accounts.

28th.

Teeth ache last night & did not sleep much. Cleaned my room. A great many calls. The freshet in Rochester has been terrible. Rows of buildings are destroyed & streets washed away. Nothing like it ever known before. The city asks assistance from the Legislature; & asks to have the draft postponed.

29th. warm & pleasant

Called for sis. & we went as far as 4^{1/2} st. & up 7th. Looked into various shops & enjoyed our going out; bought bonnet, map &c.

Thursday, Mar. 30, 1865

Rain this evening. Ironed some, waiting on people. Not so many today. Letter from Cousin Phoebe. She will send things soon. Letter from Miss Porter, says I may go to Phila. if I think best.

Washington D.C. Mar. 31, 1865,

Anniversary of my dear mother's death. It is 31 years since she was taken from us. & 31 years have we been motherless & know full well the bitter meaning of that word.—I can hardly realize that it is 31 years ago since I had the care of Mary. & that she is now 31 years old. But I do realize very sensibly that I am older than I was then. & that people younger than I am are called old.

I have not heard from father in some time. Hope I shall hear soon.—

[Transcriber's Note: Letterhead reads Penn'a. Freedmen's Relief Association, No. 207 I Street, Washington, D.C.]

April 1st. Saturday, 1865.

Bright, windy. The pass system to Alexandria is discontinued. Now the Secesh as well as others can go to & fro. Many of the citizens of Alex. have not been to A. since the war began, because they would not take the Oath of Allegiance & could not get papers

without doing so. I went over on the 10 A.M. boat, saw a large number of secesh prisoners or deserters or refugees on Pa. Avenue. Almost every day more or less of them are to be seen.

I called on Mrs. Belden at 93 Cameron St. saw Mr. Baker also. Then called at Cor. Washington & Wolfe sts. saw several of the inmates. Capt. Ferree procured us free passes for the month on U.S. steamers & R.R. Called on Mrs. Pierpont and Mrs. Gordon. Mrs. P. gave us the Governor's photograph.

Gov. P. has a plan to visit Richmond as soon as we take it. (& some think it will be in about 10 days) & raise the Union Flags in the city, he being Gov. of Va. & several persons are to be invited to go, including some teachers, I hope to be of the number. The Pres. & Mrs. L. are at City-Point now. & there was heavy fighting Saturday, this morning.—

Mrs. Jacobs went with me to the Old Mill & we called on several families. The old Long House is torn down. Returned on 5 P.M. boat. Met Mr. Hazen. Have a sick head ache tonight.

Sunday Apr. 2.

Very bright. Do not feel well had a thorough cleaning up & feel some better. Dined at 1 ½ P.M. then went to Dr. Breed's but they were all away. Harry & Mary Julia called. Frances has been out this P.M.

Washington, Apr. 3rd 1865.

Monday.

Well, it is done at last!

Richmond is taken! Petersburg is taken!

People do not know how to act or to express their joy. I was airing my flag on Sheridan's account when about 11 o'clock Mr. Newton came with the news. The city has been gay this P.M. ever so many guns were fired; & where all the Flags came from I am at a loss to know. There has been music & cheering & shouting. & this evening while I write the Bands are playing.

As soon as it was known a crowd collected at the War Dept. The Vice President & others addressed the people. F. & I went out to see for a little while. Then we waited on the people until 2 P.M. But 207 I st. is too contracted for such an occasion. We went out to expand & drink in the

inspiration of hour.

We went to Mrs. Coleman's, but she has not returned from R. & Mrs. D. has gone to N.Y. & Miss Danby has just come from Beaufort.

Think I never saw so many drunken men before in one day. Richmond on the brain probably.

Called at Dr. Breed's. Mrs. B. quite feeble. This evening went as far as the War Dept. Great many people in the streets but no general illumination. Box from Rochester.

April 4th.

Took report of the last two months for the P. Assoⁿ. —Called on sis but could not gain admittance. Wrote to father. A colored woman has been here who has been with the 8th N.Y. Cav. for the last 18 months. She knows Mr. Griffin. She wore a uniform, rode a horse & carried a sword & carbine just like a man.

The officers protected her, & she was with them mostly. The regiment did'nt know that she was a woman She was called Geo. Harris, but her real name is Maria Lewis. She is from Albermarle Co. Va, & escaped to the Union army. It was not convenient to leave the army at first, & she soon became accustomed to it & began to like the excitement. She rode in the front ranks & scouted, & skirmished, & fought as they did. She was at the fight at Waynesboro on the 2^d Mar. when Gen Early had such a narrow escape, & had 500 men taken prisoners, several Flags were taken & when those who took them came to W. to present them to the War Dept. about a week ago, she came with them. There were 17 flags & Sec. Stanton spoke a few words to each man, & they have 30 days furlough. Some of these men were from

Niagara Co. & Frances knew them, but had no chance to see them as the ceremony took place in the office of the Sec. of War.

Maria Lewis has doffed her uniform & wishes to return to womanly ways & occupations. I gave her a chemise, petticoat & hoops, & we shall see that she has a good place to work. It is interesting to hear her tell how the raiders destroy bridges & railroads, & burn houses, mills &c. From the 1st to the 25th of March they were almost constantly in the saddle. She has been well, she is only 17 but is very muscular & strong.

This evening we all went to see the Illumination. It was a splendid sight. I never saw any thing like it before. The public buildings, & many other places of business & private houses were illuminated. In Seward's house every window was occupied

with a flag just the size of the window & with brilliantly lighted rooms the effect was very beautiful. In Chase's house in every window was hung a variegated transparency. The War Dept. exceeded every thing else. It has so many windows & they are not so deep as in some of the other Pub. B's. The State Dept. had an appropriate transparency. That of the Treasury was a huge greenback, "U.S. Treasury & U.S. Grant, give greenbacks a metallic ring".

The Capitol never shows an illumination to very good advantage, but the interior of the dome must have been beautiful. The Post Office also. At the Patent Office there was a speaking & a large crowd. The Vice Pres. spoke at length. We walked from the Avenue

to 4 ½ st. & then went round by the City Hall to Patent Office. Left Frances with J. Pettijohn to see it out, & the rest

of us rode home after waiting a long time for a car.—The evening is mild, & there is a small moon. Every thing pleasant; The secesh houses were purposely darkened, the occupants had retired like rats to their holes. I do not know why the hotels were not illuminated.—

Apr. 5th.

Kept the house all day. Frances away. Came back at 7, has been to Alex. with Mrs. Colman, &c.

Apr. 6.

Cloudy & some rainy. This A.M. I went to see Mrs. Colman who has just got back from Rochester. Then called at 383, 11th St. at the Employment Office.

This P.M. waited on the people, not as many here as usual gave out only 30 pieces. Have but little clothing on hand. Frances has been out this P.M.

April 7th.

Called on Mary Julia & then visited 16 families near Geo.T. This P.M. kept the house.

April 8th. Saturday.

Bright & cold. At 9 started for Navy Yd. with Frances & Miss Kelley & 2 Miss Fords. Had a very interesting time went into the work shops. Saw copper rolled, & the furnaces, & the tack machine which makes over 3 coin a min. with U.S. on the head. & the nails are marked the same, (copper). Such immense machinery in one room, a huge wheel makes 60 revolutions in a min. weighs 17 tons. We saw anchors made, immense ones, & cannon too, & grape shot. We went on board the iron clad Montauk which is here for repairs. This has withstood several severe actions. The turret is indented deeply by shot, & huge holes in the side are plugged up. The deck of iron, & nearly all else. It is a wonder how it can float, went into the cabin, all below water. We saw 9 guns taken at Ft. Fisher &

2 Austrian rifled howitzers taken from steamer Columbia, & a Blakely rebel gun from Norfolk, & Whitworth from the blockade runner Princess Royal, & a gun made in 1793, & a gun 100 pounder Parrott from the reb. ram Atlanta by the Weehauken, & a gun from the Merrimac with the end broken off, & 2 guns used by Decatur at Tripoli. The ingenuity & skill of man are indeed very wonderful. About 2000 men employed in this yard. Com. Montgomery is the Commander. Shot & shell & all kinds or ordinances are made here. I was weighed there, & my weight is 109 lbs.—

I came back very tired, but went with Mrs. C. to see Mary Julia.

Then I went to Dr. Breed's.

Frances has been to Mason's Island. She walked there with Miss Kelley.

Washington, Sunday Apr. 9th. 1865

Another memorable day! Lee has surrendered the army of Northern VA. to Gen. Grant. The news came to W. this evening.— To day the Pres. returned to W. from the front; he has been gone nearly two weeks. There also came up 600 reb. prisoners, guarded by the 28th. U.S. Colored Troops. It is retributive justice all the way through. Lincoln comes to W. like the conquerors of old bringing his captives with him. This A.M. I went with Miss Haycock to Alex. on cars to attend Friends Meeting. About 20 persons present. Not any weighty friends apparently among them. The most venerable one who sat by himself on the highest seat wore a very gay dressing gown, he took one nap, & consulted his watch instead of the spirit to know when he shake hands & dismiss the meeting.

Went around to see Aunt Lucy, but she was gone to meeting. She illuminated her cabin last Tuesday eve, had 9 candles. She was almost beside herself with joy. Indeed they had a very spirited ~~meeting~~ celebration in Alex. in the eve. Illuminations & procession &c. We called on Mrs. J. & took dinner with her. Then to Grace Ch. Hos. & to L'Ouverture. Tents are being taken down & barracks being built. The women's ward looks neglected. Called on Chap. Leonard.

Then went to see some of the people in the Barracks. Called on Mr. Holt & then on the 3 P. M. to W.

Miss H. seemed to enjoy the day, & I have too. I was very tired. I am not willing to confess that such excursions tire me out, but they do. I rested awhile & this evening Frances & I have been to Mr. Garnett's Church. Had a rich time[?]

Came back in the rain but did'nt mind that. Rev. J. W. Logan preached & Mr. Garnett & Mr. Dudley made remarks. Logan was very interesting.

It being Sunday evening they were under some restraint, but the fire was in them, & tomorrow evening there is to be a meeting with several speakers, & then they will rejoice & shout without restraint. It was hard for people to be quiet this evening, & they sympathized with the ~~people~~ speakers so strongly that they could not repel a few outbursts of applause.

Monday Apr. 10th.

At an early hour we were awakened by the report of a heavy gun & this was followed by 199 others. We could only guess what the matter was, but as soon as possible sent out and learned that Lee has surrendered with the whole army of N. Va.—

The paper soon came, & we read, Peace!!!

Surrender of Lee & his whole army. All public property turned over to the government, officers & men paroled. Lee's army permitted to go home. Somehow I do not feel as elated over this as others seem. I think the terms are too easy. It is not doing justice to our Army. Lee is answerable for too many lives, & too much suffering to escape thus. I presume Arlington will be restored to him, or Gov^t. will pay him for it. It looks as if Grant had an eye to the next Presidency; & of course he will want the Southern vote. Jeff Davis & his crew will all escape, no body will be punished for their treason. These will fraternize with the Northern Copperheads & make a dangerous party. They will make trouble in the Country again if they can. Mobile is besieged by the Union troops, the reb. army will be disbanded, but those composing it will be no better for it.

It has rained all day. A few guns were fired at noon. I suppose there will be some manifestations of joy when it 'clears up'. Waited on a few people. Frances has been to Alex. Came back with Mr. & Mrs. Fish, then Miss Collier came & we went to Garnett's church. Mr. G. presided & said many good as well as amusing things. J. Mercer Langston lawyer from Ohio is a fine speaker & able too. Sergt. Wm. Whipper of Ohio was one of the soldiers who entered Petersburg a week ago to day. Told some interesting things about it.

Prof. Johnson (Md.) blind, now of Phila. spoke very well & pleased the audience very much with wit & anecdote. Dr. Smith (Md.) of Boston made sensible remarks, Miss Edmonia Highgate made interesting remarks. This young lady is very peculiar in appearance & expression. She gave us some historical facts relating to her race, wh. I presume few of the

audience had ever heard before. She is teacher of a school in some of the wilds of Md. but is from a city.

Mr. Loguen spoke in his best style for about 20 minutes. Judge Day made the closing speech. There was also very good singing by the choir.

Mr. Garnett showed the audience a sugar cup taken from the State house, the one that Jeff. D. & Stephens & the rest of the crew took sugar from to sweeten their brandy. The rim was $\frac{3}{4}$ gone in a dilapidated state like the Confederacy. He also showed us a piece of red & yellow cloth taken from the chair of the Vice. Pres. Alex. Stephens, also an inkstand used by these worthies & from which was written their infamous & treasonable sentiments. These 3 articles belong to Mrs. Keckley who has just been to Richmond. Whipper showed us a piece of lightning rod from the *[Transcriber's note: blank space]* at Petersburg.

All this added to the interest of the meeting. Loguen was a fugitive slave from Tennessee. He belonged to his Aunt Eliza. When a child he saw his sister sold away from all her children & he then determined to be free.

Langston was a slave in Va. was emancipated. Johnson & Smith are from Maryland, Garnett is from *[Transcriber's note: blank space]*

It was 12 before the meeting closed but the audience were interested to the last.

Apr. 11th.

Nearly sick this morning. Lay down & fell into a heavy sleep in spite of the roar of cannon & all sorts of street noises. Miss Collier left us this morning. Frances has had sewing school & then went out with Mrs. Fish.

The Govt. buildings are illuminated this evening, & we have been out as far as Williards. Every body seems jubilant.

April 12th. 1865.—

Cloudy, damp

Overhauled every thing in the clothing room & did various chores. Martha has done my washing, but there has not been a day this week when clothes cd. be dried. F. has been out with Mrs. Fish nearly all day. — Letters from Miss Evans & from Somerset.

13th.

Made calls — Went out again in P.M. —ironed. —About 8 went out to see the Illumination. The grandest of any thing I have seen yet. It was very general, Frances & I went down the Avenue to 4 ½ st. Then around by the Post O. & Patent O. Took car to 17th. st. Fire works in front of White House beautiful. The public buildings, especially the War & Navy Dept. were very beautiful with

variegated lights. The Treasury was a grand sight. The State Dept. & the President's House were very brilliant. There were so many flags & transparencies, & devices, & emblems, & mottoes. The Hotels, every building occupied by the military, stores, private dwellings &c. & were refulgent with light. It was a grand spectacle. Met Harry & Sis & they went with us as far as War Dept—

I do not expect ever to see such a sight again.

Gen. Grant & staff are in the city.

Tired enough tonight.

April 14th. Friday

Memorable day! a large party of Govt. officers & others have gone to Charleston to raise the flag on Fort Sumter to day. The anniversary of the day it was fired on by the rebs, 4 yrs. ago. Beecher, Garrison, &c.

A brighter & more auspicious day was never reckoned in the Calendar. That is, 22 of its 24 hours.

Frances was to have sewing school & could not go with me. But I went on the 10 A.M. train to Alex. Va. Met Mr. Hazen on the train. The river was beautiful. Fruit trees are in blossom & there are a great many flowers too besides.

It was a luxury, only one draw back, Frances was not with me.

I called at Magnolia House. Saw Mrs. Pierpont & Mrs. Gordon. Called on Mrs. Belden & Mr. Baker. Then went back to Mrs. Jacobs & took dinner. Mrs. J. not able to go out. I wished to see a gala day in Alex. A Union demonstration, & I have seen it. This was to celebrate our recent victories. The procession moved at 3 P.M.

I had no idea there was such a large military force in Alex. & vicinity. There were Cav. & Inf. & Artillery. Several hundred colored men of the Q. Masters Dept. in uniform & with guns, a sort of home guards, but not regular soldiers. No arms had been provided for the colored soldiers of the hospitals & they could not join the procession. Too bad!

The surgeons were mounted. The Firemen & their engines, a car of Liberty, a Monitor, a boat, an Ambulance filled with little girls in white & with wreaths on their heads. A Dutch Fort, guns mounted.

Fort Sumter filled with Colored men, on one side of it 'Sumter & War', on the other side 'Sumter & Peace' & on the end "Lincoln & Freedom".

There were several wagons filled with

commissary stores; whiskey & all, a load of hay &c, A blacksmith shop, a carpenter at work, &c. &c. The display was very good indeed. It was a long procession, very orderly. A great many people including the colored were out to see. I did not see one drunken person during the day. I ~~such~~ never saw such a large crowd make less confusion & appear more happy than this. I enjoyed it keenly, for the times now are such a contrast to what they were 2 yrs. ago. Gen. Slough commanded the Procession. I saw the whole 3 times. There was such good order & every thing was so well-timed that all had a chance to see. Secesh as well as others, & I hope the sight did them good.

(3 Miss Ford's & Miss Moore were present.)

I thought I would stay & see the Illumination if there was to be one. So this evening we have been out. If all the Union folks had their houses lighted, there must be but precious few of such in the city. Whole squares were totally dark, & I do not think Union folks take particular pains to darken their houses. Sometimes through crevices we cd. see people inside. The hospitals & the wash house were beautifully illuminated, & perhaps a dozen other buildings had the windows thrown open & were well lighted, this was all. Then were to be fire works on the corner of King & W. but by some accident they were all exploded at once. There was a bonfire in King St. & a great many people out as there always are.

And I now wish I had gone back to

W. before night.

Gen. Slough has written a letter to the City authorities saying he intends to give up his office the 1st. of May, & recommends that the colored people be protected in their property & rights, & that the old slave laws shall not be enforced against them. There have been several public meetings At the first some of the speakers spoke of the negro in terms that probably offended the half secesh city authorities for they were not invited to speak at the following meetings. I am told Gov. Pierpont ignored the negro entirely.— When Col. Wells rose to speak the soldiers in the audience cried out “go to the front, go to the front.” Col. W. said “he had been trying for 2 yrs. to go, & now he must go home without sharing any of the glory.” But he could

get no sympathy from the audience. He must have been much mortified, & it is said he turned as pale as such a dark man can turn.

Gen. S. says he has not known until recently that men & women have been whipped in Alex.

[Transcriber's note: Rest of page left blank]

1865

Alexandria VA. Apr. 15 th.
93 Cameron St. 10^o clock A.M.

Oh. the bells are giving forth the saddest sound that I ever heard. Tolling, yes, tolling for what seems to us now as the greatest calamity that could have befallen us.

President Lincoln is dead!

Assassinated last night at the theater shot in the head by a person on the stage. The president lingered till 7 this A.M. so all hope is over. And Secretary Seward had his throat cut in bed in his own house, but he was alive at the last despatch. It is said an attempt was made on Sec. Stanton but he escaped. Many rumors are afloat, but the above is certain.

No boat is not even a [?] is allowed to leave Alexandria.

& even Gen. Briggs was not allowed to go on the train this morning.

I now regret exceedingly that I did not return to W. last night, but I remained to see the illumination. But there are precious few Union folks here if the houses of all such were illuminated last night. I never saw a city so dark before not even the lamps were lighted. There were to be fireworks on the cor. of King & Washington, but they were all exploded at once accidentally; & as we walked that way people were gathering in every direction, some were hurt. Hallowell Hosp. & hosp. opposite are illuminated very handsomely, &

there was a bonfire in King St. & light appeared from a few dwellings. Many of the houses were entirely closed but through the crevices of others we could see people inside.

I was very, very tired last night.

I slept with Mrs. Fish.

About 6 o'clock this morning the sad news came to us. I could not believe it. Capt. Gale of Gen. Slough's staff came from W. in the night. Every soldier is on duty now, & none are to be seen in the city. No persons are allowed to leave the city.

It was raining hard but I thought I must go on the 8 o'clock boat, & did not learn till I had nearly reached the wharf that no boats were allowed to leave. I then came to see Mrs. Belding. Found her and Mr. B. at breakfast. Their smiling faces, looked out of place to me. They had not yet heard the bad news. Mr. Baker has been to the Telegraph office and learned that the President died at 7 this morning.

I have been so fortunate as to get

a paper, & all the particulars that have transpired are given.

Mr. Belding has just come in and & says the secesh are being arrested. The military authorities have been very lenient with secesh lately. No passes have been required for a month or more.

Mr. B. says a wood train has just come in on the Orange & Alex. road, & report a large number of rebel cavalry at Burke's Station. These are probably some of Lee's men & horses that were given up by Grant or that Grant allowed Lee to retain.

Mrs. Belden is not able to go out, I helped Mr. B. fix drapery over the windows.— I called at Magnolia House. Mrs. P. & Mr. G. had just procured some black cambric & were arranging it over the bow window.

Took tea with Miss Collier—Slept with Mrs. Fish last night. Rob^t. M^cCarrick called this evening.

The Soldiers go to every secesh house & make the occupants put something black on the doors or windows. Then went to Dangerfields, & told them to put crape on the door, & after they left it was taken off. The soldiers went back & made them put it on again & told them if they took it off they would pull the house down.

Then Dangerfield wrote to Gen. S. to ask to be excused from doing this, but the Gen. sent a piece of black cloth to him & said it must be put over the door. It would have been better if the soldiers had waited till all the Union folks had draped their houses, & then obliged the secesh to do the same,

but they could not wait for orders. The soldiers have shot 2 or 3 men today expressing joy that Lincoln is dead.—The Mayor, Mr. Ware said to Mrs. Dogan today that "Lincoln died

serving the devil". This reached Gen. S. & he had an interview with Ware & there were some sharp words.

— Evening.

Sec. Seward is comfortable, & may recover, his son Frederick is in a very critical condition, his son Clarence has only flesh wounds & is able to be about the house. There is a report that Boothe has been taken; that his horse threw him on 7th st. & he was taken into a house.—

There is no doubt that it was intended to murder the President, the Vice Pres. all the members of the cabinet and Gen. Grant. & that the managers of the theater knew of it.

Alexandria. Sunday Apr. 16.

Very bright. windy.

Slept with Mrs. Fish & took breakfast with her this morning.

Then I went to call on Aunt Lucinda. She was the picture of sorrow. She said she was all tore up, could'nt work, could'nt do any thing. She would put black on her house if it took the last cent in her pocket."

I went around among the houses of the colored people. It was a touching sight to see a piece of black cloth on every cabin, shanty & shed. On some a simple bit of woolen or cotton, but the best they had. A young man spoke to me & the tears came into his eyes & said he, "I would rather have been shot myself than to have had our President killed. I would rather lose all my relations, I would rather

lose my mother than to have him killed who sustained the country." I am not ashamed to say that I wept with him. The colored people feel it so deeply. Every face is sad. They realize that they have lost a friend. They are in the habit of calling him Uncle Sam, & they now speak of "Uncle Sam's being killed," of Uncle Sam's being shot by secesh."— I think every dwelling house in the city has more or less black upon it. I called on Mrs. Dogan & she repeated to me what the Mayor said. She is so indignant.—

I went with Louisa J. to Grace Ch. Hos. & to L'Ouverture. They all feel so deeply. They cannot express their feelings any more than we can. We all feel that we have lost; personally have lost a friend.

There is no consolation to offer. We all suffer alike.

I went round to Pro. Mar. for pass to W. but found that my pass is all that is needed. Dr. J. Pettijohn came over on boat this P.M. & says no passes were required. So I made preparations to go on 3 o'clock train.

Was at Depot when train came in from Fairfax. A hundred rebel prisoners got off & were marched to the Pro. Mar's.

There were 2 passenger cars. In the one that I entered there was a reb. officer, a young man, well dressed & clean. In the other car was Gen. Payne & several other officers. I

was near them when they left the train in W., all looked shabby & dirty. several wore waterproof cloaks, one was bareheaded. Gen. Payne looked as little like a Gen. as you cd. well imagine.

They all looked crestfallen. Gen P. had his arm in a sling.— People rushed to see them. as they were marched to Gen. Augur's office on 14th. St.

How differently W. looks from Alex. only part of the houses are draped. People are going to & fro. talking & laughing. The air seems full of treason.

When I reached 207 I St. Frances had gone out. I went up to see Mary Julia, but the people in the lower part of the house had gone out & I could gain no admittance, had my walk for nothing. So tired to night that I can do nothing but go to bed.

Miss Lane has returned.

Two Miss Ford's were at the Theater at the time of the murder.

Miss Colman & Miss Danby here yesterday.

One house on the Avenue was illuminated as soon as the President was shot,

Officers went to the house but as the occupants were only women they were not arrested. Too bad. They should not have stopped to think whether they were men or women. Numbers have been heard to say that they are glad, that Lincoln ought to have been shot years ago. & they have not been arrested either. They would'nt stand much chance in Alex.

Monday, Apr. 17th, 1865,

Fine. Frances has been out most of the day.— I cleaned myself & picked things up, & regulated my room.

Harry & sis called this morning.

Then Miss Heacock & Mr. Hicks.

About noon we saw people going towards G. on the run. & we were told that two men had been found in a cellar dressed in women's clothes. & it was thought they were the murderers,

Miss H. & I walked up that way. They are probably deserters. We met them under guard; they were guilty looking fellows. A great crowd had collected.—No further developments today. We called on sis.

Came back, finished my work after a fashion, wrote a little, & about 3 ½ P.M. Dr. & Mrs. B. called to ask me to ride, We went to Oak Hill Cemetery. This is a beautiful place. The land was given by Corcoran the Banker (Secesh

& now in Europe) but he reserved a large lot in the center for himself—

Rock Creek with its high banks. Makes some interesting scenery.

We then rode out beyond all the houses & all but Mrs. B. & myself alighted & gathered flowers, My foot is weak lately, & my back also. I cannot walk as much as I would wish,

The houses in Georgetown are very generally hung with black. All the cabins & shanties of the colored people are

It was a nice ride, & it is refreshing to see green fields, & flowers, & trees beginning to look green. We brought home violets, houstonia & azalias. F. & I took walk on Avenue as far as President's House. The pillars are covered with black, Mounted guards at the street gates allow no one to enter the grounds. — It looks like a sepulcher Before this black never meant anything to me. I believe in it on this occasion.

We passed Seward's House. A guard is placed all around it. & on the walk we were not allowed to go between the guard & the house. He was not told of the President's death until yesterday. He seems to be improving. No news in particular. No trace of the murderers.

We came back through La Fayette Square. The shrubs are very beautiful now, & the trees are in blossom.

Had letter from home to day. All well. Great rejoicing in Avon over fall of Richmond. —
—Wrote to father.

Tuesday, Apr. 18,
11 A.M.

We have taken a last look at the mortal remains of Abraham Lincoln.

The public will be admitted to day from half past 9 till 5 P.M.—

Frances & I went shortly after 9. People were already waiting at the gates, & a line of 2 abreast was formed on the walk in front of the House & were to enter by the western gate. We were told that unless we fell into line we wd. not be likely to go in at all. So we placed our selves in the rear of several hundred people & waited for the time. This arrange-

ment is very proper, for all is orderly & quiet & all; black & white have an equal chance. At 40 min. after 10 the gate was opened, Officers are placed all along the line. There are no black hangings until we reach the E. Room. We passed through the ante room, the hall & the Green room.

The windows of the East Room are draped with black berege[?]. The frames of the mirrors are draped with the same & the mirrors are covered with white berege, & all the gilding is shrouded in black. Chandelier also.

The catafalco is in the center of the room. It is 11 ft. high. 16 ft. deep & 10 ft. wide. The height of the base or step around the platform is 8 inches. The step is one foot in width, 2 ft. 6 in. higher is the surface upon which is placed the coffin, over this is a curved Canopy. The inside

is lined with white satin fluted. The top is covered with the finest alpaca & festooned. The surface of the dais is covered with black broad cloth, bordered with heavy silk fringe. The Coffin is mahogany lined with lead & covered with black broad cloth, festooned & fastened with silver tacks, the edge has silver braid & tassels, each side has 4 massive handles & at the head & foot there are stars.

On the top is a row of silver tacks on each side. A silver plate encircled by a shield. The inside of the face lid is raised with white satin & trimmed with black & white braid & fastened in each corner with 4 silver stars. The rest of the Coffin is lined with box plaited satin. The pillow is of fine white silk.—

The embalmed body is dressed in a full suit of black. His face is very white, but wears a natural expression.

on the platform & surrounding the entire Coffin is a wreath of white flowers & evergreens.

We walked slowly through the room but were not allowed to stop a moment. If I cd. have stopped one minute! But the scene is one never to be forgotten although so hastily viewed.

The remains will be taken to the Capitol tomorrow. & remain there until the next morning. They are to be removed to Illinois.

When we came out on to the sidewalk the line of people extended to the corner near the State Dept. Colored people were mixed all the way through. & I heard nothing said that was out of place, all wore an air of seriousness. & no loud words were heard.—

12 o'clock, Miss Moore has just come in. She succeeded in

seeing the President, but was almost crushed in doing so. The pressure was immense. The Navy Yard Employees came in a body (about 2000) & they were allowed to go in. & the line of people on the side walk had to wait. There was some expressions of dissatisfaction. & some disturbance. They say the line now extends below the Treasury building.

Frances & I were fortunate in going as early as we did. There was no crowd & no pressure.—

Mrs. Fish is here. & Louisa J. called. I fear she will not be able to go in. She thinks she cannot go to the rear of the line & wait her turn.

Mr. Seward is no worse & Mr. F. Seward is improving.

Mobile has been taken.

Lee has returned to Richmond.

The call for the rebel Legislature to

meet in Richmond on the 25th. inst. has been revoked. The President had given his permission for them to do so, but last Friday he recalled his permission. Said they did did not go to work as he supposed they wood. [*Transcriber's note: extra "did" and spelling of "wood" in original*] I am glad that he did this before he died. Dr. J. Pettijohn called. Miss Collier & Miss Kelly called.

3 P.M. Frances has gone with Mrs. Fish to Armory Sq. Hospital. I am resting my weak foot in order to gain strength to go out to morrow.

8 P.M. — warm.

Went to Miss Flagler's to dinner, & then walked down the Avenue to see the crowd at the gate waiting to go in & see the President. The Illinois delegation was pressing in & then the gate was shut, leaving on the outside one of the most democratic assemblages that I ever saw.

There were not less than a half doz. Brig. Generals; & Majors, Colonels & Lieut. Cols. in abundance, & ladies with them all waiting for admittance. Some of these pushed through to the gate. Gen. Rawlins Chief of Gen. Grant's staff was one of them. Some of them made two attempts & then gave it up. Oh, such tired looking people as stood in that column. but the gate was not opened again & the people began to disperse before I left. They looked so disappointed that I felt sorry for them. While standing there I saw a person pass who fixed my attention. I asked a soldier who it was. He said "Gen. Grant." He walked leisurely on talking with a gentleman who accompanied him. I stepped along & walked by the side of Gen. Grant for several rods, but few persons on the side walk there. & I scrutinized

him closely. He is only of medium size hair, beard & complexion all of the same color. An inferior looking person for a Lieut. Gen. of the U.S. armies! His hat was the worse for wear. & his entire dress had a dingy look. His shoulderstraps were much tarnished. & his 3 stars were not of the first magnitude as to brilliancy by any means. I am much gratified to have seen him. I did not expect to have such good luck.

Aunt Mary & Ednah from Alex. came back with F. & Mrs. Fish. & took tea. Then they took the cars to go back hoping to come again to morrow for they did not see the Pres. to day.—

Dr. P. says he never saw such a pressure before. Women fainted, children screamed, & there was some rough talk & some abuse of col^d. people, but not by the officers. Brigadiers & niggadears were all served alike. & this was worth seeing too.

Washington D.C. 207 I Street.
Wednesday Apr. 19, 1865

A day to be remembered.

On the 19 of Apr. was shed the first blood in the Revolution.

On the 19th of Apr. was shed the first blood in the Rebellion.

On the 19th of April the remains of Abraham Lincoln were taken from the White House to the Capitol, to be removed thence to Springfield Illinois.—

The funeral obsequies were the most remarkable that have ever occurred in this country It seemed a National tribute to departed worth. The procession was immense. & Penn. Av. from the War Dept. to the Capitol was occupied from curbstone to curbstone by the

Military, &c. while the sidewalks were filled with spectators, also the windows & roofs of buildings.

The day has been cloudless & warm. The Av. was sprinkled this morning, so the dust has not been troublesome.

About 10 A.M. I went out with Mrs. F. around a few squares & by the White house, The various legations have displayed the flags of different nations. I have seen from the houses of the Ambassadors the Austrian, Brazilian, Spanish, Chilian, Russian, French, &c.

Upon the whole length of the Stone coping of the iron fence in front of the President's house & war Dept. people were seated & all of 3/4 were Colored. It was a touching sight. As far as they could they had encircled the dwelling in which lay the remains of their murdered friend & such numbers of mournful faces

I never saw before. Each one had done his or her best to make a respectable appearance.—

I returned to the house to get rested before going to see the Procession.

When Frances got ready about 12 M. we went out. (all about are posted notices, "\$20,000 reward for the apprehension of the Murderer of the President.")

We made our way to the bend in the St. just below the Treasury. where we could see the Avenue all the way to the Capitol. I obtained a seat on the curbstone & F. was just behind me. The sun shone very hot but otherwise it was as good a place as we could get.—The procession moved at 2 & was 1 ¾ hours in passing.—

I have no heart to write any more to night. I feel crushed with a great misfortune. & this seems to be a general feeling.

I have not seen a drunken person to day nor heard one unfriendly remark about the President.

207 I st. Apr. 20. 1865.

At half past 8 Mrs. Fish & I started for the Capitol. When we reached the east side a long column had already formed & we took our places in the rear but this was only for a moment. The Column lengthened rapidly & by the time we reached the steps, the rear of the Column extended to near the place where the Metr^o cars stop.

There were a large number of colored soldiers, artillerists, in the Column.

The pillars & the dome are draped & the Rotunda also. The large pictures are all covered with black, & the statues are shrouded in crape, except that of Washington who has simply a black scarf on it. There is no canopy over the platform on which the coffin is placed. The camellias are wilted, & it now seems like death.

We were not allowed to pause a moment but I observed all that I could in passing

through. He lies in solemn silence & thousands of sincere mourners will take a last look at the features of Abraham Lincoln today.—

Several officers, a guard of honor I suppose, are seated near the coffin, & numerous guards are stationed all about. A great man has gone from us. & a nation feels the loss.

I purchased several pictures of the President, also Seward's. Then went to Mrs. Coleman's. She called at Mrs. Slade's with me. Mrs. Slade is employed at the White House. & knows a good deal of its inner life. Mrs. Slade & Mrs. Keckley have been with Mrs. Lincoln nearly all the time since the murder, not as servants but as friends. Both colored women; & Mrs. Lincoln said she chose them because her husband was appreciated by the colored race; they (the colored people) understood him,

Miss Josephine Slade gave me a piece of a white rosette worn by one of the pallbearers. Then Mrs. C. & I went to Harvey's where the coffin was made. & obtained a piece of the black cloth with wh. the coffin was covered & pieces of the trimming. The gentleman who was at work upon the case for the coffin was very obliging & kind. This case is of black walnut, lined with black cloth, & a row of fringe around the top inside, I have also a piece of this box.

Since 10 °clock it has rained. How uncomfortable it will be for the people at the Capitol who are waiting to go in.

It was P.M. when I came back. Frances has been also with Martha who saw the inside of the Capitol for the first time.

It is now after 4 & I cannot set myself to work. I feel that a great calamity has befallen us, me, which has unfitted me for ordinary occupations,

Evening.

Geo. Harris, alias, Maria Lewis came this evening dressed in Cav. uniform. She is a good looking young soldier & does not look so tall as when dressed in feminine gear. She says the Army is no place for a woman, but if she was a man she wd. stay there as long as she lives.

Numbers of persons have been arrested. but Booth has not been taken yet. Ford & others of the Theater have been arrested. The Theater is guarded or it would be torn down. If Booth is found & taken I think he will be torn to pieces. The feeling of vengeance is deep & settled,

I have read an account of the transactions of yesterday in the Chronicle, "No monarch ever had such a funeral, It was not so elaborate or ornate as the pageant of Henry VIII. of Eng. or the return of Napoleon to France, but it was the proudest tribute ever

paid to the memory of an American President. The suddenness & manner of his death intensified the National sorrow & called forth a burst of popular gratitude without parallel. It was a lovely day, The air was filled with perfumes & harmonies of spring. Crowds had come from all the States. The Gov^t. was typified in Andrew Johnson, The Army represented by Grant & his staff, the Navy by Farragut & his sea-lions, the Judiciary by Chase & his associates; the Cabinet, the Congress, the Dept^{mts}, the freedmen, the released prisoners, the penitent rebels (?) [*Transcriber's Note: ? in original*], the Clergy, the professions, the People, the base of the mighty Pyramid." The colored societies appeared remarkably well, & a Colored regiment from the front reached 7th. St. at 2^o'clock, wheeled into the avenue & headed the procession from thence to the Capitol. Eminently fit & proper as this was, the papers make no mention of it.

Friday, Apr. 21st 1865,

This morning Frances & I went to the Depot, but the funeral train had left a few minutes before we got there.

We called on Mrs. Lake. who saw the colored regiment in the procession & said "Why, they appeared just as well as white soldiers."—

Called on Mrs. Coleman. Then we went to Mr. Alexander's & got some pieces of the cloth which covered the funeral Car. Then we saw an artist taking a Photograph of the car. which stood near the Coach Factory where it was made.

We went there & Mrs. C. took of pieces of the cloth & alpaca. & a young man told us the Car would be broken up to day & he would save us a piece.—

It rained all the A.M. so I rested awhile & finished my Flag I have trimmed it with black, & intend to keep it so awhile.

Bickford of the 8 N.Y. Cav. just from Rochester called to see us. brought trunk for F.— Helped Frances in the Sewing School.

Then I went out again & obtained a board from the Funeral Car, which a workman was taking to pieces. & also some of the velvet of the covering. I intend to have this board made into a handsome box. & will make a pin cushion of the velvet.—

It is estimated that 32000 persons visited the Capitol yesterday. & that 3000 persons passed through the Rotunda in an hour.—

A "Spartan Band" has been formed in the city. & rebels & such will be closely watched,

A Committee visited Marshall Lamon today to learn why only 14 Union men were selected for Marshals. which there were 3 times that number of secessionists. Mar. L. was absent at the time & his

Deputy not being able to explain it satisfactorily to the Com. has resigned.

I went around by Ford's Theater today. It is guarded by soldiers, or it wd. be torn down. There is great feeling against all concerned in it.—

Mr. Peterson's House opposite where the President died is an inferior 2 story brick,—but the room in which he died will be kept sacred by the family.

A number of persons have been arrested & there are many rumors; but Booth has not been taken yet.—

Mr. Seward & son remain about the same.

As I went out this P.M. I saw the 1st Div. of the 19th A. Corps as it marched up the Avenue. They are just from Shenandoah Valley, & are about to break up; to scatter to other places I suppose.—

A new melodeon & five persons singing at the top of their voices in the sitting room below precludes the idea of doing any thing this evening.

207 I st. Washing, D.C.

A.M. showery. P.M. bright & warm. Went to see Mrs. Coleman. she gave me some of the hair of President Lincoln.

I have cleaned my room & did a few Chores, but I do not feel like writing letters or going about my usual business.

Letter from Mr. M^cKim expressing confidence in Frances & myself, &c, &c.

About 6 o'clock Aunt Lucy and Ednah came from Alex. Made mistake & rode away over to the Navy Yard. Aunt Lucy is to stay to night.

Frances went to Alex. this morning.

Sunday Apr. 23^d. 1865

Cold & raw. Frances came back on 7^o clock train.—I went with Miss Moore to hear Mr. Channing. His discourse was upon the National Calamity & contained some profound & beautiful thoughts. but so badly delivered that I did not enjoy it. & I nodded several times.—

Harry & Sis have been here this P.M.

This evening Frances is giving Geo. Harris a lesson.— Yesterday morning Geo. was struck by a low secesh white man in the street & her eye is bruised considerably.

They vent their spite on the colored people whenever they dare. There is a terrible spirit manifested by the negro haters.

Johnson has offered to Surrender, Sherman has agreed to suspend hostilities, & offered terms to the rebels.—The President, every member of the Cab. & Gen. Grant disapprove

this & Sherman is ordered to resume hostilities immediately. It is an unheard-of proceeding on the part of S. He has no right to do any thing of the kind. It is a great pity that it has happened. For what he has done already will probably give Jeff. Davis a chance to escape with the plunder he took from Richmond. Moseby's men have nearly surrendered.

To day the President's remains lie in State in Independence Hall, Phila, It is estimated that 200,000 persons witnessed the procession in Phila. In Baltimore & Harrisburg there were great & mournful demonstrations, & all along the route, every mile of it nearly, people are waiting to see the Funeral train. Emblems of grief are every where visible. & there are many affecting scenes.

Monday, 24,

Fine. Martha has washed for me. F. has been out nearly all day, succeeded in getting several persons to go to Phila. She has seen Milly Edmundson & Emily. I have attended to calls at the front door, & waited on quite a number of people in the kitchen. Aunt Lucy left early this morning. Have been with Eda Gray (from Alex) to see her Aunt Sukey who she has not seen before in 22 yrs. These were formerly

slaves of Pres. Madison. He sold Eda when she was a child, Aunt Sukey was a cook & lived with them in the White House when the British took W.—When the President's family fled from the W.H. Aunt S. fled with them. She bought herself from Mrs. M. 15 yrs. ago.—

Apr. 25.

Bright. hot. Went to Mason's Isl. in Army wagon drawn by 4 mules, to accompany 4 persons, old, sick & disabled who will probably be better cared for there than they cd. be here. I enjoyed the ride but when I got back I realized that I was very tired. — Ironed this evening.

Apr. 26th.

Bright. Warm. Charlotte came this morning, She was in N.Y. yesterday & saw the funeral. F. & I went with C. & Sis to see Mrs. Colman, Then I visited 13 families.— Frances been to Georgetown.

9th Corps. passed through this P.M. towards Georgetown. I saw Gen. Wilcox & his staff. But I did not distinguish the 2^d. Mich. Regt.—Army wagons are going in all directions, & occasionally a drove of mules rush by. It is warm & dusty.— & it is all commotion in the streets.

Report that Booth is taken.

Went to see Aunt Sukey Stewart. I like to hear her talk of Jefferson & Madison.

This evening have been to Harry's. Frances is to stay there ~~& is to stay there~~ to night with C.

It is about 10^oclock, I hear Cavalry men riding furiously past. their sabers clanking, Carrying dispatches in haste. There is constant rumbling of army wagons.

Thursday 27th, warm & dusty.

Went to see Aunt Sukey. then regulated clothing room & Martha has cleaned it, Have been twice to Mary Julia's boarding place. She left with her mother on 7,20 train. & does not intend to come back. Harry does not go yet.—

We went to the cars with them, & took walk in Capitol Grounds.—

Booth was taken yesterday morning at 3^oclock, 3 miles from Port Royal on the Rappa^c, in a barn, by 25 of 16th. N.Y. Cav. & a few detectives. He was armed with 2 revolvers & 2 bowie knives & a carbine 7 shooter, all loaded. Harrold, an accomplice was with him. Neither wd. surrender until the barn was fired. Then Harrold gave himself up. & when Booth was about to fire at some of the party, he was shot in the head by Sargt. B. Corbett, & lived 2 ½ hrs. afterwards.

He was sewed up in a blanket & brought up from Belle Plain to Navy Yd. in a boat this A.M. One of the capturers, Paredy. was here this P.M. & told us all about it.—

Friday 28th,

Dry. dusty, windy, warm, unpleasant of course. Went to Alex. on 10 A.M. train with Mrs. Colman. Called on Mrs. Holt & at L'overture.

on Mrs. Fish, & Miss Collier. Took dinner with Mrs. Jacobs, called on Mrs. Belding. Came back on 3 P.M. train, Since then have waited on people in C. Room.—Both W. & Alex. are alive with soldiers. Letter from Cousin Phebe. Box arrived

Saturday 29th. Apr.

The wind & dust made the weather very unpleasant this A.M. F. & I went out early, called on Dr. Garnett. & at Dr. Breed's. Then to the Colored Hos. A large & comfortable building. not yet finished. 100 patients now. This is for civilians. Immediately after the President's murder a strong guard was sent to this Hos. They feared, probably, it wd. be burned by secesh. — Mounted guards are all along the Av. now. They had been withdrawn. Then we went to the New Eng. Friends Establishment. Braiding straw & basket making & sewing are done here

At a store provisions & various things are sold at cost. Clothing is sold also. & it must be tedious & tiresome to work ~~to work~~ up there. They see nothing of what is going on in the city. But we can work & see what is going on too.

I have not felt well to day. but I wish to feel very well, for I intend to go to Phila. on Monday.—

We are having a fine shower. The dust has been very annoying, & all the Artillery

of the 9th. Corps has passed here. & Army wagons innumerable. Ever so many guns were fired this morning. Johnson has surrendered on the same terms as Lee did.— Our Army is to be reduced immediately. & the number of clerks in all the Departments are to be reduced to the lowest number possible. All soldiers able to go home are to be discharged from the Hospitals. To be paid first.

All works to be stopped on field fortifications. Supplies to be bought to last till the 1st. of June only.

Maj. Gen. Parke to command the Alex. Dept., Gen. Wilcox to command the Washington Dept. Col. Wells a certain district in Md. & so on.—The conflict between the two armies is drawing to a close. But the rebels who are scattered all over the country will make a great deal of trouble yet, & there will be conspiracies to burn cities no doubt. & do all manner of mischief. The leading rebs. will probably escape. Phillips thinks it absurd to spare Lee & punish others, when he is the guiltiest traitor of all.— He is responsible for the lives of 64,000 of our men who have perished in rebel prisons, when a word from him wd. have secured them good treatment.

Frances & I called on Miss Stevenson at Ebbitt House this evening. She has been

to Richmond. & organized 4 schools, saw Mr. Gladwin. who was trying to impose on the Colored people. He was with Rev. P. Church of N.Y. who was currying favor with secesh. If he was all right, he wd. not be there with Gladwin.—

Sunday Apr. 30, Fine. cool.

Regulated things & cleaned myself. F. has been out among the people. I feel much better today. & mean to get ready to start for Phila. tomorrow morning.

Philadelphia,

Monday May 1st, 1865,

Rainy morning. Cloudy day. Left on 11.15 train for P.—several cars contained soldiers. The Country is lovely, green, fresh, clean. Emblems of Mourning along the route. Many flags in Baltimore & Wilmington. Comfortable ride. — Went on 15th. St. car to Spruce. Mr. Snowden directed me to Mr. A. Ivins boarding house, but they were full

& cd'nt take me, Then to two other places but they were full also.

The 4th. place was 914 Spruce. Mrs. M.R. Snodgrass. She hesitated to take a stranger. but after a little talk, she concluded to admit me, said something of “entertaining angels” &c, but had only an attic room to offer me. I accepted it gladly. For I felt very unpleasantly & disappointed.

There is one window & that in the roof. & the house is so high that I cannot see the pavement; & here I am. I will try to rest to night & hope for the best.

Tuesday, May 2^d.—

Called at 635 Walnut to see Dr. Evans to inquire after Miss Evans. Arranged to go to Mr.

Abbott's to morrow at 4 ½ P.M.

Went to 424 Walnut. Mr. M^cKim out of town. Went out & saw Independence Hall. cd. not go in. The front is elaborately draped. & in every festoon there is a

wreath of Evergreen & Everlasting. A transparency over the front entrance is a full length figure of the President, standing in a coffin shaped frame & over it is "Rest in Peace" in gas jets.

In all the shops are pictures of the President, & there are some of Booth.

I saw Westminster Abbey in Cork. A china dinner set for the Union League. Wax figures seated at sewing machines, &c, &c. Went back to 424 Saw Mr. Hunt & Mr.

B. Coates & Dr. Parrish. Went to 1 Walnut to see F.R. Cope but failed. — Went to Marmaduke Cope's. then to E.F. Smith's. To Cope's again. Met Mrs. Griffing. She has come from Washington to make arrangements for colored people to go north all over the country to Canada. Then she wishes to raise \$10,000 to keep the soup houses going, then she wants material to make up in Sewing school. When asked what I thought of this. I said. "but few colored people can be

induced to come North, even were places provided for them.

Then I think the Contraband fund sh. be used for the relief of these people, instead of asking the people of the North to give for the purpose of feeding the poor, when the North is giving so freely for other things.

The sewing school is well is a good thing. Mrs. G. represents the distress as dreadful. frightful cases of destitution, &c.

I do not find such cases as Mrs. G. does. I cannot learn from any other person that there is such extreme suffering. I should be ashamed if this was the case after so much has been done.

After dinner I went to Miss Robinson's school, then to 1214 Mt. Vernon St. to S. Cox's, Then on 5 P.M. train to Germantown, pleasant ride. Country delightful, Cordially received by M. Robinson, & am to spend the night here.

Phila. Wednesday May 3^d.

Fine. Left Miss R's pleasant home at 8. & herself & niece went with me to City.

Feel quite unwell to day.

Went to 914 Spruce St, Mr. Cope called. I went with him to 424 Walnut, saw Mr. M^cKim & B. Coates &c. All think it well to go to Richmond. Will furnish Clothing. & I was given a letter of instruction. so far, all is well. Sister F. can go too.

Called at Miss R's school near cor. Franklin & Race. Then to Jane Johnson's; dined there. rested nicely.

Then went to Green St. Depot & took 4 ½ train for Abbotsford.— Mrs. A. met me at Falls Station. went to Mrs. Richards. & here I am to night in a room 4 times as large as the one at home, in one of the most elegant houses I ever saw.

Mrs. R. is a very pleasant woman, They ex[pect] Miss Evans this evening. Hope I shall see her.

May 4.

Miss Evans & Miss Collins have come.

Mrs. R. showed us garden. hot house, &c, gave me Cucumber half as long as my arm, & flowers also. Then I took leave of this kind lady to go to Mr. Abbott's. Mrs. R. does not look happy this morning. I fear there is a skeleton even in this splendid mansion. Spent A.M. at Mr. Abbott's. Had early dinner. (This surely is a happy family) Then rode with Mrs. A. & daughter, Misses Evans & Collins to Laurel Hill Cem, It is very beautiful here. Met Mrs. Paine Bigelow of Rochester. — Then went to Mt. Vernon Cem. & saw a very remarkable monument, to the memory of Mrs. Cardell of Germantown, she died in Asia. There is a granite pyramid, & a group of Statuary done in Italy, could' nt make out the design. but it took me back a thousand years. There were several figures a sphinx & a camel lying down,

I seemed transported to Egypt & the desert. There was some thing very solemn. grand & mournful. & the whole produced sensations that I never experienced before.

I took leave of Mrs. Abbott & she went back, but Miss E. & C. came to town with me. Called at S. Cox's. Then at J. Johnson's to see Harriet Stockely, who thinks they will send Box.—

Then to Cor. 5th & Cherry to sewing room. Met Sarah W. Cope & several other women. They will send a box to Richmond.

Wish me to inquire all about orphans.

Walked down 8th. St. & looked into the Shop windows, such elegant goods of all kinds. Came back & took tea. I mean to go to bed & rest all I can. I will do a little shopping in the morning & then take the 1,15 train for W.

A plot to burn the city has been discovered & the Sec. of War sent the news to Phila. on

Sunday, Extra vigilance has been used, but many people are very uneasy yet.

The President has offered a reward of \$100,000 for Jeff Davis & 4 others.

Anna Dickinson lectured last night but I did not hear her.

Friday Noon. May 5th.

Put up my things ready to go. After breakfast, went into In.^d Hall. The room where the President's remains lay is nearly covered with black. The Old Bell is draped & so are the pictures &c.

Chestnut St. is a beautiful sight. There are large flags suspended from nearly every building, & many of them are draped also—I spent an hour or two in looking at the things in the windows. But prices are so high that I cd. make but few purchases.

Went to see the House 2009 Chestnut St. wh. has just been presented to Gen. Grant. There are 6 or 8 all alike in a row. It is red brick, with stone trimmings. 3 stories & [Transcriber's note: sentence cut off]

Went to take leave of 914 Spruce. Mrs. Snodgrass would allow me to pay nothing for my board. Very kind for a stranger. She is alone in the world except a son of 14. — Had a son killed at Fredericksburg. She is a sad woman, but very kind to me. Had an interview with Rebecca Smith.

Friday Evening, 207 I st.

Reached W. at 8 P.M. very comfortable day, not a tiresome ride. Rebels in one car, just released from Fort Delaware, have taken oath of allegiance & are on their way to their homes in W. Va. I talked with one of them.

100 mi. from Phila. to Baltimore,

Very glad to meet Alvira Hartwell here. Things are about as usual.

I am well satisfied with my visit to P. I wish Frances could have been with me. Hear that all are well at home.—

Now I must get ready as soon as possible for Richmond.—

207 I st. May 6th

Warm. bright— Cleaned my room. Alvira & I went out this P.M. to 7th St. &c Towards evening F. & A. & I went to the National Observatory. & were much pleased with what we saw. The roof of the dome revolves, so does the immense Telescope & so does the chair of the observer.

There is the finest view from the top of this Building that I have seen yet. The Panorama is grand indeed. Through a smaller Telescope we saw the forts Ethan Allen & Corcoran, & Arlington House. & Freedmen's Village. & the women & children there. & the Goddess of Liberty &c, &c. The grounds reach to the River. There are beautiful trees. & the walks are delightful.—

Then we took a long walk among the Government buildings at the foot of 19th, 20th, & 21st. streets. The extent of these is astonishing. Where has all the money come from to carry on so much work.

Sunday May 7th.

I have cleaned up. straightened up my books. wrote in journal &. & wrote letters. Harry called.—Frances & Alvira have been to Alexandria & had a good time.—

May 8,

Sorted over clothing. & packed box for Richmond. & attended to washing & ironed a little & washed dishes, & this P.M. waited on people, sold several articles.

Mrs. Coleman & Mrs. Belding called.

This evening F. & Alvira have gone out.

May 9th.

Rainy. Rose at 5 & went on 7 A.M. boat to Alex. Called on Mrs. J. & Louisa. They intend to go with us to Richmond.

Called at Magnolia H. Saw Gov. & Mrs. Peirpoint, &c. Gov. P. gave me a letter to Sec. Dana which I mean to present tomorrow.

I have sewed some & ironed some.

May 10th,

F. & Alvira & I went to War Dept. Sec. Dana so busy I cd. not see him. Sent me to Gen. Hardee. who would not give me full transportation. I was not satisfied.

Mrs. Jacobs went with me to see Mrs. Dana. I do not know what will come of it.—

I am disappointed.—went to Treasury, saw the Light House room & the room where money is counted. & but little else that was interesting.—

Went round by White House, no visitors admitted now. Mrs. Lincoln getting ready to leave.—

F. & Alvira went to Smithsonian, I came back. & have worked nearly all the while since. Am very tired tonight.—

Mrs. Coleman called.—

A very unsatisfactory day.

May 11th.

Hot. Rain evening. This A.M. went to Sec.

Dana's, but Mrs. D. told me for him that he could do nothing more. & I must go to Gen. Hardee. So I went, waited 20 minutes perhaps. Told him I did not understand him very clearly yesterday, &c. He spoke very graciously. Can give free transportation for boxes & we, that is, F & I can go at half rate. I must accept it. for I can do no better. But Alvira cannot go. They take no passengers but officers. & those that have special permit from the Sec. of War.

I am sorry, for Alvira had concluded to go.—I am glad this business is over.

Since then have put up things in Clothing room & fixed my trunks, &c. run up & down stairs so many times that I am very, very tired. so hot until the shower.

Alvira & Frances have been to the Capitol.—Dr. James Pettyjohn called.

Raining.

May 12th.

Cool. Fire in room all day.

I packed box for Richmond & worked in C. room all A.M. Then went to 6th st. wharf to see about boat. I intend to start next Monday.

F. & Alvira have been to Patent office. F. has had sewing school & since school has been to several Hospitals. I wonder she is not tired out.

May 13th, 1865

Fine. This morning Alvira & I went with Mrs. Colman to see Mrs. Keckley who is staying with Mrs. Lincoln. While waiting for Mrs. K, the messenger showed us into the Red & Blue & Green Rooms. All have a deserted look. We also saw the E. Room. It is just as it was left after the funeral. A doleful looking place. The Catafalque is there yet & the steps on which those present stood—

We sat in the Red Room a few minutes & saw Mrs. K. She is a light mulatto, good

May 13th. 1865

looking, very ladylike in her appearance & graceful in her manners. Altogether more so than Mrs. Lincoln. although Mrs. K. has been a slave. & has drank the bitter cup of the infernal system.—

She is doing various things for Mrs. L. & will go to Chicago with her & stay a short time. One day she spent in packing jewelry.—Mrs. L. has 19 parasols, 27 fans & 17 bonnets. other things in proportion to be packed; has 12 new mourning dresses & so on, she is accused of doing some very objectionable things, of appropriating to herself things that belong to the house &c. She is to leave in a few days.—

She is no credit to her husband's memory.

The trial of the Conspirators has commenced.—

Alvira has been to the Navy Yard.

This evening she & F. have gone to see Mrs. Swisshelm. I have done various chores this P.M. with reference to going to Richmond.

²⁶1865

Washington, Sunday May 14.

Fine.

I called at Dr. Breed's.

Then Alvira & I went to Dr. Garnett's Church, 5 babies were presented for baptism. These were Mary Minerva, Lelia Montague, Effie, Mary Imogene & Abraham Lincoln, one had blue eyes & red hair, another had white hair & white skin. The others were darker. One of the mothers wd. pass for a white woman in any place. Many of the audience were nearly white.

May 15th. 1865.

Rose early & went foraging &c. Sent Boxes to 6th St. wharf by army wagon— Telegraph from Mrs. Jacobs will meet Alvira at depot & go to Richmond by way of Baltimore, Civilians cannot get passage on Govt. Boat unless in Govt. employ, or by special favor.

Left every thing very satisfactory at 207 I St. & left at 1 ½ P.M. for Richmond.

²⁶ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26007_001 to HC13-26007_059 in their Folder entitled May 14, 1865 to Sept. 30, 1865.

Capt. Allen A.Q.M. helped us aboard the Escort. Capt. Pearce, Paid \$3.75 half rate to City Pt.— Left at 3 P.M. Stopped at Alex.—No cabin. Poor accommodations. Only 6 state rooms & these all taken. There was a chance for our staying on deck all night & the wind was chilly. Capt. said he wd. try & give us shelter. & did give us a room taken by a General. & put the Gen. into his own room. Only 3 berths but we were thankful for these. Took supper in picnic style on deck. The evening is pleasant & I shall try to rest. Frances insists upon sitting up. So Louisa, Miss Stephenson & I occupied the berths.

May 15th. Perfect day.

Slept very well. 6 A.M. found us at Old Point. Boat stopped 2 hours. We went into the Fort & looked about a little. Louisiana from Baltimore here at same time. I saw Alvira & Mrs. Jacobs—

Gathered some flowers & came back to boat

Saw ironclads, rams &c, Rip Raps too. Took breakfast in a flowing breeze. A Michigan soldier presented us some fine strawberries. I washed the dishes & Louisa wiped them & then we set about enjoying the trip.

Sky, earth, air, water — all beautiful & at 10 A.M. were sailing up James R.

I saw Newport news & Hampton. River broad & fine. Several light houses, several miles up are the Ruins of Jamestown. There are 3 chimneys, & the walls of a house with 2 chimneys still standing, & a small remnant of a church. This is all which shows that a village was even there.— Still further up is Fort Powhatan on the left Bank. Here are also the remains of a Fort built by Washington. I saw Harrison's Landing 5 mi. from City Pt. Bermuda Hundred &c.—At City Pt. changed boats. Went aboard the Monitor, Capt. Morton. A few Government buildings. & back

a little from the River are Hospitals & this is about all of this famous place.

The Appomattox comes in here. The River is very crooked. 45 mi. from Richmond by River & only 20 by land.

Saw Malvern Hill, Deep Bottom etc. Jones Landing, Marina, Aikins Landing, Gen. Mulford's Headqrs. where prisoners were exchanged. Ruins of several bridges. Dutch Gap Canal 3 or 400 ft. long & cuts off 7 mi. of the River, so we passed both ends of it. Nearly opposite is the Crow's Nest. Gen. Butler's Lookout. Hewlett's House Battery is very formidable. Near this are sunken vessels to obstruct the River. Wreck of rebel steamer with a gun on it. ruins of boats parts in the water & parts lying on the banks of the River

Saw several torpedoes marked by small red flags. Boats do not run here after dark, Many Rebel forts, & some with guns dismantled.—

All along here men come out in boats for papers. & passengers throw them into the river. Fort Darling is on Dreury Bluff 7 mi. from R, This was a strong fort.—

Three minutes before 6 o'clock Louisa & I saw Richmond first. It shows well from a distance. The stars & stripes were floating from the Capitol. & the tall spires pointed heavenward as if it always had been a loyal City.—There are no fortifications within 2 or 3 mi. of the City. & the country on either side is as green & quiet as if the sounds of war had never disturbed its repose, Reached wharf about 6. a crowd of people there. The supposed Jeff Davis was on the boat.—I went to Q. Master's to see about my Boxes. Left them with a guard & then went to other wharf to meet Mrs. J. & Alvira who came on Georgianna.

Talked with some of the colored people.

Rebels soldiers mixed freely with the crowd. It was dusk when we found our selves all together in a carriage. Passed Castle Thunder & Libby Prison. Had been directed to two colored familys but they cd. not take us. Mrs. J. & girls found a place, & F. & Alvira & I were driven to the Spotswood. They would not have been received at the Hotel as we were & they did not like to go.

This evening we find ourselves in a good room, have taken our lunch & are now tired enough to rest. The beds look inviting, our first night in R.

May 17th, Bright. hot.

Slept till 8 A.M. & was well rested,

Mice foraging in our baskets all night, still we had enough left for the day.

Frances & Alvira took a walk before I was ready to go out, At 10 Mrs. J. &c. came & we went to Pro. Mar. Col. Manning. cd. give me no room. & no plan for goods. I saw

Mr. Chase of Union Commission. Offers me room for my boxes,

Saw Mr. Coan & teachers. Thinks clothing is not needed here, Colored people in a very comfortable condition. I would have a bad effect on the people to give them any thing. & so on. Some how this made but little impression on me, I knew there must be another side to this. & furthermore Mr. C. said "he had not been around to see the people".

Went to Mrs. Judah's to get place to stop. Could not take us. Daughter has taught school privately for several years. & never was detected by the authorities. She now has a school of 30 & they go in & out with none to molest or make them afraid. Rebels soldiers in the streets. We went to the Capitol. This is a shabby building but finely situated.—

Went into Hall of Congress. & Hall of House of Delegates, Senate Chamber, & Va. State Senate. got several relics. Went on to the Roof. Magnificent view.—Returned to Spotswood & eat lunch. Called at Mr. Forresters, & all went to Jeff Davis House. Plastered outside & looks shabby, but the interior of the few rooms that we saw show evidences of fine taste.

Met Mr. & Mrs. Curtis of Rochester.

Then we went to Castle Thunder & were shown all through. A dismal place. A few prisoners are confined there. I brought away some irons that had been used on the limbs of Union soldiers. This was once a tobacco ware house.

Then we went to Libby Prison. This was a tobacco warehouse also. This is a loathsome place. Much of it damp, & low rooms. I saw where

Col. Straight & those others got out, by digging under the street. It seems almost incredible. It seems as if those low rooms & cells still echo with the groans of suffering men.

Dick Turner, the keeper who treated our men so cruelly was confined in a cell & a few days since he escaped by wrenching off a bar from the window. I think he must have had help. Got various mementoes & came back to Spotswood tired enough. Frances & Alvira continue their walk. A. intends to leave in the morning. I have found a place for F. & I for the present at Nancy Carter's. (Colored) We are to go there tomorrow. Bill for 3 persons 1 ½ days at Spotswood only \$18,00. Just the same as if we had taken our meals there. instead of finding our own food.

Thursday May 18. Richmond

Alvira left for home by way of Balt. at 5 this morning. Mrs. Coleman came this A.M., Had my baggage brought to Mrs. Carter's —cor. Franklin & 14th. st.

F. & Mrs. C. & I went to Jeff's House. Were not allowed to go through to the back piazza, as we were yesterday, & saw only the ante room & one parlor. Gen. Halleck probably thinks that the presence of common people would be an insult to Mr. Davis. Called at Forresters. Mrs. Wells, her brother, & John Winston went with our whole Company to the City Jail where the Whipping Post is. This is so near Mrs. F's. that we could plainly hear the blows as they were inflicted on the poor victims. Only the Saturday before the surrender screams were heard there for 2 hrs.

Jeff's house is on a bank & from it he could look down into the jail yd. & it is so near that he could hear the screams of the poor creatures,

of women perhaps when they were stripped & fastened to the W. post with irons, This is a horrid place. There are cells & dungeons of stone & iron. There are bolts & bars, & locks, rings & staples & chains. I obtained a piece of the W. Post, a pair of fetters for the feet. & a door fastening & some papers, all signed by Mayor Mays.

Then we went to Lumpkin's Jail or Slave Pen. At our request he showed us around, He seemed to think it would be a recommendation in our eyes have us know that he has a colored wife (only he is not married) & has 5 children.) (He has an elegant house in Phila, & his wife spends most of her time there & he has his children at school there, & when he said he never bought & sold slaves we knew he lied, for he had sold the brother of one of the young men who was with us. So much for Lumpkin's veracity.)

There was a shed with a floor & several long tables. Here he said "They used to sing & dance & here they eat. But his mules occupied the

shed & yard now. & he hoped we wd. excuse the dirt &c". Introduced us to his son John Lumpkin, a colored boy of 12, Saw two of his old slaves. One an old man a Slave till the Yankees came, he was not afraid to speak before Lumpkins, & said if there was ~~not~~ help needed to hang Jeff. Davis, just send for old Jesse Scott & he wd. help put the rope around his neck."

L. said he was glad the Slaves were free. He tried to excuse his business. We talked to him just as hard as he cd. especially Mrs. C. & Mrs. Jacobs. He winced under it. I think he will not forget what these indignant Northern women said on that occasion.

The colored people of R. who were with us had never been in a trader's jail before. They were delighted to hear us talk to Lumpkins. It was a new era in their existence. Where no one either black or white had dared to say a loud word against Slavery. They now heard the plainest kind of talk to a negro trader's face.

Lumpkins called his place a Hotel, He did Board white gentlemen & their colored mistresses, & had his porters & runners at the Depot & Wharf.

There are several other jails on the same Street where Lumpkin's is. It is seemed as if the very air was heavy with quiet. We could not breathe freely.

There are 12 trader's jails in this City. Inequity was carried on extensively here.

Alex. was nothing to this place.

There were a great many auction houses for the law says, "Sales of Slaves must take place within doors." We went to the Auction house of Hill & Dickinson," (& Pleasants.) Saw 'Nat Bush Hill' & he looks like the devil that he is. When I asked him if he had ever seen slaves sold there he said "Yes, I have sold thousands myself at that post." A hard, hateful man. We talked with him, & one or two others like him. & I am quite sure they have not been talked to so plainly ~~to~~ before. This City has been a complete hell.

Went to the Capitol again, got 2 books & some papers.

Colored folks have not been allowed to walk in the Capitol Grounds.

Mrs. Carter has been telling us of the state of things before the surrender, of the jails, &c. "They were mighty discouraged, seemed as if their progress went downwards. We were not so stiff in prayer. People thought the kingdom of Heaven cd. be taken as soon as R. When the Yankees came I did not know what shape to put myself in. I was obliged to jump up I was so light. Saw the President when he walked through the city leading his little boy by the hand. Had a good look at him. He was a mighty-meek looking man. He smiled & bowed. Colored people beside themselves with joy. bowed & curtsied & threw up hdkfs, & aprons, & then says I'm glad to see you. I'm glad you come. We have been waiting for you," I wish all the North cd. hear Mrs. C. talk.—

Went to P. Mar.s for pass for F. to go home.

This P.M. Frances & Mrs. Coleman & Mrs. Carter went to Libby and Castle Thunder. I went to Poor House with Mrs. J. & Louisa & 3 young colored men. It is in the outskirts of the City. A long walk, beyond cemetery which is guarded & col. people are not allowed to walk through. We went a longer way around. I was so indignant. We saw an open ground where slaves are buried. & near this where Union Soldiers were buried who were executed, on one headboard was Timothy Webster a spy, the first one hung.

Alms House is a large brick building nearly new. During war it has been used for military cadets. Cannon are still in the front yard,—one wing is for white paupers,— There are here now about 260 colored persons, Many have just come in from country. After the “craps” were put in they were turned off. Here are the

old, worn-out, broken down slaves turned off, as it were, to die. Here are blind, dumb, idiotic, cripples. Women with families of small children, & the sick of all ages. Lieut. Norfolk has command of the place & guard of 15 men. He is an Englishman, but some of the guard are rough Irishmen, & one of them carries a whip & seems to delight in flourishing it over these people. He told us he did not use it, but the colored people say he does. It is a wretched place. I had seen & heard so much to day, that I could endure no more & we did not stop but a short time, But I must go to this place again & see what can be done.—It seems as if every thing in this city is wrong.—

Saw a procession of women dressed in black & white. This a Society (benevolent) who come for the sick, & attend funerals, &c.—This is the first time the Society has been out since the Yankees came. Mayor Mayo had forbidden them to wear these clothes or appear as a society in the streets.

Called at Mr. F's again. After 8 when we came back, Oh! The horrid things I have seen to day. This place has been equal to 50 Sodoms. Jails. Slave pens. Auction blocks!

Then there are 2 “cages” over The Markets.

All colored persons whether free or slave who were taken up in the night were put into the cages. The laws for the Colored have been very oppressive during the war & these cages were generally full in the morning. Then they were taken to the Mayor & from thence to the Whipping Post. Almost every infringement of law was punished with stripes.

Friday, May 19. Richmond VA.

Hot.—Mrs. Jacobs, Frances, Mrs. Coleman, Mrs. Forrester & sons have been to Manchester to look after Gladwin. They saw the Bap. minister, & the teacher Mr. G. has put in his school. They find he is taking advantage of the col^d. people, & they had begun to think Gladwin is not all right. Our party made a

statement of G's doings in Alex. & I do not think he will have smooth sailing after this in Manchester or R.

Our party stopped at Libby & Castle Thunder on their way back, brought old china &c. I have been to Rocketts to see about my Boxes. Then found Union Com. rooms & had Bags taken there. A very dirty place. Has been Commissary building. Feet stick fast to floor. I can do no better just now.

Came back, fixed trunk & rested awhile. Took tea by invitation at Mr. Forrester's. Quite a company. We drank from Jeff. Davis's tea cups, eat with his knives & forks & eat strawberries & ice cream from his china saucers—I sat in the porch & looked at Jeff's house not many rods distant, & tried to realize that I was in Richmond—

The morning of the evacuation people fled & left their houses open. goods were scattered about the street, & Jeff's servants gave

this china to Mr. Forrester's boys. That morning must have been one long to be remembered by those who were there. All night long there was commotion in the streets. Jeff. & his crew were getting away with their plunder.

Early in the morning the magazine was exploded. destroying the horses near, killing several people. breaking all the windows in the Alms House & shattering this & other buildings.—Then about 6 the fires began to rage. & the various explosions made people think the Yankees were shelling the city

Public documents & goods were strewn about the streets. Whites were in a panic. Colored say “they did not think much about the fires, all they thought of was the Yankees coming.” Bridges & Depots, & Tredegar iron works were burned. Rebel soldiers were running away. & Yankee soldiers were coming in. first Cavalry & then Infantry came “but they killed nobody. Negroes delighted. wild with joy & excitement.

Great time when the President came, He walked all the way from Rocketts to the ~~Court House~~ Capitol, staid there a very little while & went back to boat in a Carriage. “Vengeance on all the white people's brow, joy on all the colored. I was just as dirty & raggerty, didn't stop to get a piece of bonnet nor nothing. I looked him from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet. Seemed as if we had all been converted, as if the Saviour had come. Pres. smiled, seemed delighted by his appearance. They was just washing him up as though he was a saviour. Seemed to be such a meek man. I could'nt do nothing for a week. just set on the cricket & chewing ground peas.—

The military seem to have no regard for the rights of the colored people. All the orders are given to favor secesh. “The people are mighty discouraged.” Mrs. Carter says, They say these Union Soldiers must be

rebels disguised in Federal uniform. Yesterday Mounted guards stopped every colored man who was not at work for a pass. The lazy whites lounge in the capitol grounds if they were taken up & set to work, there wd. be some justice in it. I fear we must have another Revolution. But nothing better can be expected of Gen. Halleck & other pro slavery officers.

Saturday. Showery,

All my Company left at 5 this morning for Washington. I rose early too. Went to Cor. 18th & Carey where my boxes are.

Went to Teachers' Room, saw Mr. Coan & Miss Foster.—Came back too tired to go out again. Wrote to father & to Mary & tried to rest.

Great many soldiers in the city.

This a noisy spot. It is close to the street, wh. is paved & narrow. On the corner too. & on another Cor. is a military clothing store wh. is visited a great deal by officers. On another cor. is the Ballard House. On another corner

the Exchange Hotel now used for Pro. Mar's office & for a guard. A Theater both sides of us. After the noise of the Band, then the noise of the performers, & stamping, yelling screeching, shouting, as if bedlam had broke loose. There is rattling of carriages, & clattering of horses feet, & clanking of sabers. But I am learning to sleep in spite of all this.

Sunday. cloudy hot.

Went to P.O. & round by the Capitol. Many soldiers of 6th. corps in the Park. The corps is now at Manchester.

Elizabeth Peters went with me to 1st. African Church. Found in 1841. Under control of white Bap. churches, but the people own the property. They have abrogated the old Constitution & declared themselves independent. Ryland, minister for 15 yrs. offers to resign, but he means to stay—He is a hard pro slavery man. always prayed that the northern army wd. be beaten.—& would not allow any

of the members to say any thing against the South. If a word sounded like liberty they were stopped at once. "Want no such praying as that."—There are 3000 members. They says every drop of Ryland's blood is secesh. Believes that slavery is right, & preached accordingly.—

To day some Boston men spoke, but not much to the purpose. I think there was not a word said that wd. offend a rebel. Rev. Mr. Miles compared their former masters with Jesus in a way that left the master unrebuked. The burden of all these remarks was work, work, work, but keep quiet. What nonsense. These people have done all the work, they work now. & always intend to work. It suited Mr. Ryland & that was enough to condemn it. There was much singing too, And Satan came also in the form of Gladwin. But I did not let him know that I saw him. I went into the Monumental

Church & staid till I heard the minister pray for the Pres. of the U.S. & all others in authority. (Shower this P.M.) This church is built on the site of the Theater that was burnt in 1811, when a large number of persons lost their lives. The names of these are on a monument in front of the church.—

This evening 3 of the choir of the African

Church came to sing for me. Rob't Hamilton "tenor songer." Wm. Smith. James Level 'basser.' Esq. Palmer, & Geo. Butler "tribble singer."

These all were slaves until the Yankees came. They sang sacred & sentimental Songs. & threw their whole souls into their singing.

Then we had an interesting talk.

These men have been stopped by guards to day. "Worse than in Jeff. D's time. He allowed them to go to ch. without being molested."

Mrs. Jenings met sister she never saw before.

An interesting meeting.

Richmond, May 22d, 1865

Rained all night. Trees hit in valley. Culverts obstructed. Water rose to 2d, story windows. very dark, am told it was dreadful to hear the screams of the people in the night. Some of Old Lumpkins' walls are washed away. Wish his whole establishment had been carried off. & all the other jails now that I am wishing.

Soldiers are behaving badly. Guards behave roughly. Colored men are treated so that they are going to complain to Gen. Halleck—Mrs. Carter & Mrs. Jennings have been with me to what was the Danville Depot. Found several families who have been driven in from Country. Must take them to my room to morrow & get some clothing. Went to Petersburg Depot, several bridges were burned. Ruins immense. Saw sitting on the ruins on Carey St. an old one footed man. The most filthy &

disgusting object I ever saw. While talking with him a gentleman came up & seemed interested. I said "here is one of the beauties of the peculiar institution." He undertook to say the man had friends & other clothes & knew more than he appeared to. But we did not believe it. —He told us the people wd. not work, We learned in the conversation that his name was E.O. Nolting, has lived here 25 yrs. been Belgian Consul 15 yrs. & has owned slaves. I said I had not seen a Union white man yet unless he was one. He said there were but few Union men here, he was not one. He thought the South wd. conquer, but it was beaten & they wd. make the best of it.

We called on Mrs. Morris. quite warm. At 4 went to Coan's. Saw Miss Foster & Kennedy. She went with me to City Jail. (Shower.) Saw Lieut. Stackhouse, one of those who escaped from Libby prison with Col. Straight. He had been in there 7 mo.

Saw two white boys burn two colored boys with segars just for fun. I went out & drove the white boys off.

I am told that women have been hung up by their thumbs, at the Poor House for not saying they cd. wash & cook, to those who came to hire servants.

Mrs. Carter said a gentleman from Alex. wished to see me, he was in her shop & wd. come over. When lo! In came Gladwin who said how do you do, Miss Wilbur, & extended his hand. I said "No, Mr. Gladwin," & took a seat as far from him as I could. Those present talked some with him & gave a sly dab now & then. After an hour or so he took his leave & I think he will not call to see me again.—Nobody but G. wd. think of doing so, under the circumstances.

After he left, I gave Mrs. C. & Mrs. Jennings a little of his history while in Alex.

The scamp! Thunder Showers,

May 23^d

Went to Danville Depot & took those families to my room & gave them clothes. Rested till 3 PM. Then with Mrs. Carter & Mrs. Jennings went to Poor House. Walked through Cemetery, no guard there. Went to Slave's burying Ground. Saw a Slave's burial. Sad sight. There is only one head stone in this place. On this is the following,

Aunt Sally. Died Jan 11—1859.

Aged 60 yrs. — "True to her master

"And her God.

Saw where the magazine was. It was blown to atoms. Of the nearest houses not one brick is left upon another.—This was in the morning the Union forces took possession.

People at Poor House very wretched. I am thinking how I can serve them most effectually. —Very tired to night.

May 24

Early as possible went to Cor. 18 & Carey.

6th Corps had come over from Manchester & halted on 17th St. such Commotion! Men, wagons, pack mules, pontoon wagon bridge train, horses, cattle, & stragglers. Have been reviewed by Gen. Halleck & have started for Washington. Streets alive with them yet tonight, They behave very badly. Yesterday they nearly killed a col^d. man without any provocation. They go into shops & take things from Col^d. people without paying for them.

Several of them went into an old man's shop very near Mrs. C's, & eat 3 or 4 dollars worth & wd. not pay him. He called the Guard who was near, but he wd. pay no attention to him, Mrs. Carter has had several things stolen to day. She says the people feel disheartened. Yesterday I saw 2 white boys burn 2 little col^d. boys with a cigar, I went out to them. & they said they did it for fun. All the little

boys cd. do was to cry. They dared not resent it. Some colored folks standing near said this was the way white boys amused themselves in R. Union Com. have moved their barrels & have given up the house. So I packed my boxes had them nailed up, left a guard to watch them & went a long walk to Q. Masters for wagon. Obtained one & had boxes taken to Poor House. It took 2 Irishmen nearly an hour to load them into a wagon. Came back to house very tired. Took bath & felt much better, but not well enough to go out this evening. Must try to go to Alms H. to morrow. This morning I went into a place where the people get rations. But few Colored persons present. No 1 tickets draw meal & codfish. No 2 for sick draw tea & sugar w. addition for 10 days.

Stopped at Sanitary Com. Boat

which lies in the basin. Three agents were there; the only uncivil persons I have met. When they refused a few tin cups for the poor at the Alms House, I told them about giving their giving San. Stores to the Rebels. They said they did so when they first came to R. but the Board at W. did not approve it & it was stopped. One talked like a secesh. & I said what I liked to him. This generosity to rebels, & injustice to loyal people makes me indignant.

Thursday May 25th.

Went to the school in St. Phillips Ch, Teacher Mr. Lucas, Phila, assisted by Miss. Kenney & Miss Jennings. Very nice school. Mr. Coan has attempted to control the schools, but I do not know what authority he has for doing so. That is, the schools of other Asso^{ns}. Have been to Alms H, Had room cleaned & fitted up for boxes. Have unpacked them, & given out 130 pieces to women and children.

Some of these people had seen no new clothes since the war begun. They were delighted to receive some new garments.

I took dinner with the Lieut. Surgeon, Clerk &c. Had pork & beans, currant pie, & very good water. Then I worked till 4 P.M. & rode home in Dr. Humphrey's ambulance, otherwise I should have been completely tired out.— Gov. Peirpoint was expected this evening, but he has not come.

Oh! such a racket. At the nearest theater they are singing "Rally round the Flag." This they sing every evening & it is all that is worth listening to.

Friday May 26th

Pouring rain all day & last night too. Uncle L. Wilbur came this morning. I was not well but I have rested so nicely that I feel better. Have written letters. About 5 P.M. I heard the boom of cannon & knew of course, that the Gov. had arrived.

The rain held up a little, & I went to Main St. to see the procession. First came a drove of boys. Then a Band in overcoats, then 4 men on horseback, then 4 platoons of infantry, then 2 hacks abreast in one of wh. was the Governor. Then 3 or 4 carriages containing his family & several ladies & gentlemen from Alex. Then a detachment of infantry. A few carriages with citizens & then 8 or 10 empty ambulances. They were a wet, muddy & tired looking set. It was quite like a funeral procession, so quiet!

Saturday 27th, cool.

Rained nearly all day. Sat by the fire this evening in Ms. C's shop.

About 3 P.M. went to P. House. Gave out clothes & went into the sick rooms. Bad enough in women's room, but in the men's room it was awful. I felt sick ever since. Things look discouraging there.

Richmond May 28th, 1865

Went to St. Paul's Church. (Episcopal). where Jeff. D. attended. Heard Minnegerode. When he prayed for the Pres. of the U.S. & all others in authority, there was some laughing & some squirming. The church was filled. There were many Union officers present—I think they expected to see Gen. Lee.

This is the most aristocratic Ch. & I suppose I saw some of the chivalrous F.F.V.'s. I saw a barefoot boy otherwise nicely dressed holding the hand of a gentleman. I am told that even Jeff D's boys went barefoot. To what have the F.F.V.'s come at last!

In P.M. went to Mr. Forrester & Mr. & Mrs. Wells went with me to their church (Meth.) a long way off. Mr. Nawley their white minister has preached there 10 yrs. He is a very disagreeable man.—But this P.M. a black brother from Baltimore was the speaker. He is an ignorant man, but thinks he is

learned & smart, & quoted Greek &c. He made no allusion to the times we live in. He said "You have come here to get happy, & if you don't get happy it will not be my fault. I'll clear my skirts. Then he urged them to shout & be happy, but some how he could not get up much excitement. He knows the cause of the war. "Yes, your sins & mine caused the war." Now if you don't repent, if you burn the candle out & throw the snuff in Jehovah's face, he will thunder you down to hell," & much more of the same sort these people sat & listened to.— Blind leading the blind.

People here were dressed the most fantastically of any I have yet seen. They seemed to have put on all the cast off finery of 4 yrs. ago, & all the odds & ends of ribbon were made the most of, 3 or 4 kinds on the same bonnet.—Mr. Forrester & others mean to have an intelligent colored minister as soon as it can be brought about.

Monday May 29

This morning called at the Governor's. Saw Mrs. Gordon, was introduced to Col. Lewis — Mrs. P. not well.

Went Af. Bap. Church. All the schools met there to hear some Northern Gentlemen speak. There were Rev. ___ Ames of Chelsea, Rev. ___ Vassar of Bangall, Mr. Mason, author of Exercise Book, Boston, Col. Fay Mayer of Chelsea, Dea. Crane of Balt, Mr. Van Vliet, Cor. of Tribune, & others. Children sang Exercise Songs, gave cheers for Coan, &c, &c. About 1500 present.

Then with Mrs. Wells I went to Poor House. Such distress! Mr. Lucas & Miss Kenny there a little while, gave out some clothing. Visited the people. One woman in the Hospital is the most distressed object I ever saw. They do not have much care. I saw one sick with his face covered with fly-blows. Flies cover

every thing. Another woman, Lizzie Baptist (not in Hospital) lies on the floor in the most filthy & wretched state imaginable. Those able to work are hired out at once & there are not well ones enough left to do the necessary work, to wait on sick, &c. There is hardly any thing to use. No brooms nor buckets. They need cups & plates, & spoons.—Dr. Humphrey seems to be kind & attentive, he says he cannot get any thing more. They have some old bedsteads some bedding, a few shirts & drawers for the hospital, & medicines, but I think he might take measures to have the sick rooms cleaned & better ventilated, & Lieut. Norfolk should have the rooms put in a better condition. Some bring here old clothes, rags, bits of furniture &c, & the rooms look terribly. 27 more soldiers have been sent here. I see so much that is wrong every time I come here that I go away discouraged.

While we were there to day we saw what appeared to be a huge bundle or rags moving along with the help of 2 sticks. It was brought to the place in a cart, & was put in the old men's room. I never saw such an object as this old man. While we were talking with him a white woman came in, evidently poor white trash, & being uneasy as to what the old man would say. (Davy Anderson.) She said she rented a house & the old man was left in it last fall & she cd. not keep him any longer. He said he worked enough to pay for what little she gave him to eat. She said she had a whole gang of chickens, & he knew where they went to. He said solemnly that he wd. scorn to steal. She said there was the two pigeons that were sent there to be kept that somebody thought so much of, & she knew Davy had eaten them. Davy said he never told lies, he did not eat the pigeons.— I said if he did eat them he was

probably starved to it. She said, “indeed he was'nt, did'nt he lay in the kitchen & drink up all her milk? But Davy said he did no such thing. I told her it was a shame to turn off an old man like him in that way. She was a fair specimen of a poor secesh.

Public Reception at Governor's this evening. I wd. like to go. Mr. Lucas agreed to come for me, but he has not come yet, & it is 10 o'clock.

Rev. J. Dudley has had meeting at Old Af. Church this eve. It was immense, Mrs. Carter went. Gen. Patrick was there & spoke to the people, & I missed this too.

May 30th.

Dr. H. sent ambulance, & Mr. & Mrs. Wells went with me to Poor House, & at one P.M. we rode back, Dr. & all, he goes to Libby P. every day. I examined all the rooms & saw nearly all the inmates & I saw much distress.

Fly-blown man was found dead this morning. The most wretched object in the form of woman that I ever saw, I have seen to day. It makes me heart-sick, & the sick do not have proper care.— She has scrofulous limb, Dr. H. says he has taken handfuls of maggots from her sores.—She is almost a skeleton. Had no clothing on when I first saw her. The flies almost devour her, & she cannot even keep them from her face. Gave clothes to the dumb, blind, lame, handless, footless, idiotic.

Went all through the white part. No end to the misery, about 40 of these. Wish I could spend more time there. Mrs. Wells has helped me very much, Dr. H. is very obliging.—

Came back & rested awhile.

Mr. Dudley called. I went to P.O. Then to Mr. F.'s —Mr. & Mrs. Wells went with me to Church Hill, passed several jails

I had not seen before on Broad st.

Saw a May Party. Secesh of course, but there was a guard of Union Soldiers, & a Band in attendance. I heard a lady say afterwards that the Yankee bugles frightened her almost to death. Perhaps Uncle Sam's boys have been in worse business, but I certainly think they need not have condescended to this. The party was on a lawn before a large old building, the throne was on the front steps & the May pole at a little distance. Mrs. W & I circulated among the crowd. She was colored, I was white & I wore a mourning badge of crape & red, white & blue on my shoulder. I soon found I was observed by several boys of larger growth, & they used some significant expressions, & looked all the daggers they dared to. I kept my eye on them & my badge too, & I did not move from them, but when one of them said "If it was night I know what I'd do," I almost wished he wd.

attempt to tear off my bow, for then I might have seen whether there is spirit enough left in our soldiers to resent such an insult.—Tired of waiting we went off on an elevation & soon the train of young damsels appeared. The Queen was crowned, the flowers presented, the speeches made, & the dance round the May pole finished the ceremony.

The last was very pretty.—

Church Hill commands a fine view of the city & the country also. Here in the midst of an old graveyard. is an old Colonial Church, St. John's.—where Patrick Henry made his famous speech "Give me liberty or give me death." The gates were locked. I must go there to church next Sunday.

This has been a long but delightful walk, I am very tired tonight. Strange I get no letters. I do not care to leave yet. I wish to see things at Alms H. in better shape first.

May 31st.

Mr. Dudley came to go to P. House, but he waited until we thought the Am. wd. not come, then he left. About 11 it came & I went alone. Several families have come in since yesterday. I went among them all & distributed pins & combs, gave out 40 pieces. Went into all the rooms & up and down stairs an indefinite number of times. At 3½ P.M. I walked back exceedingly tired. I do not like the way little children are hired out & separated from their mothers, & I do not like the way orphans are disposed of. They are sent away with any body from city or country who happens to come for them, & will be made to all intents & purposes little slaves again.—

Mr. Peter Woolfolk called with letter from Miss Chase. Mrs. Cooper from Alex. has been here today, she comes to find 2 children. Less than

two yrs. ago herself & children were sold by “Hill & Pleasants.” She & her little girl to N. Carolina. Then leaving her girl, she was taken up into the North of Va. & escaped to the Union lines. She was employed in L’Ouverture Hos. Alex. last winter, but she grieved herself almost to death for her children. She has been to the traders here to learn about her boy, but they will give her no satisfaction. She has been to Pro. Mar. for pass to go for her girl, 25 mi. beyond the line between Va. & N.C. —but he told her she did not need a pass—Then I went with her & explained the case & Capt. S. gave her protection papers & free transportation. She is delighted, & I think I have helped her so much.—Feeling rested, towards night I took long walk with Mrs. Wells.—Went to see a sick young woman. She has had 9 masters, has never had good health, & once was whipped because she wd. not tell a trader

she was a healthy woman. She is with a family who were all to be sold on the Monday after the surrender of R. Mrs. Winston & 4 grown children. One of these is the young man who went around with us the first 2 days we were in the City. I little thought he had always been a slave, it is to dreadful to think of.

Then Mrs. W. & I went to Mr. Dabney’s, whose child has just died. It was 3 yrs. old, & a most beautiful little creature, laid out so prettily. The father was always free, He married Mrs. D. when she was a slave. For some slight offence her mistress had her sent to the City Jail & whipped. The husband wished to buy her, but they wd. not sell her to him. So she hid herself away, & it was understood she had run away, & after a little while her master sold her running to a white man (a friend of Mr. Dabney’s) who had agreed with Mr. D. to do this that the husband might buy his wife. Such revelations make me ashamed of my race.

Richmond, June 1st.

National Fast—

Walked too much & feel quite prostrated today. Letter from Frances, Mrs. Coleman is ill. An Amnesty Proclamation. Rebels not in such high glee as they have been. Wrote letters & rested as much as I could. About 7 went to P. O. — Streets full of people. — Churches opened to day, but white ministers did not attend them & but few white people.

Thomas is to supersede Halleck.

June 2^d.

Went to see Capt. Brown, Superintendent of Freedmen in Va.—Had satisfactory interview. Mrs. Chase of U. Com. promises some brooms & cups— Called to see Mrs. Peirpoint. She received me cordially & invited me to lunch. She showed me the house, &c. It is a very comfortable place, but rather

the worse for wear. Mrs. Extra Billy Smith carried off the sheets & counterpanes, & the silver plate. (42 pieces of plate have been recovered.) She went to the Conservatory & threw down the pots, destroying all she could. She was allowed to visit the house with some rebel officers after they had fled from it when the Yankees came in.—

Mr. D. went with me to poor house. Mrs. Lucas & Miss Kinney & 2 Germans from Phila. Three[?] of these is to open a school at the P. House. The distressed woman is dead. It is well. She never could have recovered. I knew she could not live long & only gave her some chemises, but when she saw the others have clothes she wanted me to give her something red, so I gave her a bright red flannel sack & she kept it near her pillow. Poor thing!

I bought some oranges today, enough for all the sick in Hospital, & how eagerly they seized them. I thought I could

afford to let them have one taste of something pleasant—

This evening Lieut. Norfolk was relieved of duty at the Alms House, & Lieut. Smith succeeds him. I hope the change is not for the worse. Norfolk was good in some respects but hard in others—

While we were there a man was brought in badly beaten, seemed nearly dead. It was done near the P. House, by a white man. This colored man & another one stopped a moment on the walk before the white man's door, when he came out & beat this colored man, broke his skull & cut him badly. He was taken up & Dr. H. has the instrument it was done with. It looks like a simple cane, but it is a complete gun. A remarkable weapon, & it was bent in striking the man. Southerners have carried all kinds of weapons. I do not believe this man will be punished. It is hard to get justice done to white men as well as to colored men—

*[Transcriber's Note: Letterheard from Penn'a. Freedmen's Relief Association
No. 207 I Street, Washington, D.C.]*

Richmond, Saturday, June 3d, 1865

Very hot. At 10½ A.M. Mrs. J. went with me to Alms H, rode back.

We went into all the rooms, white & black. The Irishman has whipped & beaten several women, & I have reported him to the Lieut. He beat Lizzie Baptist with a plank 4 wks. ago. She was sick & has been getting worse ever since. Eliza Jones & Catherine Hope saw it done.

Nancy Forten has been whipped. Iris Robinson & Francis Colman have seen whipping done. He abused Harriet Davis & boy—Martha Lewis kicked by Irishman.—

Letter from E. F. Smith of Ohio, will send teacher. They will have an Orphan Asylum, Lieut. Norfolk relieved because he allowed his men to go out too much. They wd. get drunk.

Sunday, very hot.

With Mrs. Jennings I went to St. John's Church on Church Hill. This was built before the Revolution, & here Patrick Henry made his famous speech "Give me Liberty or give me Death." The tower containing the bell (wh. was brought from Eng.) was blown down a year or two ago. The old timber & boards & bell lie there on the ground now. The Church is in the midst of an old Grave Yard. This is in an old part of the city. Rev. Mr. Norwood was the preacher. Small audience. There is a Negro gallery, with a balustrade in front of it so high that those seated in the gallery cannot look over, & they look like prisoners in a cage, or behind bars. Oh, Dear!

We went into a Catholic Church nearby & saw a christening.

June 5th.

Rose at 3, prepared myself & waited till 4 for Mrs. Wells to go Petersburg. Mr. W. &

Mary went to Manchester with us. It was a very long walk to the cars, wh. do not start from the usual place as bridge, depot & all were burned. We cross the James on a pontoon bridge.

Manchester is an old, struggling village, had some large mills, wh. during the war were used for factories of cloth. 22 miles to Petersburg, an uninteresting region. A few earthworks are seen at a little distance from the road, but hardly a house. We stop once at Chester or half way, here are several houses. We cross the bridge over the Appomattox before entering the town. At P. a great many people, colored & others went on the train here for City Point. They were mostly hucksters with pails & baskets, & such a rush, & crowding! Mrs. Wells & I went to Mrs. Colson's on Oak St. It was a long walk, Oh! Such a looking city, such destruction!

Took breakfast, & then with 4 nice colored ladies went out to see the town. Sycamore is or was the principal business st. Many of the stores have been shut up for some time. Many of the buildings have been broken to pieces by the shell from Yankee batteries. From June 1864 till Apr. 1865 the City was shelled more or less all the while. People were in a continual state of alarm & excitement, would sit up all night, or lie down with their clothes on, or huddle into the safest places, into corners or cellars. Many left the City, but many cd. not do so & lived through it all in constant danger & alarm. They say that at night sometimes the scene was grand. Next to Mrs. C's a shell went through 2 houses, & could not be found, went into the ground probably. Although people were in both houses no one was injured. Some buildings are

entirely demolished, others still standing with broken walls, windowless & doorless. We went into a large brick house some of it had fallen, but some of it still gave shelter to some colored families. This paid 10 rent for each room & lived there at the risk of their lives. This was Mr. Dunlap's house. Several fine houses of negro traders were not injured. They had been left & our officers took possession of them. The gas works are in ruins & several tobacco factories. In some buildings holes several feet in diameter have been made by shells, sometimes they wd. go clear through a house. I never saw any thing like this. What havoc war makes!

We went to the Court House which was open & in some rooms the floors were strewed with papers. I selected some papers & books but nothing of any particular interest. The City Jail is near & here is a guard.

Lieut. in command showed us all through. Prisoners, white & colored in several rooms, soldiers, rebs & all kinds, men & boys.

There is a dark passage below with dungeons & cells on each side of it. In one of these there is a murderer, he was singing at the top of his voice and pacing his cell. There was some light in it, the floor was wet & sticky, his room was barred & double barred. In the yard adjoining is a Whipping Post. I obtained a piece of it. Here is a gallows also. A negro was hung here about 2 wks. before the place was given up to the Yankees. Found some papers here. They are orders from Pro. M. to jailor to deliver such & such "Yankee negro prisoners."

This is the filthiest place I have seen yet. So many of the rooms & cells are below the surface of the ground that they are wet all the time. Fit place probably for the deeds that were transacted there.

Went to Court H. again & got 2 more books, & then back

to Mrs. C's. It was so hot we could not go any further.—

We had a nice dinner, huckleberry pudding green apple pie, &c. This a holiday in the South, the day after Whitsuntide.

Company at Mr. Colson's.

I wished to see the fortifications & Mr. C. engaged a wagon for me. At 4½ P.M. there appeared at the door a square box wagon with one board across it. An apology for a horse, bones actually protruding through the skin on one of wh. I saw a person hang his hat. The harness corresponded with the horse. The driver was a boy of 16 perhaps & was called Mr. Charles. More boards were procured, & although a shower was rising & the thunder sounded ominous, five of us besides the driver mounted the vehicle & Jack started. Taking the shower & the horse both into consideration our prospects looked dubious.

But I am not discouraged at trifles.

They said there were right-smart of houses in case it rained, but before we got fairly out of town it poured. We sought refuge in a dilapidated house on Halifax St. An old colored man of 80 & his family made their abode in this. The water soon came through the roof, but we talked away the time. He told us of his attempt to get rations after his master turned him off. He said, Them was right-smart of white folks then, & I knew white folks is white folks & they must do as they like. They pushed me back & the soldier said if I did not stand back he'd put his bayonet into me. And I came away & I have never been there since, & I'll live on a crust of bread the few years I have left rather than to be used so. I saw one white man there who owns a large farm, with a bag under his arm waiting to get some flour."

Rebel citizens were appointed to deal out Gov^t. rations. To the whites they

issued sugar & tea & coffee. Complaint was made to Gen. Hartsuff who commands here that colored did not receive such rations as whites. It was not quite so bad after that. But many of the colored say "We have been profited so much by having our freedom that we do not wish to be a burden on the Gov^t. & we have never been for rations," The rain ceased after awhile (this was near the Weldon R.R.) & we proceeded; we passed ruins of lead works, & saw long line of breastworks in the distance. We wanted to go to the crater & the mine & the forts, but none of our party knew where to go. We rode hither & yon, over a road, & through places where there were no roads. I saw that we should accomplish nothing so & I was positive Jack was on his last legs, & we turned towards city. It was nearly night but Mister Charles was just getting into

the spirit of it, said he would get a fresh horse 'John' & we wd. go in another direction & he was sure we wd. find the 'blow-up.'—I was willing to desist as it was nearly dark, but the rest of the party seemed eager to prolong the ride, & I thought best to indulge them but with no hope of finding the blow-up this night. It was a long process to relieve Jack of his harness, Mister Charles using his teeth to untie the strings. The harness was transferred to John & this was a lengthy process too. I borrowed a woollen shawl for it

was quite chilly. Took in another passenger & went out to Jerusalem Plank Road & round by Blandford Cemetery several miles from city. In the midst of this cemetery has been a church. Only the walls remain now & these are covered with ivy. It is an interesting object. Near this in an open space is the colored burying ground.—This is near the earthworks.

We had a long rough ride, used up one horse, tired out ourselves, but we learned the way to the crater. We have arranged to walk out to the fortifications tomorrow morning, but tonight I am tired enough to go to bed.—

Petersburg, June 10th.

No mud, hazy, breezy, in short a delightful day. At 9 A.M. a party of a dozen started for the works, walked about 2 miles, over ground full of holes made of shells. Came to Sutler's tent near Crater, there are a few pickets. Met Sergt. Jas. Bird of 4th Pa. Heavy Art, he had been in the fight 30th of Ju. last when the rebel fort was blown up, & the mine was exploded & so many of our troops were killed.

He was taken prisoner with those 65 colored men who were sent to Danville & lived to come away. Craig of Alex. was one of them, near this crater our killed lay from

²⁷Sunday until Tuesday, & then we were allowed to bury these men where they fell. 4 hours were allowed us to do it.

We walked over this place & near it are 2 graves with headboards, then there were 2 others. In one the body had been buried with its equipments. It had been pulled out & robbed probably. The clothes were lying about, & the bones also. There was a shot hole in the cap, & the clothes were stained with blood. There was not much grass, but the weeds grow rankly here. We saw the beginning of the mine & it was 190 ft. in length. It is wonderful how they cd. make it without being discovered. We traced it to the fort which was blown up, & our troops were slaughtered below. Meade did not perform his duty. Burnside & the Negro troops wd. have succeeded no doubt had not Meade failed. I picked up many relics ~~here~~ along here & about here. A half mile from this is

the Rebel Fort Damnation, an important work, & a little further on is the Federal Fort Hell. The fortifications of the two armies differ considerably. Damnation was a large work, fireplaces with iron grates remain, & the ramparts are falling down the planks having been removed, & the heavy rains wash down the banks very soon. Now we can see how it all was, but 10 yrs. hence hardly a vestige will remain. There may be an uneven surface but that will be all.—Have a bayonet & grapeshot from this place. A little further on is Fort Hell. This was an important Fort. There is a sort of bomb-proof in this where were the commissary stores, kitchen, &c. Some of the conveniences were

²⁷ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26007_060 to HC13-26007_132 in their Folder entitled May 14, 1865 to Sept. 30, 1865.

being used by the pickets now. Here I picked up 2 bayonets, a grape shot & some caps. Around both these forts are ditches & an abattis, but the outer breastworks of

these forts are but a few rods apart, & here the pickets wd. converse with each other.— Further on is Fort Davis wh. has a garrison now. Sergt. Bird walked with us several miles, & took pains to show us what was best worth seeing. My colored co. was no hindrance. But he told me after a little that it was on their account as well as mine that he took his pains with us. He says he has seen Colored soldiers killed after they were wounded. While lying helpless they were beaten to death by rebels. He has been with the colored people considerable & says he got his principles from Mass. It was fortunate for us to meet such a man, for if we had been by ourselves we wd. not have known one fort from another.

This has been a deeply interesting visit. On our way back we walked over ground that had been ploughed with shells. All the farmhouses between this & the

city have been leveled to the ground long ago, some orchards remain yet. It was a long walk, we stopped once to rest in an orchard. The weather was so nice that we did not suffer much from fatigue. We got back to Mr. C's about 3½ I put up my relics, to be ready to go to cars at 4—Mrs. Colson went to school in Boston when she was young. She has had a secret school for several years in her own house. Never was detected, but said if they did find it out she wd. only have been fined, & that she did'nt mind. She told me the reason wh. I have forgotten, why she wd. not have been whipped had she been found out. I find that women wd. rather die than to be stripped & whipped. Any thing else they will dare & endure.

Things go as badly here as they do in R. Our soldiers treat the colored people badly officers associate with rebels & allow them

privileges which are denied the loyal colored man.—

Waited at station long time for cars from City Point. One passenger car with benches, & this was partly filled, but the other cars were filled inside & out with colored people, soldiers, &c.— At Half way 3 colored women came aboard, & they had been seated but a few minutes before the conductor ordered them out, said he had such rules, but when asked where he got his rules he refused to tell. I went to the platform to sympathize with these woman & to say so loud that all cd. hear that I thought it shame to treat them so, & they had a better right to ride than rebels & secesh—But all this which there was a col^d. servant with a lady sitting in the car. Mrs. Wells is so light that some persons do not observe that she is colored. She cd. ride with me & there was nothing said.

but her husband is so dark that he knew he would be ordered out, & so did not attempt to ride with us. I told him to do so, there was time enough to leave the car when he was told to do so. But he did not like to do so.

A few miles from this the train was stopped solely to take on a citizen of Richmond, a police man, Chocolate by name.

Mrs. Wells did not enjoy her ride, neither did I.—Started to walk from M. to R. but had a chance to ride, dark when we got back.

Wednesday. hot

Felt too bad to go out—about 1 Mr. C. came in & asked me to go out & see a sight. I went. In front of the Exchange 2 colored men were hanging by their wrists, which were tied with ropes to the street railing. A crowd had gathered to see them, soldiers & rebels, & many of them seemed to enjoy it. Mrs. Jennings went to Maj. Warren in the Ex. & told him what was going on. He is

Pro. Mar. & had ordered it done. But Mrs. J. found the two men who had seen the trouble & when the Maj^r. heard them he said “That alters the case, & they may be taken down.” They had not been allowed to say a word in their own defense. I went as fast as my feet cd. carry me to Maj. Gen. Ord, overtook him in the street & told him what was going on. He said “he wd. attend to it immediately,” & I think he did, when I returned the two first had been taken down & a third one was hanging there. He was taken down in a few minutes & I saw the officer of the day ride off so I think Gen. O. ordered the men taken down. I have seen nothing which has disturbed me more than this. I should think the colored people would do something desperate.—Another Pro. Mar. Col. Kreutzer used a man like this. He was taken up for defending his wife who was assaulted

by rebels first & then by soldiers.

He was marched through the streets with a placard on his back. Stabbed two Pro. guards, bayonets pointed at him from 4 directions. Then he was put into a coffin, his hands tied behind him. Molasses put on his face & a piece of the top of the coffin cut out as large as his face. It was then stood up in front of Col. Kreutzer’s quarters, & left there for several hours in the burning sun. Then he was taken to Castle Thunder to have a Mil. Trial!! Mr. Dudley, Miss Kenney & Mr. Lucas called. Mr. D. says Gov. Peirpoint did not put Mayo in office, he knew nothing of it until he saw it in the papers.

Gen. Patrick has reinstated Mayor Mayo & all his former police & he now holds his courts. A police man accompanies each mounted guard & they make arrests in the most offensive manner. The city jail is

full. Halleck order is that no colored person must be out after 9. (the old slave law) Mayo prohibits any colored person from selling any thing in the street. When will it end?

June 8th, hot.

Went to Poor House with Mrs. Forrester at 9 & left at 1 P.M. New Lieut. in charge John J. Smith, Poughkeepsie—People about the same.—

Mr. Van Vliet, Chap. Stickney, & Dr. Pierson called. They are taking testimony from the men who have been treated so badly, there is much feeling about it.—

Went to P.O. & to Park, saw Miss Stevenson & others at Mr. Chase's tent.—

This evening there has been a meeting in Mr. Matthews room. Mrs. Carter, Mrs J. & I were there. Fields Cook presided, & action is to be taken. A Statement of Grievances will be made out, & a delegation of Freedmen are to go to W. & see

Pres. Johnson.

Friday 9th

Mr. Dudley called to say he wd. get ambulance to go to 7 Pines & Fair Oaks.

Disturbance last night. Mrs. Carter went out, “& done forgot till she got to the gate that she had no clothes on.”

Mr. & Mrs. Wells have been with me to A. House. Packed boxes.—Visited nearly all the people.—I have been so shocked. Before I left Poor House I saw the Doctor arrested for drunkenness. He resisted the guards, but he was taken to his room. They tell me he has been intoxicated several times, & to day at dinner he used improper language to the Lieut. Now that I have seen it I can hardly believe it. I have had so much regard for Dr. Correl L. Humphrey of the 20th N.Y. He was allowed to leave his room, & to go to his duties in Libby Prison. He rides there

every day at one. I rode with him. He says he shall resign immediately.

This P.M. called on the Gov. with Mrs. Jennings, Mrs. J. was a slave, the daughter of her father Mr. M^cFarland, he always recognized her, & sent her to Phila. to be educated. She married there, has 4 children, is a widow now. She has taught in the public schools & her daughter is teaching now. Mrs. J. is teaching in Richmond now & intends bring her family here to reside.

Mr. M^cFarland had several white sons one of whom is a prominent citizen here, was a wealthy banker, &c.

A few days since a number of citizens called to pay their respects to the Gov. & Mr. M^cF. was their spokesman.

Today I alluded to this circumstance & introduced Mrs. J. as a sister of Mr. M^cF. The Gov. understood it, & we had a long and interesting conversation about slavery.

the colored people & the white people of Va, Mrs. J. was much pleased with her visit.

I called at Mrs. Forresters. Then at Female Institute & to Cor. Grace & ___ but did not see Dr. Loughran.

Henry Jones called this evening & told us the circumstances of his arrest. Went to Mr. Wells to tell him we cannot go to Seven Pines tomorrow.—Mr. D. cannot get an ambulance.

Saturday 10th.

Rain at 4 P.M. Started at 8. Called on Capt. B. & then to Dr. Loughran. Says Dr. H. will be at Poor House 2 or 3 days yet, I undertook to say a word in his defense, but Dr. L. did not speak favorably of him at all.

Mr. & Mrs. Wells went with me, I bought berries at the market & had enough for all the sick. I visited nearly all the people. Put 333 flannel garments into 2 boxes. Nailed them up ready to

take away. They cannot be used here now, & I do not wish to leave them here. Mr. Wells is to take them away & take charge of them.—

Mrs. Wells took a little child that was dying from filth. It was covered with worms. She washed it, put on clean cloths & it looked like another child. I never saw maggots on living people till I came here.

Rode back.—Miss Stevenson called. Wrote during the shower then Mrs. C. & Mrs. Jennings & I took walk.

We went through Locust Alley, in this nearly all the buildings are slave pens. We went into Dick Dickinson's, saw his colored family.

Saw officers going into a House of ill-fame. Passed the Old Stone House on Main St, wh. was built before Revolution & used by several distinguished men.

Called at Mr. Stewart's (an old house) & were treated to some nice ice cream.

Richmond. Sunday, June 11th 1865

Went to Old Af. Ch. Thought I was hearing a southern Secesh minister until he finished. Then when he began to explain the National Theo. Institute, I knew it was Rev. Mr. Turney. Unless he was in sympathy with Rev. Rob^t Ryland he wd. not be allowed to speak in his pulpit. Humility was the burden of his discourse, just as if the colored people had not always been humble. They now need an opposite teaching. They now need to be taught self-respect, self confidence, & to be encouraged in their efforts to be something better than they ever yet have been. They are humble enough, you need not be alarmed on that score.—

I came through the park to see Miss S. Towards evening Mrs. Carter took walk with me, went to the Penitentiary. This is in a fine situation. When the city was evacuated the prisoners got out & set fire to the building.

The middle one was burnt, but the parts used by prisoners were not burnt. There are 102 there now. Some were taken & brought back.—Went to Ruins of Tredegar Iron Works.

These are very extensive. Some of the largest flowing mills in the world were here, all in ruins now.

Went to Gamble's Hill. This is a place of resort for the citizens. The view of the city is very fine from the spot, We can see Belle Island which is but a little way off. I am told the people used to amuse themselves by coming here to look at the Yankee prisoners. There was a good view of them from this spot.

Passed Gen. Lee's house. Two persons & a barefoot boy of 8 or 10 were sitting on the portico.

Mr. & Mrs. Wells called this evening.

Several of the Af. Ch. Choir called to sing for us. They sang both sacred & sentimental songs. One was a tenor singer, one was a basser & so on. How they enjoy singing!

June 12.

Mr. James E. Kaighn called from Phila. Went with him to Mr. Lucas' school.

Then with him & Mr. Lucas called to see Gen. Turner to get permit for school at Poor House. If this had been left with me I would had attended to this before.

Then called to see Capt. Gibson. Met Capt. O. Brown. Called at Mr. Forrester's.

Went to City Jail with Mr. Kaighn & Mrs. Forrester. Mrs. F showed me the room where she was kept a month, nearly 30 years ago. — She had not seen it since till to day. She was put in there for a debt, of her master. Mr. F. was a slave until the Yankees came here. He bought his wife after she had 4 children, & the children too.

Sergt. at jail told me that Gen. Patrick had ordered the demolition of the Whipping Post to be stopped. He probably thinks Mayor Mayo will want it, & he would not trouble him to

erect another.— Then went to Alms House. I had candy enough for all the children, & some of the sick & convalescents. I think this one taste of candy will do them no hurt. Three have died since yesterday. Among these was the child that Mrs. Wells cleaned up. Several new persons brought in from city. Disorderly houses broken up.

In evening went to Mr. Osburn's, heard a little girl play on a melodrone.—

June 13th.

This A.M. early went to Poor House with Mr. Kaighn. Mr. Lucas came & Mr. Jost begun the school. I got the scholars together 45 of them, & they looked quite nice.

But this German is not a suitable teacher for these. Neither is Mr. Kaighn. But the school is established. I hope a woman teacher will be sent from Phila. one that will instruct the women as well as teach the school.

*(letterhead) Penn'a. Freedmen's Relief Association
No. 207 I Street, Washington, D.C.*

Tuesday June 13, continued

Instances of abuse have come to my knowledge which disturbs me very much. My estimation of the Doctor has lessened immensely, & I do not care to see him again—

Lieut. Porter of the Reg. Army has charge now. Lieut. Smith assists him, but they do not believe in the capability of the negro. To them they are niggers & nothing more, & such persons are not suitable to have charge of these people.

I did various last things & said good bye. As the heat increases the sickness increases. The filth is awful.— & yet it has been cleaned up a good deal.

I have given out 610 garments.

I feel that I have done some good here & am glad I came to Richmond & to this Poor House.

Went to Capt. Scoville & got Free Transportation to W.— Rainy P.M.

Packed my trunk, got all ready to leave tomorrow morning. Called to say good bye to the Forresters & to see Capt. B. He says I must stay a day or two, & see the new order of things. I have concluded to stay one day longer. Gen. Ord is removed & Gen. Terry is in his place. Gen. Turner is in Gen. Patrick's place. Sec. Stanton has been informed of abuses here, & there is a change in officers as we see. Papers here misrepresent the colored people & lie about them as badly as the World & News, of N. York.

The Tribune has an account of things here. The Hospital at Point of Rocks has been turned over to the Freedmen's Bureau. There is land for gardens, & convenient buildings &c. Capt. B wishes the Friends of N.Y & Phila to take charge of this place. There will be schools & orphanages, &c, &c.

Richmond Va.

Wednesday 14th June.

Very sultry. This A.M. went to P.O. & to Spotswood Hotel. This P.M. went to Mr. F's & to see Capt. Brown. He says things are coming round right. Passes are done away with. Colored people can breathe freely again. He says he will take measures to get back those children that have been hired out from the Poor House & restore them to their mothers. When he said this I was lightened of a great load. I am ready now to leave Richmond. I think things are in the right train now. I have confidence in Capt. B. I think he will be just & humane towards the colored people, & things at Poor House will be made better.

It seems as if I had performed my mission, I feel relieved & perfectly free to go, & I think I must leave tomorrow morning. I am glad I came here. I think I have done the people some good. When times were the worst

by encouragement & counsel I am quite sure I gave comfort to many a sad heart. I have mingled with the colored people. I have been seen in the streets with them nearly every day. I think it will to let the rebs get used to such things as soon as possible. The presence of the Party that came here with me encouraged the colored people mightily. We were

black, white & colored & yet there was no earthquake. The world did not come to an end, & large numbers of rebels saw & wondered, especially Hill & Lumpkins.—
There are a great many rebel soldiers in the city now. They are lying all around the park waiting for papers which will allow them to go to their homes. To-morrow, the 15th. All officers must lay aside the insignia of their rank. I think they have been allowed to wear their uniforms too long already. I wonder if Gen. Lee is included in this order?

Thursday, June 15th, 1865.

Rose at 4, & at 5 was all ready to start for the boat. Mr. Peter Matthews sent a hack. I bid good by to the rest & then Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Jennings & Mr. M. rode with me to Rocketts, & I took passage on the Red Jacket for City Point. We did not leave wharf till 7, & has been cloudy & cool & even chilly this evening.— Saw a few fields near Richmond in wh. the grain was cut.

I noticed ever thing I could but no friendly mail agent was at hand to point out places of interest. I observed the remains of 3 bridges; not so many wrecks & obstructions as there were 4 wks. ago. I noticed no torpedoes. I think they have all been removed, 6 or 8 have been taken to R. & I saw them lying near the Engineers H. Quarters in Medical College. On the right shore of the river there are earthworks, very formidable ones, extending a mile or more.

Grave yd. on left, forts beyond.

Ft. Darling. Butler's Look out. Nearly opposite Dutch Gap Canal, Holes in banks where soldiers have lived. 2 brick homes on left, where Gen. Mulford used to exchange prisoners, on right hand several landings, & sheds &c. Then a level shore & bend in River —Jamestown. The walls on one house & 2 or 3 chimneys besides & a little of the old church are all we can see from boat.

Ft. Powhatan a long way from Ft. Monroe, so is Jamestown.—Newport News, & wrecks of Cumberland & Congress.

Hampton looks fine. In the Roads lay several vessels loaded with colored troops. Saw Rip Raps plainly. Water very rough. A long time getting to wharf, & while Capt. Pearce of the Escort is trying to get his boat up I will note down some few

items of interest. I asked for a state room immediately. The Capt. Said "I'll look for you" Capt. Dunning told me you were coming up & he put you in my care, & when persons are put under my care I always see that they are attended to &c." Capt. D was a myth to me, however I was obliged to him now.

After awhile I was told that I cd. have a room, but it had 3 berths & there were no ladies to occupy it with me.

I put my things in there, but before night Capt. told me he cd. give me a better room, so I was transferred to the Engineers Room (he being absent in W.) It was a better room & had various conveniences, but I felt afraid of, I hardly know what, & did not undress. On

the boat were officers, & very few civilians. There were several families of poor white folk going to Hampton-

3 young woman & several young men going to Washⁿ & a Mrs. Henry going to Old. Pt. Mrs. H. was talking with an old Culpepper man, but the talk was evidently intended for my benefit. I said nothing.

“Two in this wise: “I never can look upon our our desolated homes & love the Yankees. Hard to live under a Gov^t. we despise, but we cannot help ourselves.” (a boat with a beautiful flag was passing) “How I hate that Flag.—Sheridan’s raiders were the most villainous looking men I ever saw. I did not know that such wretches ever disgraced the earth. They have murdered my female relations & despoiled my male relatives, drove a woman & her family into the woods. My husband’s farm in Stafford has not half a doz. trees left on it 8 acres of it is a Yankee Grave yd.

I have been a refugee 2 yrs. in N. Carolina, our army was the bravest the world

ever saw, that ever fought for freedom. Va, the noble old state! She has done honor to herself, but immeasurable hosts were brought against us. We had a noble army, but the whole universe, black & white were brought against us.

Only one person in the world whose acquaintance I desire, that is Gen. Lee. I am told he is greatly annoyed by Yankee officers calling to see him. Well, he is worth looking at. Now I know this to be true. Yesterday an officer gave Gen. Lee’s nigger man 10 cents for a chip from the Gen’s chair. It is not true that Mrs. Lee has asked to have Arlington restored to her. Mrs. Lee wd. never do that.” (A gentleman remarked that he was in the habit of passing Gen. Lee’s house 4 times every day & he had not seen any gazer’s about there.)

“Will any body tell me the truth about Mr. Davis’ escape. I have only heard the

Yankee stories about it. Poor fellow! I think he or any body else wd. be perfectly justifiable in using any disguise to escape the Yankees.

We never thought R. cd. be taken. We centered all our hopes in R.

The citizens are very fond of Gen. Ord & Gen. Patrick.” & so on & so forth, & this woman was travelling at the expense of the Gov^t. she despises.— I was afterwards talking with a Capt. who said he was a Virginian, & he thought it no disgrace to wear the Fed. uniform. Mrs. H. had asked “how a V. could disgrace himself by wearing the F. uniform?”

Had conversation with Dr. Prentiss from Hampton Hos. This person & the Va. Capt. are all I have exchanged words with. 4500 patients at Hampton. Dr. Eli M^cClellan has a contract with Gov^t to furnish these men for 30 cts a day. He gives

them 5 cents worth & pockets the rest. Dr. P. seemed very indignant that such things should be allowed. I have no doubt of the truth of it.—

Boat stopped half hour at Old Point. I went off, took a short walk & got some branches of figs and pomegranates from a yard.— Crowds of people & household effects. Great many soldiers too. Water so rough. I began to feel a little sick & retired before dark.

Friday. Slept well in spite of my fears, & the noise in the night, when they stopped at Pt. Lookout. Capt. P. very kind to give such a comfortable S. room. Did not rise till 7—was then near mouth of Occoquan. I broke my fast in my Room. It is very pleasant on deck this morning. Shore so beautiful from Mt. Vernon to Alex. Fort Foote is very nice— Landed at 10 A.M.

Such bad smell as soon as I set foot on shore, had my hands full of things & cd. not hold my nose, but I ran for car as fast as I could. It was hot too.

All looks about the same at 207 I st. Frances had gone to Alex. but came at 1. Things about as usual. My beautiful magnolias turned dark last night, & my bouquet is quite wilted. These were from Mr. Forrester.— Hardly know how to go to work again. Mrs. Colman called.

Saturday June 17th.

Very hot. Our house is small & uncomfortable. Picked up things & put away things. Then with Frances & Miss Danby called to see Gen. Howard, waited 2 hrs. perhaps before we were admitted. Had pleasant interview. He seems to be a noble man. Saw Capt. Wilder too.

In P.M. went to Navy Yard. Went on to the Saugus & the Montauk. Saw two

torpedo boats. Called at Express office. Dined with Mrs. Colman. Saw Sojourner Truth & bought her picture.

“The Saugus weighs 10 hundred & 30 tons, draws 13 ft. water & its huge revolving turret contains 2 guns wh. carry balls of 470 lbs. It is 150 ft. in length, pointed fore & aft & its deck & sides plated with iron. The turret, pilot house— smokestack & hatchways are all that appear on deck & in an engagement not a man is visible. It has been struck with heavy balls & deep indentations have been made on the sides of the turret. Once a heavy Dahlgren gunboat during an engagement, The Saugus did service at Fort Fisher.— There are 13 engines in this vessel. We went below & saw the wonders of the interior. Booth’s associates were confined on this vessel for a time. Booth’s body

was placed on the Montauk before it was mysteriously disposed of. Com. Rodgers had his eyes blown out on this vessel.

Sunday June 18. Washington

Did little else but write letters.

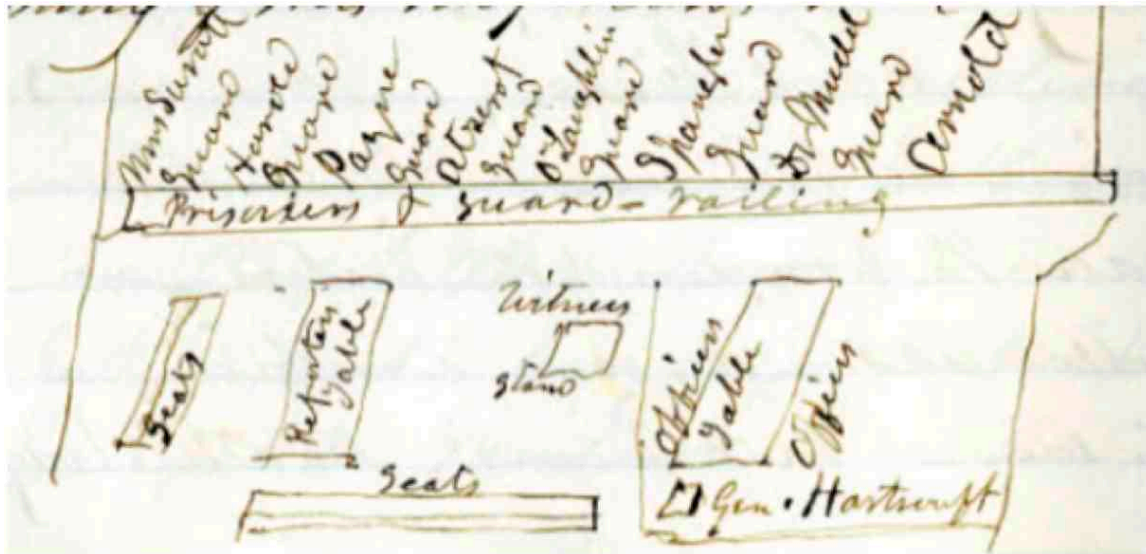
Toward night called at Dr. Breed's. F. has been out twice. This house is so small, we could not stay in it all summer if we wished to do so.

Monday June 19.

At 8 went for Mrs. Colman & got note of introduction to Judge Holt from Judge Day & proceeded to the Penitentiary.

²⁸Thought I might as well see some thing of this important trial.

[Transcriber's Note: Sketch from the original]



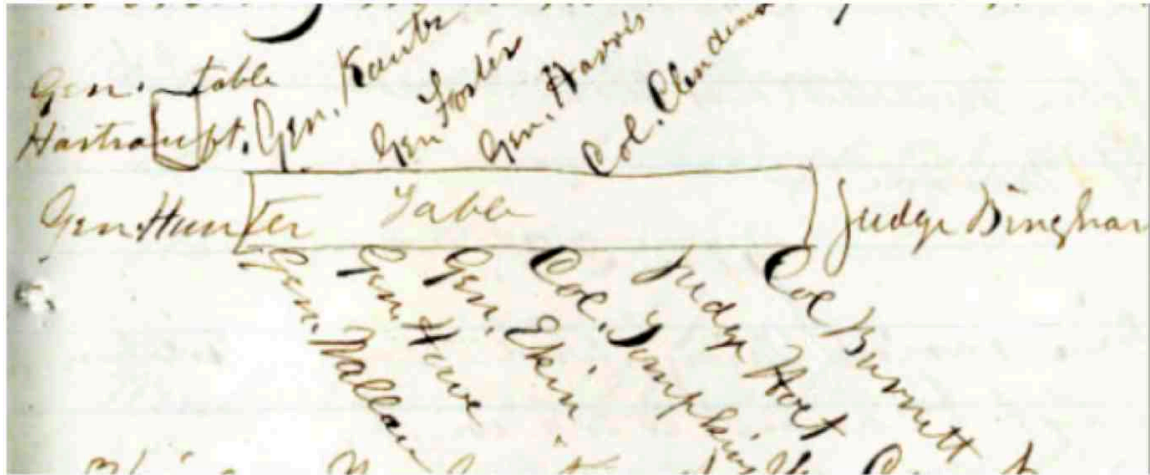
Mr. Clampitt read argument against Jurisdiction of Court by Reverdy Johnson.

It was very hot there. Mrs. Suratt was sick & was allowed to leave the room & then they adjourned till 2, & we left.

Mrs. S. wore a veil over her face & also held a fan before it all the while.

Harold's sisters (4) were in the room. The prisoners excepting Mrs. S. & O'Laughlin appeared quite unconcerned. They are all evidently of a low type of humanity. Great contrast to the fine, noble looking men that compose the court

²⁸ The sketches can be found in Haverford scans HC13-26007_090 and HC13-26007_091 in the folder entitled May 14th 1865 to Sept. 30 1865.



This was the position of the court. It was an interesting scene, & I am glad I went, although it is so far, & so hot.

June 20.

Showery. Helped wash.

Tried to write. Hard work, such a racket all about us.

Letter from Mrs. Jennings. Things go some better in Richmond.

Gen. Terry threatens to suppress the R. Times.

June 21.

Frances has been to Mt. Vernon. I have been to Chronicle office & to P.O. Written nearly all day. Report to Phila. Letter from C. Post. Papers from Richmond. John Mitchell has been arrested & sent to Ft. Monroe—

June 22^d.

Did various things, wrote some. Kitchen so hot I cannot work in it.

June 23^d.

Cleaned my room. Then Frances & I went to Treasury & to Medical Museum & to see John Wetherbee.

Mr. Hazen called. Harry called. Capt. Adin Billings called, he was once a scholar of mine in Rush.

June 24. Hottest day yet.

F. has been to Capitol. Mr. and Mrs. Fish here. I have served a little, put away some of my specimens, & did various things. J. Wetherbee called this evening.

June 25.

Wrote nearly all day. Only went out to dinner.

June 26. Rainy, cooler.

Two women just from Richmond, want clothes, had some for them.

6th Corps went through city today. Have written some

June 27.

Went to Alex. on 8 A.M. boat.

Dined with Mrs. Belding. Went to L'Ouverture Hos. 300 patients there now. Discharging them as fast as possible.

Have buildings in place of tents. Grounds improved. But many things so wrong yet.—Say the surgeons steal the rations.— Called to see Fanny Lee who lives at Slave Pen. Hers is the only family here now. Great many prisoners. Some of the stockades are removed.

Took tea with Mrs. Jacobs.

Louisa J. had ice cream for nearly all in Hospital. Mrs. Jacobs indisposed.

June 28.

Spent night at Mr. Beldings. Came over on 8 A.M. boat with Miss Collier & Miss K.— Then with Miss Chamberlin & Frances started at 11½ A.M. for trip into country. Had nice light wagon from Head Qtrs. Stables, & it was very pleasant. Saw the Soldier's cemetery & the contraband cemetery at Arlington. Went to Arlington House. Saw Mrs. Syphax & daughter, former slaves of Lee.

Went to Ball's Cross Roads, & away around on the Columbian Pike over Holmes Branch, terrible crossing. Watered at Mr. Clark's, & had some talk with him. Left papers. We rode & rode & rode, & inquired for Cloud's Mills. Some didn't know & others directed us wrong.

Country alive with soldiers. Camps in all directions. We were trying to find 8 N.Y. Cav. —Wheat is being harvested now—& other crops are growing very well. There are no fences, no need of them as there are no cattle or hogs.

Went round by Munson's Hill & then I knew where I was.

Found 10th N.Y. Cav. about 6 mi. west of Alex, said the 8th. had gone to Fairfax C.H. —F. & Miss C. distributed some sanitary things among these. To reach this place we drove through woods & over very rough places. I cannot say roads.

Went near camp of 6th. Pa. Cav. Had an escort of the men for a mile or more. When I asked them if they were guerillas you should have seen how they looked. A rough way of living these men have. They do not know how long they are to stay here. They nearly all want to go home, & who can blame them? The war is over, & they have nothing to excite them now.

Went to Alex. & left Miss C. & Miss K. Passed Cloud's Mills wh. is perhaps 3 miles from Alex, & got back here at 6½ A.M. Very tired. It was a hard ride of 30 or 40 miles but we enjoyed it much.

Thursday June 29th.

Hottest day yet. Harry called. He is going to Rochester to morrow.

I have written nearly all day, & finished copying my rough notes into my diary. Frances has taught

school for Miss Kelley in Georgetown. Miss Hancock called.

At evening Harry here again.

Sergt. Stannard of 2^d. Mich. called. This Regt. is encamped near head of 20th St. Sergt. S. is one of the veterans. 106 of the 1000 left in service now. They wish to go home, but others are sent who have not been in the field but a short time & some have seen no service at all. Very hot to night.

Petersburg News is suppressed, & the barrooms are closed. So far so good.

Friday June 30th. so hot.

Have done various chores. Martha has finished cleaning my relics from Petersburg &c. & I have just got them put away.

This P.M. so hot & have done nothing but write to Wm. Penn. Fine shower this eve. Letter from Mary. Hot in Pine Run. All well, & she is happy as needs be.

July 1st, Saturday.

Not so hot. Frances gone to Alex. I have written letters & done but little else. Heavy shower toward evening.

July 2^d.

Fine cooler. F. came back at 2. I have done but little. Looked over papers & only been out to dinner.

July 3^d. Fine.

This morning I went to see the people near L. bet. 21&22^d.— I visited about 20 families. They are more comfortable in their houses than they were last winter. But the stench in this locality is dreadful. I had to shorten my calls on this account. A dead mule lies near the school house. No city but W. wd. tolerate such a state of things. There will be much sickness no doubt.

Our premises are dreadful, or our surroundings rather. For two nights past the stench has awakened me. Last night I got up & burned cloth.

Dr. Breed & family called this A.M. They are leaving W. for 2 or 3 mo. go in their carriage away to the mountains, Harper's Ferry perhaps.

Spent several hours with my accounts.

Letter from Mrs. Jennings. Things are a little better in Richmond. But schools are all closed. Teacher at Poorhouse is sick.— & I infer that things there do not go on well. I wish I could be there. It seems somehow as if that was the place for me

Colored persons in the country are illtreated yet.—Letter from Miss Hancock.

I have spent several hours with my accounts.

About 6 Frances & I went to the camp of the 2^d. Mich. in the grounds near Kalorama Hospital (Small Pox) It is very pleasant there. Col. Schneider commands.

Near the camp is a family tomb.

“Sacred to the ~~Memory~~ ^{Memory} Repose of the Dead, & the the Meditation of the living.”

It contains the remains of 6 persons, names, Barlow, Baldwin & Bamford.

Joel Barlow

Patriot, Poet & Philosopher

Lies buried at Zarnaw, in Poland, where he died 26th. Dec. 1812 – Aged 57 yrs.

Joel Barlow wrote ‘Hasty Pudding,’ a poem which I have had for a long time.—

Then we went to an old burying ground at head of 20th. st. which contains the grave of Lorenzo Dow. It was so dusky that I could not make out the inscription on the dark brown stone. I must go again. Maj. Boughton walked home with us from camp. He told us about Petersburg.

July Fourth

Washington, D.C. Bright, hot. Frances & I went to the celebration of the colored people on grounds S. of White House. Chronicle says there were 7000 people there. It did seem like a Mass Meeting, of olden times. Mr. Cook (col^d.) presided.

Wm. H. Day was the orator.

(1500 S. School children & 400 teachers)

His oration was very fine.

Rev. J. Pierpoint read a poem, but I cd. not get near enough to hear a line of it. Sen.

Wilson made a good speech. Gen. Gregory & others spoke, but I did not hear them.

While this was going on & an eager crowd trying to get and keep within hearing distance, the children of the S. schools & young people generally were enjoying themselves in various ways in other parts of the grounds.

I was well paid for 4 hrs. standing. It was an interesting sight, so many well dressed colored people, & there was right smart of whites too. There was no misconduct. Every body was civil & well-behaved, even the soldiers present behaved themselves. It was for me a glorious Fourth of July. There was not white loyalty enough to have a general celebration. Sen. Wilson hopes there will be enough by another year.

In the evening Frances & I went to see the Fire Works in grounds S. of President's House. They were under the direction of the Super^{nt}. of the Arsenal. 300 rockets were sent up & 100 shells were exploded, besides the splendid pieces of fireworks. I had never seen such a fine display. A vast number of people assembled to see them. The poor 'Contraband' had just as good a chance as any body, for a "cat may look at a king." The evening was fine.

July 5th.

Hottest day yet. Too much even for me. Every room in our house is like an oven. I have so much to do, but I cd. not work today.

July 6th. not quite as hot.

I have attended to washing & wrote to Phila. Towards evening Frances & Miss Revere & myself went to Camp of 8th. Michigan, near the Circle. It is in a pleasant place, but now that the war is over the men wish to go home. I wonder that the 'veterans' are not allowed

to go home instead of the late recruits, who have seen little or no service & who received large bounties.

The conspirators have been sentenced. Payne, Harold, Atzerott & Mrs. Surratt are to be hung to morrow. O'Laughlin, Mudd, & Arnold to be imprisoned for life at hard labor, & Spangler to State prison for 6 yrs.

Friday, July 7th, 1865

Hottest morning yet. Martha ironed, & the whole house has been like an oven. It was too much for me. I could not work.— The days pass & nothing is accomplished— This eve. F & I took a walk.—

About 1 P.M. The executions took place in the Penitentiary Yard. A large number of people witnessed them. They were buried within a few feet of the gallows. It is all dreadful, but I think people breathe more freely now. They are convinced that Government means to punish

those who deserve it. Jeff. Davis friends may feel a little uneasy hereafter.—

July 8th. Hot of course.

Very hot A.M. In P.M. showery.

Letters from Mrs. Barnes & from Dr. Rhoads who asks me to go to City Point for a mo. Cannot do it. I have hardly strength enough left to get home.—

Wrote a little. Towards evening Fr. & I went to Freedman's Hosp.—116 patients there. Well cared for.

4 Gov^t. physicians for the City, Drs. Rapier, Purvis, Tucker & *[Transcriber's note: Blank left]*

Great deal of sickness now.

Called on Mrs. Munson.

Then passed Mrs. Surratt's house on the way to Mr. Lake's, where we had a pleasant call.
Reached home at 10.

Fine moonlight evening.

People enjoy themselves on the sidewalks instead of in their houses.

*[letterhead] Penn'a. Freedmen's Relief Association,
No. 207 I Street, Washington, D.C.*

July 9th, Sunday

Went to colored Baptist Church, cor. 19th. & I. Heard Rev. Mr. Anderson, from "he shall deliver me from the snare of the fowler." Nice looking congregation.

Towards evening went to old burying ground head of 20th. st. Inscription of L. Dow's tomb is this: The Repository of

Lorenzo Dow

Who was born in Coventry, Conn, 1777

Died 1834, Aged 56

A Christian is the highest style of man. He
is a slave to no sect, takes no private road,
but looks through nature up to Nature's God.

Went to Camp of 2^d. Mich. Inf. Saw Sergt. Stannard, &c.

Cool & comfortable this evening.

Monday July 10.

Cool. Went to look for pictures. Bought Almshouse at Richmond, Va.

Went to City Hall to see Trial of Miss Harris for shooting Burrows. Saw her come in with her friends. Could hear nothing that was said, so I came away after standing as long as I thought best.—Called on Mr. Baker.

Ju. 11

Cool. Shower. Worked at report. Cleaned my room & wrote letters.

July 12.

Felt miserably today, This P.M., Louisa Jacobs came. F & I went with her to depot. I saw Mrs. Jacobs too. They have gone North, & will not return to Alex^a. again. I shall miss them very much.

F& I went to Armory Square Hosp. This is a Post Hosp. & is the best provided for of any hosp. I ever saw. It will accommodate 1600 patients. There are 380 now. Lincoln Hosp. is to be retained also. The others will be broken up.

The grounds at A. Sq. are very nice. The flowers now are beautiful. This place wd. be a great curiosity to one who had never seen a hospital. The Armory is an Officers Hospital.

July 13, very fine.

Went to Examination of Penn. Freedman's Relief Schools. This asso.ⁿ has 6 schools in W. & G. with 48. 200 of the most advanced pupils are Ex.^d in the Wesley Church. They appeared very even indeed. Did credit to the teachers & themselves too.

6 Col.^d ministers were present & made brief remarks. Col. Eaton spoke also. He is of the F. Bureau.

Maj. Boughton & Maj. Gould called.

July 14. Perfect day.

Went to Alex^a, on 12 P. M. boat. Called at Corner Washington & Wolfe St., Saw 3 Dr. P's. Met Mrs. Belding & Sister.

Went to L'Ouverture Hos. Mismanagement & neglect to a great extent prevails there,

Every thing necessary provided, but these things are in many instances held from the patients. Had long talk with Dr. Bowen & I think some things will be remedied. Saw Mr.. Hoet & Mrs. Leonard.

Called on Aunt Cicely & some of people at barracks. Mrs. Collier & Mrs J. & Louisa are gone & no one is left to look after the sick.

Capt. Alvord is assistant commissioner looks after 5 counties. He will probably be just to the col.^d people & I do not think he will show any particular favors to secesh.

Coming back on car met Sojourner Truth. Abby & Julia Ford left this evening.

July 15. Cloudy.

I was sick last night. Have not felt well to-day. But I had agreed to go with Miss. Cham^{len} to Miss Harris trial & I went. Judge Day went with me & found a seat for me in-

side the bar. Doctors giving evidence. Nothing interesting elicited, staid an hour. They will call her insane & not hang her. Called at Mr. Baker's office & met Mrs. Belding & sister. I must not go out again today. I must rest.

July 16th. Sunday,

Cloudy, shower. Have been sick all day. Frances did not come last night. I have no idea where she is.—

She came back about noon.

July 17.

Rose early. Feel better. Have done various things. This P.M. I called to see Col. Eaton. I am told that only 420 persons receive rations now, including those in F's village.—I like the appearance of Col. E. I think he is a true man.

I have called at Ex. Offices & at Gardiners, bought some pictorials.—Took long walk, feel better tonight.

July 18th, Fri

Rose early, & worked ever so much till 11 A.M. Then with Mrs. B & sister & Mrs. Baker went to Colored Home G.town, 62 children there. Looked quite comfortable, but we think they do not get quite enough to eat.

The rebel Cox has asked to have the place restored to him. Gen. Howard says "not until the ladies of the Assoⁿ are ready to give it up". But oh, dear, he will be pardoned & have the property again.—A long walk from the cars & I am very tired. Since 2 I have been working with Martha. Frances has gone to G. I have been to Treasury to see about Mrs. Peters business. Dr. J. Pettyohn called Letter from Mrs. Wells. She has been ill. Affairs in Richmond are better.

July 19th. Hot.

Made preparations to go. Packed trunks &c.

In P.M. went with B. Tabor to see Gen. Howard. In evening Sergt. Stamman called. Very tired.

July 20th. Thursday.

Hot. Arranged things to leave, Went to Cr. 6th. & av. & bought tickets from Bal^t to Rochester. \$11.45 each.

Engaged express wagon.

Called at Mr. Baker's for umbrella, Did various chores. Am to leave on 6. 4h train.—

Friday July 21st. 1865

Left W. at 7 last evening. Comfortable ride. Left Baltimore at 10. Stopped an hour.

Snatched a little sleep. but few persons in car. Morning found us near Williamsport.

Reached Elmira about noon. Frances had headache. Went to Hotel but did not succeed in getting a cup of tea there, so we

went to an eating house. Had a nice cup of tea & a piece of huckleberry pie.

It has been tiresome riding. We need rest & sleep. The Country is beautiful. crops fine.

Every thing is flourishing. Such a contrast to desolated Virginia.

Reached Avon at 6. I called at Mr. W's & took tea. & then rode home with Ezra & Emaline. Frances came up in Express with baggage. Found father very well & glad to see us. Things look just about as usual. My room is precisely as when I left it, about 9 months ago. But oh! It is so still, so quiet in-doors & out. Such a contrast to the roar and tumult of W. —Nobody here but Father & his wife. Our family all scattered. It is sad to think of, something is wanting. I do not anticipate much pleasure. I do not feel settled. All that I do is with reference to leaving again.

Saturday. Ju. 22^d

Perfect day. We have unpacked trunks. Irons & relics all safe, but some of our china is broken. Frances' pitcher is in atoms, & my Richmond tea cup. & Bohemian salt cellar broken on.

Father is interested in the curiosities we brought.

We have spent most of the day in putting away & looking over things. Tired enough to go to bed now.

Sunday 23^d

Perfect weather. After breakfast I slept awhile, then cleaned up & wrote some.

Frances is not well. Father & the wife have been to meeting. The stillness is oppressive. Surely this is a quiet Sunday in the country! Cousin Jephtha called.

Monday.

Washed. Wrote 5 letters. F. & I called at Mr. Thomas & Mr. Henry Wiands.

Tuesday 25.

Windy. Ironed & wrote Report.

Dea. Watson & wife & Mrs. Perry & daughter called. Looked over curiosities.

Wednesday.

Wrote report.—Cousin Elizabeth came. Rev. Mr. Lusk called.

Thursday.

This morning Frances & Cousin E and I went to Uncle Ephraim's & took dinner. Then went to Uncle Jephtha's to tea. Left Cousin E. at Leland's.

Friday 28th.

Finished up my Report to Society. This P.M., Aunt Harriet & cousin Harriet & Mrs. Wiand came. Good visit with them. Cousin Elizabeth left this morning. Mary Thompson called.

Saturday

Frances gone to Rochester. I have labelled relics, &c. Miss Watson called & Mrs. Perry.

Sunday 30th.

Cooler. Went to church. Heard Mr. Lusk. George & Phebe Ann called.

I miss Frances. It is lonelier than ever.

Monday cool. bright.

Cleaned my irons. Washed, & swept several rooms. & did a few other chores. Called on Mrs. Perry this evening.

Tuesday Aug 1st. 1865.

Ironed & did various chores about house. Intend to start for Somerset to morrow. It looks like a task. Father is quite unwell to day.

Wednesday. hot.

Went in Stage to W. Avon. Called at Mrs W's. Took 11 a.m. train & reached R. about 1 P.M. Took dinner at Charlotte's. All well.

Then I went to see Mrs. March but she has gone to Mich. Went to Miss Porter's. Took tea with her. Called on Mrs. Coleman.

Rochester looks odd & shabby since the flood.

Aug. 3^d. very hot

Staid at C's last night.

Took 11 a.m. train & reached Lockport at 1.

At 4 started for S. in Nye's Express.

Hot, dusty, windy, sunny. Very unpleasant on cars too.—Reached Morgan's before dark.

All well. M. & E. gone to L. Came back about 8.

Aug 4. cool

Sewed nearly all day. In evening went to the Badgeley's. Saw R. Story & wife. It is so dull here I could not stay very long. No news, no excitement. Eating & sleeping, working & visiting; this is all.

Even the Lake has lost its charms.

Aug 5. Cool breeze from Lake.

[Translator's note: the following section was written in pencil and is very faint]

I have sewed all day & do not feel well. Very dull here.

Sunday,

Rainy, did not go to church.

Read Cecil Dreeme, by Theo. Winthrop. Towards night went to Alfred's with M.

Monday 7th

Cloudy, windy, sunny, hot, cool.

Sewed all day.

In P.M. R. Story & wife & Philera[?] Badgley came. Talked about colored people. How little Northern folks know about them.

Tuesday Aug. 8th. 1865.

My Birth Day. But what of it? Who cares if it is my birth day? No one probably. The years roll round & a few more years at most will cease my earthly existence, but no one will care for that particularly. I am either 50 or 51 years of age, nobody knows which, but one year more or less makes no particular difference that I can see.

Have sewed to day.

Visited the house top this morning, fine view of Lake & morning lovely, but I did not go into raptures as I

might have done 20 or 30 yrs. ago. This P.M. have visited at Marshall Badgley's. Good enough visit.

Aug. 9.

Sewed in A.M. In P.M. went with Alfred & Anna to a Picnic on the Lake shore in a grove. All the town there. A fine time of course. But I was not much affected thereby. Called at Morgan's.

Aug. 10.

Rainy A.M.— Sewed. In P.M. went to Olcott to Harvey Matthews with Angeline & Alfred & Morgan & Elizabeth & Julia Frances.
Cool evening. Called at John Van W's.

Aug. 11.

Cold, sewed. In P.M. went with Alfred & Angeline to Danl. Wing's. I wore a shawl & cloak.— This round of visits must be made.

Aug 12.

Marked linen & sewed for Elizabeth.
Julia Frances very ill this P.M.

Aug 13. Sunday. At Morgan's.

In house all day. Dull enough. Julia F. is better. Dr. Houghtalin says she has bilious colic or cholera.
Numerous calls today.

Aug 14.

Sewed nearly all day for Elizabeth. Letter from Chap. Manly, Richmond. Colored people have all been taken from Alms House to Point of Rocks.
Soldiers & citizens behave badly.

Aug. 15

In A.M. sewed for E. In P.M. went with Alfred & Angeline to James Patten's, & came back to Alfred's.

Aug 16.

In morning sewed. In P.M. went to Solomon Von W's, Letter from Ella.

Aug. 17, At Alfred's.

Elizabeth here. I have sewed for her. I intend to start for home tomorrow.

Aug. 18. Hot. dusty. very dry,

Went to Lockport with Morgan & Elizabeth. Dined at American. Took 2.48 train for Holley. Met Frances there. Went to Mrs. Rice's.—

Aug. 19.

I left Mrs. Rice's at 9 & reached Rochester at 12. Frances came on 12 train.

I have done some shopping.

Called at Miss Porter's & at Charlotte's & at Mrs. Coleman's. & then went to H. Babcock's for the night,

Aug. 20.

Called at C's. — Went to John R's for the night.— good visit.

Aug. 21.

Did shopping— walked a great deal. Went to Mr. Howell's for the night.
7 years to day since Theodore died. Charlotte has been to Mt. Hope. Frances & I were too busy to go.—

Aug 22^d

Finished my shopping & was ready to go home, but Wm. Cornell came & I concluded to go with him to Mendon. Found Cousin P. very pleasantly situated.

Aug. 23.

Visited nearly all day. In evening called at Solomon Howland's.

Aug. 24.

Cool enough to sit by fire.

This P.M. visited at John Cornell's, other company there, pleasant visit.

All give me a cordial welcome. All are interested for the Freedmen. & all wish to hear all about my work. I have talked a great deal for me. — These are all Friends & blessed with an abundance of this world's goods, & I hope they will do some thing more this fall.

Aug. 25.

Mrs. Cornell & Phebe, & John & Judith went

to monthly meeting & I rode with them to the Scottsville station where I took the train & reached home at noon. Found things about as usual. Letters from Henrietta, & Mrs. Graves & Miss Moore & Dr. Rhoades & Mr. Baker & Mrs. Belding.

Aug. 26. cool. pleasant.

Did a little housework. Made a black lace bonnet. it has no crown. it is trimmed with yellow & black ribbon & has 2 yellow roses & some black lace inside.

Called at T. Wiand's & R. Chapel's.

Aug 27. Sunday

In A.M. went to Church. In P.M. went to Cousin Mary Harris's. Saw Elisa Stall & Peter. Eliza & Inez walked home with me.

Aug. 28

Washed & did various chores.

Aug 29

Ironed & sewed. Very dry.

Aug. 30. 1865

Aunt Eliza came in morning & Cousin Eliza & Peter [?] about 11 A.M —Very good visit with them. Ann Whitmore came to sew. Busy day & tired tonight.

Aug. 31. Last day of summer.

Excessively hot.

This morning went to W. Avon for Frances. Called at Mr. Winans.

At 6 P.M. I took F. to Depot to go to R. Ann W. has sewed for me.

Sept. 1st. 1865.

Very hot. Shower about 2 P.M. Ann finished sewing for me. I have sewed what I could, but there is more or less housework to do every day & I get so tired. Hope to feel stronger & better when the weather is cooler.

Sept. 2^d.

Did housework. & sewed some.

Sept. 3^d.

Very hot. Shower. Father & I did not go to church.— Father is quite feeble. I think he has failed very much during the past year. I am very anxious about him.

Monday

Very hot. Washed. & labelled specimens.

Tuesday

Very hot. Ironed & labelled specimens. Letters from sister Elizabeth & Anna Barnes & Mrs. Jennings & S.J.W. Tabor.

Wednesday

Rain last night. Have written 6 letters. Arm & hand ache.

Thursday Sept. 7. 1865.

Mrs. Howe cleaned my room, &c. Feel satisfied with my day's work, Very tired to night.

Friday.

Rain. Did housework & arranged specimens. Letter from Harry Milstead.

Mary Julia has a boy. born last Friday. Name: Theodore Henry.—

Sept 9th.

Showers. Went in stage to Mr. Cook's. Met Mrs. Bush from California, Got back about noon.

This P.M. went to Henry Wiand's —

Sunday 10th.

Went to church. Heard Rev. Henry Morehouse preach. Good discourse.

So hot this P.M. can do nothing,

Monday 11.

Heavy rain. Washed & did various chores. Intend to go to Rochester tomorrow,

12.

Went to Rochester. Mary Julia has a nice baby over 2 wks. old. Name: Theodore Henry, Charlotte & Neddy left for N.Y. this evening. I called at Miss Porter's & E Bell's & saw Anna Barnes. Went to J. Rapalje's for the night.

Sept. 13th. very hot.

Called at Mr. Howell's & No. 12 school & Dr. Kendricks & Miss Walker's, &c. Took 4 P.M. train for Macedon. Went to cousin Peter Thurston's.

Thursday. awful hot.

Cousin Mary T. went with me to Lorenzo Hathaway's. on our way called to see E.B. Willetts & Carrie W. a col^d girl from Alex. who has a good place at John Laphams. Visited with L. Hathaway's family & others. Joseph & Lydia Macomber, & Joseph Hathaway & Ann Meeker & sister & Mrs. Catkamier[?]. —Talked a great deal, as they are all interested for Freedmen. All very nice Friends. (orthodox.)

Friday 15.

L. Hathaway took me to Macedon station. I wd. like to have made a longer visit, called at John's & at Mr. Hobbie's. Went to Mr. Angle's for the night. Frances is so busy she cannot go out with me.

Saturday.

Left Mr. Angle's about 9. Good visit. Went to Irondequoit with Cousin Eliza W. Aunt Elizabeth is very well. Eliza & I went to Cousin Mary Bradstreet's & took tea—pleasant ride.

Sept. 17.

Heavy rain in P.M. Came to city with David. Went to hear Rev. F. W. Holland at Atheneum Room, preached just as he did years ago. subject sleep. Saw a number of old acquaintances. In P.M. went to E. Bell's to see Anna Barnes.

Sept. 18.

Went to Mr. Marsh's. Mrs. M. not at home. Went to Miss Porter's. Met Mr. Holland. Took dinner there, & finished up my business with society. Received \$180 for 9 mo^s services. This besides my expenses, which amounted to \$235.—All the society can afford to do. They appear

satisfied with my work. & conclude to send me for another year, to Washington or elsewhere as the way opens. I intend to go about the 1st. of Oct.

I called on Mrs. Curtis & Amy Post & (Mrs. Willis & then went to a ladies society & talked about the Freedmen. the 19th.)

[Transcriber's note: the two lines from Mrs. Willis to the 19th are set off by parentheses.]
Went to Mr. Adam's for the night. Went with them to Concert of Sig. Morra, Prof. Bauer, Henry Appi & Miss Strauss. Liked some of it very well. I am very tired. Time I went home.

Sept. 19.

Made an important purchase for me. C. went with me & I bought a Mink Collar & Muff for \$65.— Price \$75. Furs are worth almost their weight in gold. Bought them at Oriel's (of Wm. Houck, formerly a scholar of mine.)

In evening Frances & I went to Mrs. Colman's, then came back to C's. for the night.

Sept. 20. Fine. cooler.

Did last chores. took leave of my friends & left on 10.25 train.—

Called at Mr. Winans' got home at noon. All things about as usual. I am very tired.

Mother has been to Mrs. Dailey's. Mrs. Bigalow. Freda's Grandmother was there. & we hear that Freda is well. The dear child, & I cannot see her!

Read some & wrote 2 letters.

Sept. 21.

Did housework & sewed & read some.

Sept. 22^d

Did housework &c. In P.M. had short visit from Mrs. Winans, & Mary & Anna W.

Sept. 23^d

Did housework & arranged plants. Father & mother gone to Mt. Morris.

Frances came this evening. Cousin Emaline called.

Sunday. Sept. 24.

Showers. Frances & I did various things. In evening called on Mrs. Perry.—Frances has given up going to Washington with me. She is to help Charlotte in the store. She prefers to go back, & Father's precarious health is the only thing that reconciles her to staying in Rochester. If Father is sick she can come to him. & for this reason I shall feel better about leaving home. But I wish there was nothing to hinder her going back. I shall miss the friends that were there last year. Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa & Mrs. Colman & Miss Danby will not go back.—

Monday Sept. 25. 1865.

Delightful day. Frances & I rode down to the old place. Things are quite changed there. Trees cut down, &c.

Called at Mrs. Dailey's.

Took dinner at Harvey Bigelow's. Heard from Freda, but what I hear is not quite satisfactory. There is some friction in Rivelov's family.—

Frances left at 5 P.M.—

Father & Mother came this evening. Father has been quite sick since he has been gone. His general health is failing, & I am very uneasy about him. —They met F. at depot.

Letters from Mrs. Jennings & Miss Collier. —Mrs. J says things are quiet in Richmond at present.

Miss C. says things are quite unsettled in Alex. There is so little work for the colored people that they begin to suffer. Poor things. When will their sorrow have an end? And the Course Johnson is taking!

Oh, dear!

1865. Sept. 26th. Lovely weather.

Father was sick all last night.

I went for Dr. Jenks about 11 o'clock. He has been more comfortable today, but has not sat up any.—

I have washed & ironed & did various other things. I am very tired to night.

Sept. 27. Perfect weather.

Father is gaining.— I have unpacked chests and looked over things generally.

Sept, 28. 1865

Father improving. I have visited at Mr. Winan's, went to the Burying ground. I think none of our family have visited it since F. & I were there last fall. I met Revilo to day but he would not speak to me. I spoke to him of course.

Sept. 29.

Father much better. I have called at Uncle J's. & visited at Uncle Ephraim's.—

Sept. 30th. Cloudy. rain.

Did various chores. & sewed a little.

About 8 Frances & Charlotte came. They walked up from West Avon.—

²⁹East Avon. Oct. 1st. 1865

Sunday. At Home.

And it may be a long time before I spend Sunday here again. I think I shall leave for Washington in a few days.

Frances has a letter from Mr. Newton saying that she is expected back. & I know it is better for me not to delay going much longer, although I know not where I shall stop when I get there.

Frances & Charlotte came up last night.—C. has gone back. F. & I took her to the cars this A.M. I called a moment at Mr. Winans. Then we went over to the burying Ground. The morning was fine. This P.M. has been wild & windy.

Monday. Oct. 2^d.

Washed & ironed & am very tired. Frances left in stage at 5 P.M.— Angeline & Elizabeth do not come yet.

Oct. 3^d.

Did various chores. This P.M. Mr. Dailey's family have been here & Mrs. Webster. Letter from Angeline. She is not coming at present. I feel much disappointed.

Oct. 4th.

Rainy. I have spent most of the day in getting things ready to pack tomorrow. Mrs. Winans called & left a bundle for the freedpeople. I have called at Mrs. Perry's.

Oct. 5.

Packed trunks & put things in shape to leave. Have done various chores. & am very tired. Reports came this evening. Sorry they have been so long delayed.

²⁹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-20008_001 to HC13-20008_124 in their Folder entitled Oct. 1st. 1865 to Jan. 1st. 1866.

I wish Frances was to go with me. I will go hoping for the best. —

Friday. October 6th. 1865.

Left home at 10. in Stage. Father & Mother looked so lonely when I left them. Many changes may occur before I see them again. Father looks so old & feeble. He was born March 9. 1787. so he must be in his 79th. Year. It takes but a little unusual to make him sick & I am very apprehensive about him.

At Avon I met Miss Porter who came up with Agnez Jones. colored girl, who wants to go back to Richmond. Has been north a year. I am to take charge of her. We left Avon at 11-45 A.M., & reached Elmira at 4½ P.M. where we changed cars. Rooms at depot so filthy I cd. not go into them. As there are 12 hotels within a stones throw I went to one of them & got a cup of tea. Met Geo. Goines (colored) who used to live in Lockport.

Met a soldier who had served under Bonaparte. He was selling fancy baskets. Left at 5½ o'clock,—At the platform of the car Agnez was told she could not go in. I said “She wd. ride where I did.” “No, she must go to the rear car” (Smoking car) I said “She has the same kind of ticket that I have & she will ride with me.” “Then you will go to the rear car. That is our orders.” I said “I shall not go to the rear car, & I will see the officers.” “She can go in. it’s all right.” I was so indignant. Nearly all take Sleeping car. So we had plenty of room.—

Oct. 7th. Saturday

Such an uncomfortable night as we passed! There was no fire & we suffered very much from cold. It was long & tedious, but it came to end. There was a beautiful moonlight. Daylight found us at York. The morning

was glorious. A heavy frost covered everything like a light snow. & the rising sun made it magnificent. The day has been cloudless & hot this P.M. All along the country looked fresh & green & beautiful. & I saw many objects of interest that I never noticed before. As we came in sight of Washington an ominous cloud of dust hung over the city & I knew how I should find it.

We arrived at 10½ A.M. & went on a street car immediately to 207 I st.— Seen hardly any soldiers between B. & W.—& barracks & hospitals have been torn down. Very few in W. A guard still walks in front of Seward’s house. & they are to be seen at other Military headqrs. But very few officers to be seen at Hotels & few Army wagons except in the vicinity of the Subsistence Dept.—The paraphernalia of war is fast disappearing.

Huckster’s vehicles are labeled “Supply

Train,” & upon the wagons of private individuals we read. “Ammunition train” “Headqrs. 1st. Div.” “2^d brigade.” &c. “Ploughshares turned into pruninghooks!” Army wagons used for the purposes of civil life. —

We reached Baltimore at 7½ o’clock, & the omnibus we rode in to the New W. depot & paid 35 cents for. (10 cts more than ever before) did not upset as one did immediately behind us. At this new depot everything is very nice. so nice that no basket or satchel can remain for a moment on the seat beside us, & colored ladies are not allowed in the room for white ladies. & I was told it was all right. for they wd. fill up the rooms so that there wd. be no room for white ladies, & I had an opportunity to bear testimony against all this. (Colored servants are admitted with their Mistresses.)

Here is a Parisian Dining Room, at which I got a cup of the most powerful tea I ever saw. After I reduced it with a pitcher of hot water it was capital tea.

On entering the car at B. Agnez was stopped again & asked “if she was with that lady (meaning me) she said, ‘yes.’ Then it was all right. —How long, oh! Lord, how long must these things be?

The teachers returned to I st. 2 weeks ago. & it all looks about as usual excepting my room. It has not been used during my absence, but the windows have been opened, & the dust upon everything in it was not as many inches in depth as it is in the middle of the streets, but I never saw any thing like it before.

Martha dusted & swept, & dusted & swept again & mopped the floor. I cleaned various things that the room contains, so that it will answer to sleep in to night.

This P.M. I have spent mostly in going about with Agnez to find Mrs. Duprey’s friends. Poor success. But as a last resort I went to Dr. Breed’s. They will keep her till Monday.—

I am so tired to night! It is hot & windy. The dust is overshoe. We had nothing like it before we went home. There has been no rain here recently. —And the odors are anything but aromatic. Whew!

Sunday. Oct. 8th. Hot.

I slept last night & dreamed I was married to Mr. Garrison! How ludicrous! I was tired out. & slept in spite of noise, barking dogs included.

Miss Laverne, teacher from Michigan, shared my bed with me. She is to occupy room. there seems to be no help for it. I am to take Frances’ place till she comes. sewing school & all. I do not quite like it; But there is no

alternative just now.—

It is 8 o’clock P.M. The cars are running. Carriages are passing. They are preaching & singing at the church on the cor. There is a band playing very near me, dogs are barking, & now a bugle is sounding. Such an intolerable smell comes in that I been obliged to

close the windows. It is dreadful. What shall we do. I trust the weather will change soon, if not I fear there will be pestilence.

It has been a busy Sunday for me, I cleaned various things in my room, Then Martha swept it again & mopped it again, After this I unpacked my trunks & brought up my things. Worked till 2.

Then I went to S. School on 23^d street. Came back very tired. Eat dinner with the sisterhood & have written ever since. (The man is preaching tremendously!)

Monday Oct. 9th. 1865.

Washington D.C.

So hot! so dusty! I do not see how people live here. —There has been no rain in several weeks.

I have been out & seen various people & done various chores. Distributed some Reports. Called on Mrs. Breed & learned several things about Freedmen's affairs. Called at Mr. Lake's & at Mrs. Baker's office, Met Mrs. Belden there. She has just returned to W.—I walked until I was tired out & then I rode.

Several calls from the people.

Oct. 10th. Tuesday.

Excessively hot. So dry. dust overshoe! Agnez gone to Brentwood. Hope it is a good place. About 10½ A.M. I went to the White House. Looked about in the East Room. Then Mr. Slade showed me into the Conservatory. Very few flowers. Repairing it.

Mr. Slade & family live there now. He says he was acquainted with Mr. Johnson 5 yrs. ago.—Very pleasant there.

Mrs. Slade is a sort of stewardess. Mr. S. seems to direct & have charge of everything. The 1st. U.S.C. Troops which came back from N.C. on Sunday. & wh. went from W. in the summer of 1863, 1000 strong, now has 700. having been reunited[?] but has only 220 of the original men. They have been in 13 battles & done themselves much credit. They are to be disbanded this week. They have quarters at Campbell Hos. which is also a Freedmen's Hospital.

They marched in review before the President's House. & then the President came out. Mr. Slade making way for him. He mounted the wall & stood between the outside pillars of the Portico, outside the carriage way. I heard but little that he said.

but three times I heard him exhort them to be virtuous, industrious, & patient & intelligent. & "if you become so perhaps the two races can live in this country together, but we need not try to be alter the laws of nature & of God." In other words, if you will be submissive & work for us as formerly, & be very humble we will let you stay in this country, but you are niggers, an inferior race. & you need not think you will ever be equal

to the white race. I am in a hurry to see the report of the whole speech. It was a very democratic gathering. More colored than white & these latter seemed to enjoy the scene exceedingly. Sojourner Truth was on hand & she said "her joy was full." The regiment is highly spoken of for their (its) fine appearance. The order & discipline is perfect. And yet white folks look upon them with scorn. yea. with indignation.

I went in the cars (stopped at P.O.) to Campbell Hos. where a banquet was to be served to the Regiment.

Nearly all colored people in the cars. 2 or 3 decent white folks & several who were any thing but gentlemen. but they dared say no uncivil words.

We reached the Hos. just as the regiment did. There was a great crowd of people. I went into the sick wards. 2 for men & one for women. 100 men & 41 women now.

Some of the wards have been divided into rooms for families who will pay a low rent & work in the vicinity.

The F.s Bureau are making some good arrangements, I think.

The refreshments were served at 2½ P.M. & I left at 3. There were many very nice looking people. The elite of the city. & then there was the refuse. the odds & ends who had not a second suit to their backs.

Sojourner was in costume. Red. White. & Blue. & she looked really nice.

No shade at the Hos, & it was very hot there. All seemed to enjoy themselves exceedingly in spite of the dust & heat.

Wednesday Oct. 11th. 1865.

Not quite so hot. Went on 8 A.M. boat to Alex.^a Not as much life visible as formerly. Nor as much death among horses. Giesboro looks almost deserted. & the absence of Flags is very noticeable; hardly one visible ~~from~~ on the Forts on the heights.—

And Alexandria! such a place. & such a change! A different set of people is seen in the streets. The ~~old~~ former citizens have returned & but very few soldiers are to be seen. The first I saw was a Sergt. marching a soldier to the Pro. Mar's, & the next one had a citizen under arrest. These things looked very natural. But to see all the buildings wh. have been used for Hospitals. now used for other purposes,

alters the appearance of things very much. We see very little pertaining to war. The absence of Army wagons & ambulances & officers on horseback conduce much to the quiet & dullness of the town. & I think very little business is done now. The houses are nearly all given up to the former owners. Rebel officers & other secesh are occupying their old homes again as if they had never been traitors & abandoned their homes & fought against the Government.

The teachers, doctors &c. have all been turned out of the houses on the Cor. of Washington & Wolfe sts. & having been in a house attached to the Hospital for a week

they are now to be turned out of that & house is to be restored to the claimant. I dare say the Government will pay rent for the use of all these houses. I know it has done for some of them. & I presume

it will fit them up ready for the use of the rebs & secesh.—

And very soon I think the civil authorities will interfere with the schools in some way & make it uncomfortable for the teachers. The remnant of military law that is left is all that enables the teachers of freedmen to remain there.

I called on Mrs. Leftwitch. wife of Rev. J.T. Leftwitch. an errant rebel who ran away to Lynchburg when the war began, but is now pastor of the same church (2^d. Pres.) that he had before the war. Mrs. L. claims to be a Union woman.

Then I saw Mrs. Dayton's large red face in the door as usual.

Called at Mr. Robinson's school, met Mr. Leonard there.

Seemed strange not to go to the double brick as usual.—

Went to L'Ouverture. Called on Mrs. Fish & lunched with Miss Collier. Saw Mrs. Owen. Oh, such a filthy place!

Went into the hospital wards with Dr. Heard who has charge now. There are about 60[?] patients, men, women & children, The soldiers have been removed to Slough Barracks Hospital. & all the white soldiers are there too. No other Hos. in Alex.

The people at L'Ouverture are not well provided for. As to nurses, there are none. Dr. H. has very little help & the people suffer. Too bad.

I wonder if it will be my duty to go back there again, & help fight to the end! All this is under the supervision of the F's Bureau now. Dr. Bentley has nothing to do with it as a civilian's Hos.

Called to see Aunt Cicely. she is failing & requires a great deal of care. Called at Grantville school. Mr. Aborn is principal. Saw Miss V. Lawton. School very disorderly. sorry to see it. Took 4 o'clock boat, very hot. Tired this evening. Must write to F.

Thursday Oct. 12.

Wind and dust. —At 10½ A.M. called for Mrs. Belden & then went to the Capitol to attend the trial of Wirz.

Baker & Schade for the defence. called their witnesses Robt Kellog of [*Transcriber's Note: blank space left*] Maj. French of Richmond, two yrs. in field & 2 yrs. in subsistence Dept. & Dr. Roy of [*Transcriber's Note: blank space left*] & Dr. Bates of Alabama, impressed into R. service & Major Proctor of Ky Commissary & J.W. Armstrong.com. These witnesses had their cheeks stuffed with tobacco & Dr. Roy had some in his hand too. Nearly all were genuine Southerners, talked through their noses & used Southern words, Maj. Gen. Wallace is President of the Court, which is composed of [*Transcriber's note: few lines left blank*]

Judge Advocate Col. Chipman, & Ass^t Judge Advocate Maj. Hosmer, as keen & quick as need be.

The court lolled in their chairs & seemed tired out. Wirz lay on a sofa. He sat up when his arm was examined. I did not get a very close look at him. The witnesses all agree that he was a hard, cruel, abusive, profane, heartless, rough man.

I do not quite understand how Mr. Baker can defend him.

These lawyers say sharp things of each other, but when court is over they seem to be on the best of terms.—

Proceedings interesting. Mean to go again.

Called at Ford's Theater. got relic. Since I returned have prepared work for sewing school & wrote some.

Friday. 13.

So cool we have a fire in the sitting room. I have done housework nearly all day. Overhauled everything in Clothing Room & took inventory of the same. Tired of dust. Went to Georgetown & saw Miss C, Miss C, & Miss Kelley at their school.

Prepared to work for sewing school. Mr. Baker & Mrs. Belden called, to tell that the defense will be closed tomorrow. I intend to go. Mrs. Holy called.

Saturday Oct. 14th.

Rain. Very welcome.

Did chores in morning. About 11 A.M. called for Mrs. Belden & we went to Wirz's Trial. Only one witness examined by Mr. Baker for defense & cross ex. by Chipman. Exciting scene. Judge Advocate & Mr. Baker gave each other the lie. Court threatened to expel Mr. B. but I couldn't see that he was more to blame than Chipman. Pres. of Court, Gen. Wallace, is very overbearing. Court cleared 3 times for deliberation. Each time Wirz was taken out, but I could not once get a plain square look at his face. Mr. B. asked for 2 wks, to prepare his argument. but was refused by the Court, & he gave up the case.

It has adjourned to [*Transcriber's note: rest of line left blank*]

Fight between colored & white soldiers at depot.

This evening did various things.

Washington, 207 I st. Oct 15th, 1865

Have not been out, Rainy & cool.

Regulated all my trunks & did various other things. Enclosed & addressed 30 reports to send off & wrote 2 letters.

Oct. 16. Quite cold.

Martha cleaned my room, windows &c. I did various things this A.M.

This P.M. called on 4th. Auditor at Treasury, & at Am. telegraph office on Mr. Berry at 28 Louisian Av. & Mrs. Belden took walk with me. Saw 3 Southerners at Mr. B's office & heard letters from Angeline Gibbons, South Wilson, Niagara Co, N.Y. to Wirz & to his wife & to Mr. Baker & to the Judge Advocate. denouncing the Government, & all concerned. Pitying Wirz & poor Mr. Davis, & rejoices that these noble southerners are coming to testify in favor of Wirz. This is a phase of human I had not seen before. That a Northern woman should descend yet lower than a southern

rebel astonishes me. Mr. B. has had many letters to the same effect, but this woman's beat them all.

Letters from Mrs. Graves who wishes to come to W. & from Frances who has fresh troubles to contend with. —She is deeply to be pitied. She thinks she will come back to W. before long. —Father is very well. The day after I left Angeline & Elizabeth came. & F. went up home with them. Quite disappointed to find that I had gone.— Several persons been after clothes. I have but little for them.

Oct. 17. Fine. cool.

Called on Dr. Reyburn of F's Bureau, in relation to Hospital in Alex^a. Arranged matters for sewing school, & taught from 1 till 3 P.M. Very pleasant. How much those children improve in their appearance. My first day's Sewing school.

Oct. 18th. Went to Capitol with Mrs. Belden. To avoid prejudice the Judge Advocate employed Mr. Hays to write the defense of Wirz, which was revised &

approved by Wirz & read by Hays, declaring his innocence, of course, & appealing to the Court for justice. Then the Court adjourned to Friday, when the Judge Ad. will give his argument for the prosecution & close the case.

Then Mrs. B. went with me to Ford's Theater & we each obtained from Mr. Kinney who has charge of the building, a piece of the Presidents Box. The wood work where his knees rested when he was shot.—

Since then have prepared work for the School. Wrote & read some.

Oct. 19th.

Just as I was starting for Cor. M & 14th st. to see the progress made there, Mr. Redpath came & I went with him to Miss Ford's & Miss Grove's school, & then to the Boston school on the Cor. 19th & I. All appeared well. Then we went to Cor. M & 14 & Vt. Av. where the N.Y. Assoⁿ have their establishment.

In what was the Hospital building there are 4 or 5 large school rooms & accommodations for 8 teachers & several other persons.—

Saw Capt. Spurgin of the Intelligence office. Went to the Industrial school. Called on Mrs. Breed & Mrs. Buckingham.

Bought a pair of gaiters for \$4.—
Since then fixed work for sewing school. Wrote some. Letters from C. Post & Sister Elizabeth.

Oct. 20. High wind. Dust.

Women called, went to place where they lived. Very destitute. been here only 1 wk. furnished them with several things. One young woman barefoot, had no shoes since last winter, has had no chemises & the dirty frock she wore was borrowed, bareheaded. Spent nearly all A.M. with these.

Sewing school this P.M. fixed work afterwards.—This evening Misses Fords & Lavere & self went to Soldiers' meeting & National League Rooms. Large attendance, Speakers Sen. Jim Lane, ~~Col. Baird of Tenn.~~, Tyler, Maj. Blackman of Tenn, & Lt. Col. Baird. Interesting meeting. Johnson's reconstruction policy was not endorsed at all. & his wholesale pardoning was condemned in toto. It was refreshing to hear outspoken loyalty in W.

Saturday Oct. 21. 1865.

Windy. Dr. Rhoads called this morning. Glad to have me stay till Frances comes. About 9 I went for Mrs. Belden, but she concluded not to go to the Capitol.

Mr. Baker called on Alex H. Stephens last evening. He has been released from Ft. Warren & is now paroled. Must remain in his own state, Ga. Several Southerners present. He told them they had begun wrong in reorganizing their states. They must realize that the negro is entitled ~~is entitled~~ to all the rights of a free white man, political rights & all. Mr. Baker believes in pardoning all the rebs. because Government does not punish leading traitors. Those who have done most mischief, he would not have men of no influence like Wirz punished.—

I went to the Capitol & heard Judge ad. read his argument, based on the murders of which Wirz is accused. Yesterday his argument

on "Conspiracy" of which Wirz is accused. It was dreadful to listen to it to day. He finished about 12 when the court room was cleared. —We did not wait. But Misses Ford & Lavere went with me to the Congressional Cemetery. Walked nearly a mile after leaving the car. —

We found it an interesting spot.—

Here are the remains of 2 Vice Presidents. Elbridge Gerry & Geo Clinton. Remains of a Choctaw Chief Pushmataha Died in 1824. Some of his last words were "When I am gone let the big guns be fired over me. He was always a friend to the whites. On the Tombstone of Catherine Livingston De Bresson Wif of Sec. of French Legation is

...you, o you, so perfect & so peerless...created of every creature's best...

Tomb of Chevalier Frederick Greuhm, was erected by order of Fred. William III, King of Prussia (Prussian Minister in 1823).

A Monument is erected for every member of Congress that dies, whether he is interred here or not. They are all alike & of this shape [*Transcriber's note: small sketch of a*

gravestone] nearly. There are H. Clay, Calhoun, J.Q. Adams, Preston Brooks, Jon^a Cilley & so on,

There are also the tombs of William Wirt, Isaac Chauncey; Sec. Upshur & Beverly Kermon who were killed in the Princeton when a gun burst in 1844.—There are numerous vaults many of which & much of the ground is in a neglected state & looks dismal enough. There are a number of soldiers' graves here. & a fine monument has been erected over the remains of the 19 young women who were killed by an explosion at the arsenal in the summer of 1864.

We strolled around here for 2 or 3 hours. Then Miss L & I went to the Poor House wh. is not far off. There are 250 inmates. including prisoners. It is also a work house. There are a few colored paupers & these are less trouble than white ones, but a woman who has charge says they all fare alike.

It was a long walk back to the car. & then a long ride to 207 I. which we reached at 5½ P.M. tired & hungry. This evening have put up mementos gathered in the Cemetery.

Washington Sunday Oct. 22^d

Perfect day. Heard Rev. Mr. Shipperd of Chicago.—In evening went to Seaton Hall. Heard Mr. Whiting an inspirational medium. Subject "Witchcraft, sorcery & demonology & their relation to Modern spiritualism." He also improvised a Poem, one of the audience giving him a subject. "Spirit, its inception & ultimate." He also sang two original Songs.—

Monday Oct. 23^d 1865.—

Perfect day. —Called on Mr. Wormley, Mrs. Brown & Mrs. Garnett in relation to matron for L'Ouverture.—Called at Industrial School. —Visited Eleven families. Not many sick, but difficulty in obtaining work makes it very hard for many to get along. Came back tired, & have done various things. Letter from Judge Underwood. Alex.^a thanking me for Report &c. Fears the Freedmen are abandoned by Government. Apprehends great suffering the coming winter. A kind sympathizing letter. ____

Tuesday Oct. 24th. 1865

Know very well that I am to leave 207 & went to Col. Eaton. Gave me no encouragement as to giving me quarters. Returned & had crying spell. Then went out & visited 12 families all of them much more destitute than I am, some sick. No fire & scanty clothing. Poor things what will be come of them!

This P.M. had sewing school. Rev. J.E. Vassar called. Just from Fredericksberg great destitution there. Wishes me to go there. Would do so if I could get some clothing to take.

Have written 3 letters this evening making an appeal for clothing, all to Dutchess Co.

Mrs. Earle called. Very glad to see her. Will send me something.

Mrs. Chew called. & Miss Cryer who offers herself as matron for L'Ouverture Hos. I will go to Alex^a with her.

A busy day. Am tired to night.

Must not think of my own affairs.

Oct. 25. Perfect day.

Called at Mrs. Garnett's & after losing an hour because others were not punctual I went with Mrs. G. & Miss Crier on 12 o'clock boat to Alex. —Went directly to the hospital, visited women's ward. Miss C. offers herself as matron, but Dr. Heard was absent & nothing could be done.

Called on Mrs. Fish & Mrs. Leonard. Did not see Miss Collier.

Saw several persons I knew. & they were glad to see me. For want of work there will be much suffering in Alex^a the coming winter. Called on Mrs. Whitehall[?]. Took 4 P.M. boat. & occupied the ladies' cabin. We were not ordered out, Ladies were not much shocked, but there were some significant looks. & on the cars there were several colored persons, but people said nothing. Some wore the expression "well if it must be so we must put up with it."

This morning called on Mrs. Earle at Willard's. Talked with Mr. Newton this morning about finding other quarters. He says if we can stay here I had better do so. They may want my services, & he knows it is difficult to make a change. So the matter rests at present.—

Oct. 26. Very fine.

Visited 12 families. Some doing very well. Others very destitute. Rose Lewis husband has deserted her. 3 children & a pair of twins 12 hours old. In a dark, miserable, filthy shanty. nothing to eat. & not much clothing. People complain of want of work. Many of them sick.—

In P.M. with Miss Moore went to New Eng. Home. Things going on nicely. Good accommodations. Saw Mrs. Earle.

Walked away down the avenue to exchange waterfall for Miss Kelly. did not succeed. This evening have been to see Misses Chamberlain.

Oct. 27th. quite warm.

Unpacked barrel. Nice things in it. Went to foot of 19th. st. to see Rose Lewis & took some things.

Sewing School this P.M. Pleasant school.

Called on Mrs. Holy. Saw the Tunisians as they rode by. Wore the Fez. Mr. Vassar called. Urges me to go to Fredericksberg. Letter from Ms. Jennings. She is teaching in Richmond & doing well.

Tired to night—

Oct. 28. fine rain last night.

This A.M. made bed tick & worked in kitchen with Martha. Cleaned cupboard & dishes. This P.M. called on Dr. Reyburn. He thinks there will not be as much suffering the coming winter as there was last winter. He says sick & destitute families can have rations. Bureau has received nothing yet from San. Com. & yet hospital stores as was expected. Hope the Bureau will not be an

entire failure. It is almost so in the South & west. —Read Phillips' Lecture, "The South Victorious. Capital. Becker in a late sermon endorses the President's policy. Standard discusses him very ably. It is very discouraging as things are going. Militia is being organized in the Southern States & the officers have been prominent rebel officers. Black troops are being disbanded. & the Freedpeople are put back again in the power of their former oppressors.

This P.M. went home with Martha. She lives miserably. Along shanty of 12 rooms rents for \$864 a year. She pays \$6 a mo.

I visited 3 families, some of them ragpickers. Letter from Mrs. Booth of Poughkeepsie. She will send a box soon for Fredericksburg.

Sunday Oct. 29.

Went to Church of Epiphany. Heard Dr. Hall. Fine Church. Elegant people, I was not much edified. Nodded a few times.

The "dim, religious light made gas necessary. how absurd! I blame no one for nodding in the Ch. of the Epiphany.

This P.M. arranged the plants that I got at the Congressional Cemetery.

This evening have been with Laverie to hear Mr. Whiting the medium, but "modern spiritualism" does not interest me. Many of the audience seemed delighted.

Monday. Oct 30. Fine.

Did a large share of my 3 wks, washing. Martha is so slow. I worked in the kitchen with her nearly all day. Ironed some.

Went with Martha to engage a house. Went to F's Bureau with two women whose children are withheld from them by their former owners near Dumfries, Va. "My soul is sick with every day's report of wrong & outrage" towards these poor people.—And not all officers sympathize with them. I am very tired.

Tuesday. rain all day.

This A.M. fixed work for S. school. This P.M. attended to the school. Letter from Mrs. Wells.

Nov. 1st. 1865. Very fine.

Made several calls to find matron for L'Ouverture Hosp! With Mrs Belden went to News Boys' Home, & then to Smithsonian. Obtained several curiosities.

Then went to find Mr. Shipard. Then to see a man once a slave of Dr. Lee, who was hired to a rebel Qr. Master, had both feet cut off to punish him for running away.

Then to a family who were slaves of Mrs. President Madison.—The maid of Mrs. M. Aunt Sukey Stewart died last June. Mrs White that I talked with to day when 3 yrs. old was to be sold by Mrs. Madison. This was the last child that Aunt Sukey had left. & this displeased her so much that she left Mrs. M or rather Mrs. M sold her to Mr. Todd

of this city who gave her a chance to buy herself 15 yrs. ago. She lived at Pres. Madison's when Washington was burnt by the British. & fled with the family. Mrs. Madison died poor. She was buried in the Cong. Cem, but a few years, since her remains were removed to Montpelier, VA. Gov^t gave her \$25,000 for her husband's writings. Mrs. White gave me a lace & muslin underhandkerchief of Mrs. Madison's & a button worn by Mr. Mason, Minister to France.

Miss Collier here tonight.

Nov 2^d Rainy.

& did not visit the people as I intended. Prepared work for sewing school, & did a few chores. —Letters from Mr. M^cKim & Capt. Bohonon of the 10th. Va. Dist. Fredericksburg. ____ & Nellie Perry.

Saw Gen. Grant riding alone in a buggy in the rain, without an umbrella, smoking of course; & looking as composed as if he were not at the head of the Army of the U.S. & receiving \$13,000 a year.

Nov 3^d.

Busy morning. At 10 went to depot to meet cousin P. Cornell & husband & John C. Did not meet them as expected but on my return found them here, they having come on an earlier train.

I went with them to the White House & to the Capitol, Repairs are going on at the Cap.^l very extensively.

I came back tired. They have gone to Willard's & I am to see them to morrow.

Nov 4th.

Rained all day. Intended to go to Navy Yd., & Alexandria, but did not do so.

About 9 went to Willards & at 11 we went to the Patent office & spent a couple of hours. There are 64,000 admitted models & 17,000 rejected models. There is a model of a boat by Abraham Lincoln placed there in *[Transcriber's Note: Blank space]* . It has air chambers to help a boat over shallow places.—We went into the

Agricultural Dept, which is very interesting —The patent office is a wonderful building.
—It covers 2 squares.—

Returned & took dinner at Willards. Board is only \$5 a day—

Disappointed that we could not go out any more.—Held conversation with a gentlemen & lady in relation to Freedman &c. Expressed myself freely as I usually do in regard to white folks at South, & also the slaves. —Gen. Lee & other worthies. The lady was very reticent as regarded herself, but she was evidently a Southern woman & Cousin P. & I enjoyed it.—

Came back to 207 I about 4 P.M. settled accounts with the firm. My expenses have been \$12.75 for the month, which is cheap living for Washington.

Sunday Nov. 5. cold.

With Cousin P. & Wm. C. & John C. I went to Friend's meeting. Perry John & E. Willetts spoke a little which, & Stilliman Powell spoke at length.

Very good meeting. Lieut. Dorgan of N.H. said a few words.—Phebe &c. have left for Baltimore. Sorry they cd. stay no longer.

This evening went to hear Cora L.V. Scott, at Seaton Hall. Very interesting.

This P.M. had pleasant call from Mr. & Mrs. Belden & Mr. Baker.—

Nov. 6th. Cold. Raw.

Visited 14 families. Most of them quite comfortable to what they were last winter. Several calls for clothing.

Attended to cleaning yard. Did various things. Mrs. Hill called, offers herself as matron for L'Ouverture.

Letter from Aunt Mary, enclosing \$10 from Stanford. & will send barrel of clothing.

Letter from Miss Collier. Trouble in Alex.^a

Nov. 7th. Cold.

Elizabeth Brown came from Fredericksburg with letter from Mr. Vassar. She has been induced to leave Boston by a Col. Ruggles, who said he lived in F. & wished her to sew in his family, & she cd. also sew for others & make a great deal of money. cd. get \$20 for making a dress.

She was foolish enough to go about 10 days ago. She found he lived 11 mi. from F. in a wild lonely place. About a doz. colored people who did not know they were free. They had great fear of the Yankees. Col. R. told E. Brown she must split wood, black his boot & take care of his mules. She refused & ran off. Left yesterday morning. Walked to F. & came up on boat last night. She has no money. I went with her to Mrs. Keckley, dressmaker. She could not take her but will see her again to morrow evening.

Then I went to Capitol with Mrs. Belden & Miss Bassett. Obtained pieces of the new Carpets which they are putting down in the House & Senate chamber.

Had sewing school this P.M.

Then went with E. Brown to find place to stop. Then went to New. Eng. Home. Coming away met Mrs. Earle.—

Got back about dusk. I was cold, hungry, & tired. So go the days. I must write to Frances to night.—But I had a rather go to bed at once.—

Nov. 8th. Fine day.

Before breakfast went to see a sick woman, With Mrs. Hill took 10 A.M. boat to Alex.^a. Went to L'Ouverture Hosp.¹ Saw Dr. Heard who has engaged Mrs. Hill for matron in case Dr. Reyburn will allow her \$12 a mo. Dr. H. does not sympathize with these people as he should. & I fear he is cross.

Dined with Mrs. Fish. Did not see Miss Collier. Saw Virginia L. & various persons that I know. Called at Mr. Seaton's & Mr. Countee's. —

Came back on 5 P.M. boat. Dark when I reached W.—Tired enough. Wrote some.

Nov. 9th. Warm & very fine.

Mrs. Earle called. Went to see Dr. Reyburn. Will give Mrs. Hill \$12. if Dr. H. needs her.

Went to Mrs. Thomas's to see E. Brown. Can find no place for her yet. Called at Dr. Breed's. Aunt Amy very ill. Various people have called to day. & I have

have visited 10 families at foot of 18th & 19th. streets. Many have fever & ague, a few filthy houses. & most miserable people. but most of them have got along very well. Many are wanting work. — Such a busy day, & I am so tired tonight.

Nov. 10th. Fine

Cleaned room. Went with E. Brown to Capt. Spurgin. Then to Mrs. Barnard of the Industrial School who carries on Dress-making & she will employ Elizabeth on pretty good terms. I am quite satisfied with her prospects.

Nearly noon when I came back. Took lunch & then fixed for Sewing School. Got through with School about 3 P.M. This evening did various things—

It has been a hurried week thus far & I am tired to night.

Letter from Cousin Elizabeth. Have two barrels of clothing ready to send.

Letter from H. Dickinson. N.Y. Friends have clothing at Fort Monroe & perhaps some will be sent from that place to Fredericksburg

Nov. 11th. Saturday. 1865.

Fine. Cool. Trimmed bonnet, Then went to Meeting at Soldier's Free Library. About 100 teachers & others at work among Freedmen assembled & were addressed by Gen. Eaton. & Mr. Kimball of the Bureau. Very pleasant meeting. —

Called at Mr. B's office & saw Mr. & Mrs. Belden. Heard particulars of the Execution yesterday. Mr. B. gave me an Autograph Note of Henry Wirz, a lock of hair & a piece of the Gallows. I came only for the autograph. His body was mutilated after death, Kidneys were divided among 4 surgeons. Another person had a little finger,

obtained under pretense of Post Mortem examination. Remainder of body buried in Yard of the Penitentiary near Atzerot. All this, & we claim to be civilized & human! If his body had been given up to his friends, it would be torn to pieces by the infuriated people.

& Rob^t E. Lee is at large & H.W. Beecher likes the idea of his being Pres. of a college & instructing the youth of the country he has betrayed & whose Government he has done all in his power to destroy.

Beecher also endorses the President. thinks his acts are fitting & wise. John Mitchell has been released from Fortress Monroe. At some future time, the Pres. will want the Irish votes! If Pres. Johnson could only rise above the politician! But, ah! He is not a great man. Wendell Phillips says that Chas. Sumner said to him a few days ago that "he considers this the darkest hour of the Republic." Eighty rebels are now feeling confident that they will have a seat in Congress the coming winter. & I suppose the President desires they should do so. The Republican Party is so timid that the Northern Democrats & copperheads, & the Southern Rebels will have it pretty much their own way. Nov. 11. 1865

207 I street. Sunday
Nov. 12th. 1865

Delightful weather—

Frost last night & cool this morning. Went to hear Cora L.V. Scott. Her utterances were very beautiful, & might all have been made without the aid of spirits. It was a practical discourse, treating largely of the humanities, of the wrongs of society, its inconsistencies &c.

This P.M. & evening had nice time for writing. Have letter from Frances & last night I fell asleep thinking of the barrel of apples that is to accompany her to W, in about 10 days.

Nov. 13. 1865

Very fine. Visited 16 families. some quite comfortable, some tidy places, many have chills. some want work.

Called at Mrs. Thomas's & paid her \$3 for E. Brown's board —Miss Hill called, has given up going to Alex.^a. Dr. Heard has made objections.

He has no kind feelings for the people. I have not been so vexed in a long time. Some people can't be just if a colored person is in the question.

One family I visited to day consists of an old rheumatic man & his wife & son. Shyane[?] from Leesburg. She has had 13 chil. & knows where only 2 of them are. the son that is with them & her youngest girl who is in the city but the mother will not allow her to come into her house. She has taken to bad ways & nearly broken her mother's

heart. "The Lord only knows how she lies awake nights & thinks of this girl. She was raised so genteel, is so tall & trim, is right dark & has rose lips like her father, & is such an elegant washer & ironer. & when they became free she thought this girl wd. be such a comfort to her. Oh! Lord some times it seems as if I had not any sense." I have known my master at Christmas take \$100[?] for my children's

work. & he would not give me enough to eat. He hired me out for \$40 a year[?] & my clothes." When I hear these things I wonder that we have been allowed to exist as a nation so long. I am ready to do something desperate. & almost question the justice of God.

Nov. 14th. Fine, warm.

Waited on several people. Fixed work S. School. Mrs. Earle called.

Mrs. Cooper & boy called. Wishes to send him to Wilburforce Coll. Rhode Isl.

Went to Gen. Eaton. He informs me that the F. Bureau has clothing in its hands. & each State will have some. When it is divided, there will probably be some for F. burg. Thinks it will be a week yet. It looks now as if I should get what I want.

Sewing School this P.M. busy day. Gen. Augur has ordered the Pro. Judge in Alex.^a to notify the civil authorities that (in Virginia)

~~that no more colored men will be whipped in~~ colored man is hereafter to be punished by whipping,

This evening went to meeting of Relief Society. Rev. J.R. Shiperd Sec. of N.F.A. Com. addressed the meeting. very good ideas. Not much else done.

Nov. 15th. 1865. Very pleasant.

Visited 19 families. Some freed & [?] & live very nicely. Some Freed families doing well & some quite miserable. There is a want of work. Came back tired enough. Worked in Clothing room. After dinner went to Mrs. Swisshelm's. Pleasant call, Saw Mr. & Mrs. Holt & others.—

Mrs. Swiss...very spicy & sharp.

Two drunken young women in car!

Nov. 16. Hot day.

Visited 16 families. Called on Dr. Reyburn. Told him about Dr. Heard's treatment of Mrs. Hill & myself.—Went to S. school to see E. Brown. She does not please Mrs. Barnard & she does not care to employ her,

I saw her at Mrs. Thomas's. I fear she will not do well.

Called at Mrs. Stewart's school. Letter from S. F. Smiley. Richmond, will send box to Fredericksburg. —

Nov. 17. Hot day.

Visited 11 families near observatory. In one locality all Irish but one family. Near Corrals. & oh! so filthy. such a villainous atmosphere. how do the people live there! _____
Walked in the obs.^y grounds, a garden full of Chrysanthemums.
On F. St. called on Mr. Williams family. He was with Com. Perry in the Japan Expedition, Has a collection of curiosities selected with judgment & taste. Very rare china, idols, wooden-ware, &c.—
Sewing school this P.M.—
This evening went to Un.^{tn} Church & Heard Michael Hahn, Ex. Gov. of La. He says that Slavery is not abolished in La. yet. Interesting speech.

Nov. 18th, Saturday.

Very fine. Rose early. Left at 8 A.M. for Alex^a.—
Called on Miss Collier & Mrs. Fish & at Hospital. Patients do not have enough to eat. It is a shame. Poor contraband rations, no delicacies whatever. Some have been just naked into the coffin for want of something to wrap them in.
And yet there are vast supplies of hospital and sanitary stores somewhere, & why cannot the Bureau get them to use?
I do not allow myself to dwell upon the subject as I should be so angry I might do some desperate deed.

Dined with Dr. & Mrs. Heard. Told Dr. how disappointed Mrs. Hill was. I gave him to understand how I feel myself to be treated so.—That I was really at some trouble to procure a matron, & when one was procured & engaged to take the place to have her treated as if she was of no account.

so that she was obliged to decline out of self respect.—It was too bad anyway, out of regard for his wife I did not quarrel with Dr. Heard as I meant to, but thought it best to say as little as possible.

Mrs. Heard & Dora went with me to Museum. We rummaged it thoroughly. A very obliging gentleman obtained the keys & admitted us. It is not kept open. We unrolled all the old flags, & examined the dust covered relics until I was satisfied.—
There is a Flag carried at the battle of Trenton & said to be presented to Washington by the ladies of T. —It was of white twilled silk, & painted on it is a wreath of red roses & green leaves & over the wreath, Independent Volunteers. I have some of these roses—
There is a remnant of the Flag of Gen. Morgan's Regt, X1.VIRG. REGT of 1776. It is silk & so stained I cannot tell the original color, I have a piece of this.
There is the Flag of the Richmond Rifle Rangers

which was carried at the siege of Yorktown. The motto is "Nemo me impune accessit." It is of white silk & well preserved.

There is another of white silk. The blue ribbons (probably) faded out but the red is bright yet. I have pieces of this. It drops to pieces when it is unrolled.—

The “Alex^a. Independent Blues” is of plain white silk.

There is Gen. Lafayette’s Flag of dark blue silk & a painting in the center. I have a bit of it. It is very much darned.

There is Washington’s body guard flag, motto ‘Conquor or Die’ –

There is the Bier on wh. Ws remains were taken to the tomb, a pack saddle & two leather[?] Camp chests.—

There is no particular keeper, & things will be carried off by every one who goes there.

This man gave us each a piece of a cane settee wh. was Washington’s

Sunday, Fine.

Went to hear Cora L.V. Scott, subject ‘Atmospheres’; very good, but I am not aware that I am benefitted much. Thought it would not pay to go tonight.

Monday Nov. 20th, cloudy.

Started at 8 ½ o’clock & visited 21 families S. of Pa. Av. on 24th, 25th, 26th & 27th sts. —Some free born people in good circumstances; others very poor & shiftless. The freedmen’s families are comfortable comparatively; only a few, indeed there are none so wretched & filthy as they were last winter. If all cd. get work as well as they cd. formerly there would be very little extreme suffering in my Dist. S. of Ave. I have visited 120 families. Nearly all Freedpeople. A few of them I shall assist. Found an old man once a slave of Geo. W.P. Custis whose slaves were free at his death, but Gen. Lee meant kept them as slaves 5 years longer. The war cut short their term of servitude. This man is named Ephraim Derricks, he was gardener & worked in house too, cleaned coats & boots &c.

Gen. Lee had 6 chil; Custis, Fitzhugh, & Robert; & Anna, Mary & Aggie. They reckon Miss Mary was Union, he never had nothing to say to none of the rest. She would give him shoes & custard. He’d ask her now if he cd. see her.—

He has fits, & his mind is injured. He has a square of ground there which he works, he goes back & forth, but has staid there every winter, “but Gov^t. has given him no clothes in two years”.

His wife was Dolly Turner. She belonged to Capt. Gray, been free long time. Her mother was free long time & owned the house & lot where these live, Dolly said. Ephraim went back & forth from Arlington, & she knew him “& you know how it is with women, & I took & had him”. They are going over there to live this winter. I must give old Ephraim some clothes. If he had good sense he would be an interesting relic of barbarism.

I finished my explorations today by visiting a house on the Cor. of 27th & K wh. was owned by Thomas Peter Esq. son of Rob^t. Pe[?], 1st, Mayor

of Geo. T. —Thom. Peter's wife was niece of Washington & he used to stop there when visiting this city. His last visit to W. was made in 1797 or 1798 & the citizens turned out en masse to receive him. An old man in W. writes to the Chronicle all about it. He saw W. as he entered this house & the Mil. fired a few volleys & the people dispersed. In aftertime it was occupied by Mr. Meredith Brit. Min., next by Count Pahlen Russ. Min. then by Johnson, our Consul to Liverpool, & then the French Min. Mr. Tureau. It is a 3 story brick, very large but tenantless now & not fit to live in. but somebody evidently thinks so as "To Let" on the door would indicate. I found a back door unfastened, I entered thinking it might be the abode of Contrabands. I pushed open door after door & some spacious rooms looked like "banquet halls deserted". I went into the second story & into large front

chamber wh. was very probably occupied by W. when he visited here. I appropriated a piece of ancient wall paper, & a fragment of the clouded marble of the fire place. I began to feel timid. I dared not ascend to the next story for fear some door might close behind me & I could never get out. It is a weird looking place & thick coming fancies[?] warned me to depart. If I had not been alone I should have made a thorough exploration.—My Richmond friend Mrs. C. would call me "a mighty ancient woman". (This P.M. have done various chores)

I thought today of heroines in novels exploring lonely castles & ruined abbeys. Really I think I must get some Co. & go there again.

Nov. 21st. Rainy.

This A.M. did various things. This P.M. had sewing school. At 4 went to Ch. of Epiphany to see Miss England (teacher) married to Mr. Bonsall, widower with 4 children.

Nov 22nd, cloudy, cooler.

Have not been out.

Waited on a few people & sewed all day.

Nov 23rd

cloudy, rain, was out from 11 until 3 ½ P.M.—Visited about 30 families. A few of them were comfortable, a few free born. A large share of these 30 families live in miserable shanties for which they pay \$6 a month. Some were very filthy & looked about as they did a year ago. Saw more idle men and women than I ever saw before when visiting.

These will have to be starved to it. One woman thought "she belonged to Government. That Gov^t. bought all the slaves in the Dist. though she never understood it exactly". 3 families lived in a house once owned, they were told, by J. Q. Adams.

My first call was on a slave of G.W.P. Custis. Her name is Julia Ann Check. She says they all knew that Custis left them

free & after his death Mrs. Lee told her she will set them free, but the estate was in debt & they must work to get money to pay it & be sent out of the country. Mrs. Lee told her they were free by the will, that persons had told her that knew about it. Mrs. Lee said if any body came there & said that again she would have them arrested & they must say no more about no matter what the will said. They must work for Mr. Lee 5 years. She & her daughter (& Mary Norris (that Lee whipped with his own hands for running away) & one other were sent to Richmond & put in Hector Davis's jail. Lee was afraid that somebody who knew they were free wd. help them to get away. They were kept until safe places were found & they were hired out.—Julia Ann was in Richmond when Lee's family came there & it was not until 2 years ago that she cd. make her escape. She & several others crossed the Chickahominy Swamp & made their way with great difficulty to the Union army at Williamsburg.

She then came to Alex^a, Washⁿ, & washes etc. to get a comfortable living. Has one little girl with her. Her husband belonged to Mr. Williams who lived near Arlington.—Custis's wife died first; at her funeral & his too the pallbearers were their slaves. Mrs. Lee was the only child, G.G. daughter of Martha W. wife of Washington. Children were Custis, Fitzhugh & Robert; & Anna, Mary, Agnes & Mildred. She has not been able to walk for a long time.

I met Dr. Rapier. He has this post of the city. Dr. Purvis has vicinity of Capitol. (Dr. Tabor, white, the Island.) Drs. R. & P. have about 185 patients & only 125 rations for them. No rations are issued to poor or destitute unless they are sick. Rapier says he knows of 100 old & feeble persons who ought to have rations, but the Lord only knows how they live. And then to think of the thousands of undeserving whites who are fed by Government in different parts of the Country.

A call from Mrs. Belding this evening. With Miss Levere went to a meeting of L.N.U.[?] League. Did not amount to much.

Nov. 24.

Spent most of the day in fixing work & attending to S. School. Letter from Mrs. Coleman.

Box from Mrs. Booth for Fredericksburg.

Nov. 25. Very fine

Called on Mrs. Belding. Went to Teachers meeting. I have not done much since. Frances has not come.—

Sunday Nov 26th.

With Mrs Belding went to St. Aloysius Ch. (Catholic). Very fine in the interior. Services very tiresome & to me heathenish, a mocking of religion & how can sensible believe in such a religion? Had a pleasant walk part way & then rode in cars. I have not done much since.

Nov. 27

Helped Martha wash. Ironed, cleaned my room. Calls of various kinds, very busy day. Three people from just below Richmond just learned that they are free. Need everything. Letter from Frances. She intends to be here on Thursday or Friday..

Nov. 28th

Fixed work for sewing school. This P.M. attended S. School. This evening finished up work.

Nov. 29.

Snowed all day. Melted & is all slush now. I have only been to the Letterbox. But how the poor must suffer! — I fixed work for the S. School & did other chores. Letter from Angeline. She says Somerset folks are collecting clothing for the Freed people. I have written to Mr. Pease to send it to W. —I have written Report of Sewing School. &c, &c.

I have appreciated my comforts today.

Nov. 30th.

Bright. Snow gone. Went to Depot but missed Frances; & when I came back she was here. She left them well at home. She brought apples & other eatables & I have had one good dinner again! I am glad she is here & now I must fix for Fredericksburg.

Washington, Friday. Dec. 1st. 1865

Bright, cool. Made a few calls on some sick people – Then went to Fs Bureau. Had a very satisfactory interview with Dr. Reyburn & Dr. Horner. The latter is chief medical officer in the Bureau.

Sanitary Com. has turned over stores to the F's Bureau. Divided among the several states. Va. has a certain portion. There are 10 districts & Fred^d. is in the Gordonsville Dist.

Dr. H. has received reports of great destitution in F. —is glad to have me distribute some of these goods in F.—Much suffering in Charlottesville also. In Gordonsville Dist. there are 40,000 Freedmen, many of them are on the plantations of their former owners. No medical officer at F. – Oh dear, what a vast work is to be done. How many, many of these poor things will perish this winter! It is very pleasant to meet with officials who are not pro-slavery, negro-haters. I have always had to deal with such more or less but these Gentlemen of the Bureau speak kindly & civilly to colored people, as if they were fellow beings & human too.

Dr. Reyburn told me he went to L'Overture the P.M. of the day I saw him when I felt so badly. He says Dr. Heard is rough. Dr. R. ordered the matron to attend to the diet of the sickest patients & give the medicines & he has sent clothing over there & delicacies & thinks he has arranged matters so that they will have better rations. So I am not sorry that I moved in that matter. I thank God & take courage.

I called at the Q.Ms. The goods will not be sent before next Tuesday. Two[?] hundred boxes are waiting now to be sent off. Gen. Rucker superintends this.

I cannot get free transportation for myself. There are no more Govt. roads & boats. —I intend to start next Tuesday or Wednesday for F.—

Read Ro^{bt} Dale Owens letter to Evening Post. on Freedman's affairs and reconstruction. Very able. Pres. Johnson seems to yield a little to the pressure of the radicals.

This P.M. Frances & I called on Mrs. Belden.—Read Angeline Gibbon's letters to Wirz, Mrs Wirz, Mrs Baker & judge advocate.—

Called to see Mayor Wallach at City Hall, in relation to an old woman who needs help. Freeborn & raised here. He says they give no partial help outside the Poor House. They are "piled in there now" so many strangers have come in during the war, & they cannot see persons perish in the streets. If this old woman is a citizen she is entitled to help & if it is a very destitute case they will take her at the Poor House. The Mayor is secesh in his proclivities. When I said I wished to see Mayor Wallach or some one that acts for him, he rose & said " & what will you have with Mayor Wallach?" —Well, I have seen the famous Mayor; & this is another Chapter in my experience.—

Then we went to Teachers meeting; about 100 present. The women take no part in it & I am vexed with them. This evening wrote letters.

Dec 2nd. Fine

With sister F. & the Misses C's went to Navy Yd. to see rebel ram Stonewall, could not go on board. 2 deaths from Yellow Fever last night. The crew were being removed & then the vessel was to be pushed out into the river. The crew were a hard looking lot, very dirty—whites, negroes & indians.

The Farragut Court Martial is now trying Com. Craven for not attacking the Stonewall in the harbor of Ferrol 24th March. The Niagara & Sacramento were there but for some reason no attempt was made to take this formidable pirate & she was allowed to leave the harbor. She went to Havana ~~became indebted~~ sold to the Spanish Gov^t. for \$16,000 then war closed & our Govt paid ~~the debt~~ \$68,000 & took the vessel which arrived at the Navy Yard 10 days ago. Built at Brest, engines cost \$75,000. Three turrets, forward one contains a 350 pounder Armstrong gun, coated with iron 3 inches thick. The ram is 38 ft. wide & 30 ft. in length, solid steel, extending 10 ft. below the water's surface.

This was all we cared about seeing here. Then we took a conveyance running to Giesboro. & went to the Insane Asylum. This is on one of the highest eminences near the Eastern Branch. The grounds are extensive. The building is of brick. 711 ft. in length. In the collegiate style of Gothic architecture a magnificent oriel window in the main tower. The interior is admirably constructed. It is divided into wards or suites of apartments & each ward is finished with a certain kind of wood. The Cherry ward, the Oak ward, &c.

There are 300 inmates & about 40 colored persons. This is the Hospital for the Insane of the Army & Navy & Dist. of Columbia. Dr. Nichols. Super^t. The sailors are in a separate building & the colored are in a separate one, we did not see these, although I was very desirous of doing so.—We have cause for gratitude when we think how differently the insane are treated now from what they were even a few years since. The rooms are furnished beautifully. There are birds & flowers & a sitting room for each ward & billiard rooms for both men & women. One gaily dressed

woman wished to know what the fashions were in Washington. It is a sad sight. Some of them had no appearance of insanity but even these quiet ones have to be confined sometimes.

We came back to Navy Yard & went into the Ordinance Museum. Here is a cannon used by Cortez in the conquest of Mexico. A Spanish Gun. Cast about the year 1490.

There are models of all the guns now in use. There is a great variety of torpedoes. There are all kinds of shot & shell. There were two 1000 pound balls. —

There was a piece of the stern post of the Kearsage with a shell from the pirate Alabama embedded in it. The wood was broken & splintered & I was lucky enough to get some splinters.—

We reached home at 3 ½ P.M.—as we were leaving the N.Yd. Gen. Grant's 2 sons were just going in on their ponies, common looking boys.

Sunday Dec 3rd. 1865. Fine

Warm enough to have windows open all day. I have not been out. F. has been to see Miss Kelly.—

Monday Dec 4th. 1865 Warm.

Frances & I went to the Capitol at 10 ½ A.M. gallery of the House filled up rapidly. At 12 the Clerk, Mr. M^cPherson called the House to order & read the names of members by states & territories omitting the Confederate states. Brooks of N.Y. made a violent speech, called the Govt. a despotism & demanded that Tenn. & La. & Va. should be admitted.—He was quieted after a while. Then Colfax was elected speaker. Took the oath & then administered it to all the members by states.—other officers were elected & sworn in. T. Stevens gave notice that he should offer a bill in relation to the States lately in rebellion.—

Came back very, very tired.

Dec 5th, warm, cloudy.

Packed my trunk & arranged things to leave, went to Capitol. In Senate a few minutes. Then in the House a little while, nothing interesting. Walked back & did a few chores. Must have everything ready tonight to leave at 6 in the morning. Boat leaves at 7 A.M. Wonder if I can get up in season?

Fredericksburg Princess Ann St.

Dec 6th. 1865.

Left Washington on 7 A.M. boat, Keyport for Aquia Creek. Chilly morning, some snow flakes at noon. Boat very comfortable. Officers polite. Bell tolled while passing Mt. Vernon. Burnt wharves & charred timbers just as Hooker left Aquia. Waited 20 min for train from Richmond. All the way to F. are traces of camps, not a dozen houses & few of these habitable. Everything at Falmouth looks so different from what it did when Frances & I went there in Jan. 1863. But what a scene of desolation Fredericksburg presents! There are very few buildings of any kind but what have been inferred more or less. Many were entirely demolished by shells, of others only the chimneys remain to tell where the houses stood. Then there are many completely riddled, doorless & windowless. The principal churches are standing but very much broken & shattered by shells. As F. is one of the oldest towns in Va, it was an

ancient looking place before the war. It has more very old fashioned houses than I ever saw together before & the oldest looking houses I ever saw.—But I anticipate. The train reached F. before noon & I was driven to Miss Temples on Main St. thinking to find the teachers Miss Stoutenburg[?] & Miss Bell there but they are at another place. Miss Temple's house has once made some pretensions to elegance but it has a neglected look within & without. Decayed aristocracy was written upon everything. The downfall of chivalry cd. be read from turret to foundation stone. Rich furniture but hardly a whole piece. Old & costly ornaments but broken & defaced. The lady herself in a faded black moire antique was in keeping with the premises. She was very polite & communicative. She had raised her board to \$2 a day & the teachers had gone where they cd. board cheaper. She was proud to say that she never saw a Yankee

until after the surrender of Richmond". She went to R. before the Yankees came here. Moved most of her furniture there. Had ample means to live on there but chose to return as this house belongs to her. But we know she wd. not take boarders & Yankees at that unless she was obliged to do so.

Leaving my trunk I went to the colored school which is kept in the Col^d. Bap. Ch. This church was riddled but it has been fixed a little & Mrs. S. & Miss Bell of Poughkeepsie have a school of nearly 200 scholars (colored). Then I went to a white school in a room in the Town House taught by Mr. Howell of P. The chil, about 150 were better clothed than the colored children but such a filthy miserable set! Such a smell! Talk about niggers! I never smelt the like before as that wh. greeted me in this school. Sent for Capt. Bohahon Super. of Freedmen; he came & went with me to find boarding place. Mrs. Peachy could not take me but she thought Mayor Slaughter could? What an idea, a contraband missionary at such a notorious secesh house! Excused myself.

Then we went to Mr. King's. Union folks. House kept by Mr. Couse & sisters. He was arrested for his Unionism & in a Richmond prison 7 months, was exchanged & went north & cd not return until June last. The sisters remained on their farm near Spotsylvania C.H. throughout the war; have been in the midst of the fighting but loyal throughout. Engaged board at \$8 per wk. Attic room in a queer old rambling house. Two houses for slaves & a kitchen in the lot.—

After dinner Capt. B. went with me to a warehouse. The only hospital for the colored sick. A large brick, no windows, fires built on bricks laid on the floor a few feet apart. No outlet for smoke when the doors are closed, dark of course, & floor broken. 25 persons here, several of them very sick & will die, several have died from exposure in this place. Oh! it is very wretched place! A disgrace to the place, to the Bureau & its officers here. Rations hard tack & mackerel & a little molasses. Another building should be procured. This is not Capt. B's Dist. The officer here

Capt. Brokaw was very inefficient & Capt. Clark who was in his place for a while was worse than inefficient. Some of the dead were buried without coffins. Capt. B_n is Super. of the 10th Dist. but he could not see these people perish without trying to help them, brought wood for them &c. —

With Mrs. Stoutenburg I called on several families & a woman showed us the Washington house where Mary Washington lived & died in [*Transcriber's note; blank space left*]. Her tomb is a little way off alone in the fields, I must go there sometime. We called on the lady who has just moved into the house. She was very polite & obliging & showed us the rooms. I went into the garden & picked some box & got some pieces of the house wh. has been broken by shells but has been partially repaired. It was raining a little & I did not go out again. I am dull this evening. I was awake this morning at 2 ½ o'clock & did not really sleep again. Left the house after 6 in an old wagon. The harness broke & we stopped less than 12 times perhaps to fix it. I feared I should be late for the boat. But I got on board & it was warm & comfortable there.

Dec. 7th. Thanksgiving. Colder.

Slept soundly last night in this strange place. This A.M. went to Bap. Church. Heard Mr. Williams, secesh minister who seemed to preach because he dared not do otherwise. There were present Gen. Harris & a few other Union Officers, about 50 ladies & a doz. men. Other churches were not opened. Gen. H. ordered places of business to be closed.— Then we went to the colored church, was introduced to several persons. Two women have agreed to go with me tomorrow to look up the poor people.

This P.M. have had a glorious ride across the River into Stafford & across the heights where the Potomac Army lay in '62 & '63. when F. & I were there to see Joseph Von B. We called at Mr. Primers[?] who with his family was obliged to leave in '62, & returned last June to find nothing but the house & that riddled. For 4 years the land had been untilled. Very few houses & some of them we can see through. The ruins of the Phillips house is a conspicuous object on the heights & there is a

fine view of F.g.—This ambulance ride reminded me of my first year in Alex^a. & I enjoyed it much. The persons with me were Capt. Bohonon, Lieut. Benson, Mrs Bell & 2 Misses Couse.

Friday. Very bright, cold as winter.

About 10 Mrs. Wright & Mrs. Turner came & I went out with them. We went into the suburbs & found several old persons needing help. Saw one old woman Chaney Newbold of Stafford who on one occasion went out of church because the minister did not preach the word of God. She was sentenced to be whipped. The Constable refused to do it & a man named Bradshaw offered to do it. Then I saw a woman who had come in 6 mi. from the country with a load of wood on a cart drawn by two rebellious looking oxen. A girl of 14 was on the load driving with lines attached to the oxen's horns.

This women has 11 child. & they all work for Doggett & he does not pay them. He tells them they are slaves & if they go away he will catch them & bring them back. I talked with the woman but she seemed [?]. She had bought in some persimmons & rabbit skins "on the sly" to sell. She said she thought she

would leave this man about Christmas. Such specimens as these were! Taking the cart, its load, the oxen & the woman & girl they cd. not be caricatured. I think the Bureau sh. interfere in this case.—

After dinner with Mrs. Downes I went out again. On the streets nearest the River where the shelling was the worst are many small houses where poor whites & colored live. Called at a few places. Do not find the destitution I expected. Went into some ruined houses, in beautiful locations on the high bank of the River. One was the Widow Mercer's, used for a look out. The grounds have been elegant. I got some of the landscape paper from the parlor wall. Not far from this is Ex Sen. Hunter's house. in his kitchen live some colored people that we called to see. They work for Phillips who occupies the house. The friends of R.M.T. Hunter are trying to get a pardon for him. Mrs. Downes knows who lives & who has lived

in all the houses that make any pretensions to elegance. She was raised here, has 3 child. Was run off to Richmond for safety, was there two years & came back free after the surrender. She is a nice & smart woman. Her husband has just bought a place for \$500. Then we went to the Hos. What an outrage upon humanity! I gave them the apples I brought from home & could do nothing more.

Capt. Bohonon has been relieved & has gone to R. to see Col. Brown but he is to come back tonight. He is to be mustered out. I am sorry for he is so well disposed I wish he wd. be continued in the employ of the Bureau.

Maj. Johnson & Maj. Morse have come, the former to take charge of the 10th Dist. & the latter the 4th Dist. but both have their headqurs here. Maj. Morse was Capt. of Co. F

2^d. Mich.& knows Joseph well, speaks very highly of him too. These are in the veteran Reserve Corps. This is quite a coincidence. Maj. M. thinks he must have been sent to this very house.

Saturday Dec 9th 1865.

Called to see Mrs. Stoutenburg. Met Mr. Stockwell from R'd.— Mr. Howell went with me to Maj. Morse's office. Boxes there from W. opened one & sent blankets to Hospital. Capt. Crandon here. Super. of 4th Dist. Maj. M. telegraphed for him to come & see for himself. I went to the warehouse with him. He has seen for himself & he thinks it is outrageous. Has tried this P.M. to get another building. Some change will be made in affairs here. Gen. Harris will help all he can but the Q. Master does[?] nothing that is done or required for the Freedmen. Too bad to have even one officer here to hinder operations. Snow falling fast.

Sunday Dec. 10th 1865

The brightest day! Snow nearly gone. Muddy. With Maj. M. looked into the Episcopal Ch. but it looked so forlorn we cd. not patronize it. Went to Pres. Minister came in & threw down his old gray overcoat & slouched hat & went at it. Preached against sin.

Made no practical application. I was not edified. Then I went over to the colored church, 3 col^d ministers there & Mr. Stockwell from R.

At 3 P.M. I went to see Mr. S. baptize 15 persons in the Rappahannock & such a scene! A crowd of [?] colored [?]. Unruly white boys amused themselves by pelting people with snowballs.

Every time a person came out of the water there were shouts of laughter. Some of the colored seemed highly amused but they were not boisterous, one says "she took the water well, didn't she?" Another says "how nice that little fellow likes the water"! There was one little boy & a little girl not over 10 yrs old. One man was very white but they told me he was colored. There were so many ludicrous features in the scene & in the ceremony even that it would take a more firm believer in the Bap. faith than I am to see how anybody could be benefitted by it.

When the crowd dispersed there was yelling & indecent haste. I have not seen such a lawless set before & such mean looking whites! I wonder if this all comes from the 4 year's war? I see but very few respectable looking colored people

Monday

Dec. 11th. Fredericksburg

Went to office, unpacked Boxes, gave out about 80 pieces to persons who came to get ration tickets. They draw hard tack, mackerel & a little molasses once a week. The sick have a little sugar & rye coffee.—After dinner went with Maj. M. to see the rooms in white hospital wh. Dr. Bates was willing we should take for the colored sick who cannot

be removed to Gordonsville. Called on Mrs. Bates. Then saw Dr. Page chief surgeon. Douglass Gordon's immense [?] is rented by Gov^t for a Post Hos^l. There are for 4 patients & these convalescent. (only 2 companies of soldiers in the county.) 500 could be accommodated in the buildings. There are 1600 bedsteads & other things in proportion & 2 surgeons for the 4 men.

When Maj. M. told Dr. P. what wanted, He said "No Sir, I'll have nothing to do with them, wont have them mixed up, they are a different race, they are lousy, they stink, white soldiers won't like them" & so on. I asked if it wd. not be a work of humanity to give them a com

fortable place, kill the lice & make them clean? He said the F. Bureau must attend to them. He refused bedsteads &c! Maj. Morse explained the situation of affairs & when Dr. P. saw that Maj. M. understood things somewhat he came down considerably. The contemptible scamp. A Virginian. an F.F.V. fair sample of the kind. When he had charged of the Mansion House Hos. in Alex. it was so plain where his sympathies were that officers in the Hosp. ordered[?] that Gov^t wd. employ him. Here he is paid for doing nothing! Then we saw Gen. Harris who said he wd. order Dr. P. to get ready as many rooms as are necessary & he wd. knock his legs from under him if he didn't look out, he should leave if he didn't take care."

I called on Mrs. Stoutenburg who went with me to the warehouse. One woman died yesterday. Maj. Morse had difficulty in getting her buried. The Q.M. will not grant the least favor to the Bureau Officers if he can help it.

Wrote to Capt. Spurgin.

Dec. 12th. 1865 Princess Ann

Rainy, wrote to Frances & father & Mrs. [?]. Went to office & sent blankets &c to Hospital. Then I went there with the Maj. who understood the rooms were ready for the sick. There are no hearths to the fireplaces & can have no fire. 6 bedsteads & mattresses all told. Could find neither Dr. B. nor Dr. P.—met Gen. Harris & told him how it was. He went to Hospital with us. He says hearths shall be put in there & we must have accommodations there. He seems to understand Dr. P. How discouraging & all this time people are perishing in the old warehouse! ~~Called on Mrs. Stoltenburg and went to hospital.~~ In evening went to Bap. Ch. & heard Dr. Broddus. Rather tiresome.

Dec. 13th Colder.

Been to the office twice for clothing & spent most of the day at Hospital. Hearth made to one fireplace & soon after had a good fire. Floor washed hanged blankets in the door spaces. Brought

over from warehouse two women, one man & one child & a woman to wait on them. Prepared beds. Engaged a woman to do their cooking & washing. Have accomplished considerable today. Am really tired tonight.

Called on Dr. & Mrs. Bates. He is a Georgian & says all niggers are filthy. Both very much prejudiced. But he is willing we should have all that is needed. The barrels came from Richmond.

Thursday Dec 14th.

Cold, bright. Went to office & gave out 80 pieces mostly to warehouse folks, some miserable creatures. Talked with the commissary.

Called on Mrs. Buck in relation to an old woman always their slave who is alone in a miserable place & nearly helpless. She is a secesh of the first water, talked Northern Slaves & interfering &c. But I think she will attend to the wants of the old woman now knowing she will be watched if she does not.

I have been to the Gordon House twice & to the warehouse once. The former is like a palace compared with the latter. It makes me comfortable to think of them now. Called on Mrs. Stoutenburg & Miss Bell & Mrs. Dr. Bates -& on Mrs. Wright &c.

Dec. 16. Friday Awful cold.

Fredericksburg, Princess Ann St.

Fearing I should not have a better day at 10 A.M. I called for Mrs. Wright, my colored friend who was to be my guide to the battlefields. All slaves until her husband bought himself & family. She they always lived here & saw all the fighting. House in plain sight & quite near much of it.—

All over the plain are holes & rifle pits. There is an ice house into which several hundred bodies of Union soldiers were thrown. We went the length of the Stone wall behind wh. the rebels fired & killed so many of our men. We went to the earth works on the heights. There are long lines of intrenchments where batteries were planted. There are ruins of houses & a burying ground. The wall.

& monuments broken by shells. From [?] house there is a fine view of the city & the heights beyond the River. This house is riddled. Was used as a hospital. Here were batteries. The premises of this once elegant place is a scene of ruin. The family burying ground is nearly obliterated. The owner has begun to repair the house. What a job! Further is the reservoir which supplies the city with water. Near this live Mr. Brice & family. A pleasant place but everything bears marks of the havoc of war. Mrs. Brice was very cordial, visitors are very rare. Premises are guarded by 5 dogs. Mrs. B's brother married a sister of the Peden's in Rochester. Mrs. B. was born & raised here. Said "she wd. like to go North as she had been told the people there lived very comfortably". I told her many of the laborers were very well off & live very nice because they were free. But ~~the~~ Slavery had caused Va. to be so far behind N.Y. She supposed so & was glad slavery

was done away with. Her daughter was at school, but her boy about 13 was there & he listened & asked some questions. She invited us to come again— After we came away Mrs. Wright told me that this woman owned a woman who had 4 children, the oldest a boy about the age of the white one used to run away to the city & the white boy would go

after him, would chain him & treat him badly. The children were kept in the cellar a month after Richmond was taken & the father who lived in the city went there with officers & took them. The mother had died. But Mrs. B. “was glad there were no more slaves.”—

We extended our walk a little farther then turned our steps towards the City. But these earthworks extend for miles back into the country. If I could only have had some of my friends with me it would have added much to the interest of this walk. Got back about one & found here a lady & gentleman from W. Va. who had stopped

until the next train to visit the battlefields. I went with them to Mrs. Wrights & she was induced to go & show them over the ground as she had me. I found one piece of shell on the stone fence but the field has been cleaned of every fragment except old shoes & bits of leather.—After dinner I went with Mrs. S. & Miss B. & Miss Kate C. & Mr. C. & Lieut. B. to the Monument of Mary Washington. It is just out of town & near it is a corral. It was never finished & a part of it lies on the ground. It has been broken & chopped off & defaced. Has been used as a target & is covered with the marks of balls. It is a disgrace to the City & to Va. There is a romance connected with its erection but hardly intelligible enough to a [?] a relation of its history.

On the other side of the River just below F.g. is the Washington farm where W. lived when a boy & where the hatchet scene is laid. There are no buildings on the farm now.

F’sburg, Princess Ann St, Dec. 16.

Oh, what a cold night! The water froze in my room. How the poor must have suffered. This morning was very cold. I braved the weather yesterday for the sake of seeing & going over the battlefields. Was very tired last night. Have had a busy day & am tired tonight. I first went to the Hosp^t. Then to the warehouse twice. How wretched it looks there!

Went out again Main or Caroline St. to the rifle pits. Saw Falmouth about a mile distant. Called on a poor white woman.

After dinner with Mrs. Stoutenburg I went to see several families; Mrs. Wright &c. Called on Mrs. Jenkins a middling white. Lived here during the war. During the shelling she sang & danced! Why I asked. “Because the property of the rich was being destroyed & they would have to work just as she did”. This was a new phase of Southern Character. She said she liked the yankees just as well as she did the confederates. There are no secesh or rebels here, they are only “Confederates”. I have seen some filthy miserable places

today where the people were very destitute. Then we called on Miss Charlotte Temple, a humbled aristocrat. She said all she had was the house & lot & she lived by keeping boarders. (She has only two.) She is a very agreeable & to me an interesting lady,

although as proud as Lucifer, & a relative of Lord Palmerston besides. I think I have seen today nearly every phase of Southern life & character.

Have been to the Office & given out some things.

Sunday Dec 17th, 1865

In A.M. went to Ch., heard Dr. Broaddus. This P.M. Capt. Bohonon read Paradise & the Peri to Miss Kate & I. He is a fine reader, is well educated & I think he is a fine young man. But he is a Universalist & the people here are very orthodox.—

Wrote to Frances. This evening spent with Miss Ann. All the rest went to church.

Monday 18. Cloudy.

Went to hospital. Quite comfortable but somebody is needed to look after them all the while. The man Wm. Harris died this morning.

The roughest coffin I ever saw was brought in. His clothes were not removed. He was rolled up in a blanket & “put away” about 3 hours after he died. No one was disturbed or seemed to care. But this is a great improvement after burying them without coffins as has been done in this city.

Got ready for Richmond & left on 12 o'clock train. Few passengers. Saw some earthworks. First station Milford, nothing there. Then Hanover Junction. Traces of war all along here. Then Ashland the only complete village I have seen in Va. It looks like a summer resort. Then Hungary Station. Reached R. at 3 ½ P.M.

Walked to Mrs. Jennings on Leigh St. nears Adams. Lives with her family in the house with Mr. Dabney. Mrs. Dabney is a daughter of Aunt Minty Foster whom I knew in Alex^a. Aunt Minty was one of the first that met me & such a hugging I have seldom or never received. She has done nothing but talk of me since she heard I was coming.

She had not seen her daughter in 9 years. She had been sent to R. to Mrs. Morson, a daughter of Judge Scott of Fauquier when she was young & Aunt Minty had escaped & went to Alex^a. in '62. Mr. Dabney bought his wife for 1350 dollars. Then he bought a house for \$1000 & put her in it. Then he bought himself for \$1200. He is worth now several thousand dollars. While he was a slave & earning this money he paid all the while \$12 a mo. to his owner. This was all she required of him. He keeps a restaurant & has always been a favorite with the gentlemen here. They have some beautiful children. A son of Aunt Minty Turner ran away from here 8 years ago. Went to Boston. Then with Com. Stribling's fleet to Japan. Then travelled with a gentleman through China, the East Indies, California &c. Has been to Oberlin School 2 years & came back here 2 mo. ago. A smart young man. Mrs. Dabney has been in jail & whipped but was brought up in the house with Mr. Morsons daughter. There is enough about this family to make an interesting book. Tired & cold tonight.

Mrs. Jennings has an interesting family.

Richmond Va. Tuesday Dec. 19 1865.

Went to see Col. Brown. Then to see Dr. Delamater[?]. Told them both of affairs in F.s.g. They are making an effort to have things better there.

Dr. Harris (colored) of Howard Grove Hos. has gone there to establish a hospital. Has the necessary supplies. I had hoped to see Dr. H. before he went to F.—

Called at Gov. Pierpont's. Pleasant call. Then went to Mr. Stockwell's school in Old African Ch. 600 scholars. 400 in one room. Good order interesting exercises & teachers, no whipping done.

Home Missionary Soc has this school & it has one in Manchester. Miss Johnson col^d has charge & it is a fine school. Teachers all colored.

Mr. Stockwell preaches in Old Af. Ch. 3500 members. S. School has 1000 scholars.—

Went to Mr. Forrester's. All glad to see me. Then to Mrs. Carter's. Then to find Mrs. Peters. Long walk, up hill & down, very tired. Jails & slave pens look quite familiar. Talk of niggers rising on Christmas. I think I will be here to see. How absurd!

Mrs. Carter says "there'll be a resurrection here on Christmas certain? No as mean as them white folks have done 'em they wd. not hurt a hair of their heads. Its their own conscience makes them think so. There's an enormous quantity of col^d. folks here but they'll only rise & go about their business"—

Wednesday Dec. 20.

Warm. Went to school with Mrs. Jennings in ch. on Byrd St. near Penitentiary. Averages 275 scholars. Mr. Barker white principal & 5 colored assistants. Mr. B. is not fit to have charge of a school. He treats the scholars badly & they are leaving & now if the school fails to prosper it will be said at once it is because colored teachers are in it.

Have sewing school wh. Mr. B. conducts in a very objectionable manner. Makes each scholar bring 5 cts. every week & cracks them on the head if they don't. He has whipped a young woman & then made her stand on the floor from 9 till 1 p.m. She has left too.

Called at Mrs. Carters. Then went to the Governor's. Mrs. Pierpoint not well. Mrs. Gordon went with me to the Capitol. Saw the library. Sec. of Com. Col. Lewis has his office here & on his table lay piles of pardon papers just come from the President.— Called on the Gov. in his room. White woman came to ask for rations. He dismissed her summarily.

We went in to the Senate Chamber. Nothing interesting done. The room has been fixed up since last summer.—Then we went to the House of Delegates wh. was a Prov.

Marshall's office last summer. The speaker [*Transcriber's note: blank space*] occupies a chair wh. was brought over from Eng. & used in the House of Burgesses more than 100 years ago. Members nearly all elderly men. Heard Mr. Stearns speak.—Rag carpet on the floor where the seats for spectators are.—It once had a wilton carpet.

Returned to the house to lunch. Col. Lewis went with us. I accepted their kind

invitation to stay & dine with them at 6.—In mean time helped dress doll for Christmas tree.—

Thursday Dec 21st. Cold. bright.

Spent the night at the Governor's. Had pleasant visit.—Called this morning on Mrs. Carter & Mrs. Wells. Then I went to S. Smileys on Union Hill. Then on further to Chimborazo which was a rebel hospital. There were 120 buildings but there are only 80 now, the rest having been used to fix & partition these for the Freedmen. There are 1300 here only 100 have rations. They pay no rent but this is all the help they have from Gov^t. They seem to be doing very well. There are two schools here. There is also a room ~~also~~ where the N.Y. Com. of Friends keep clothing to give & to sell & where 3 woman are cutting out material to be made up by woman who want work & their pay in clothing.

The ladies here are Mrs. Mary Meade of Hillsdale Mich, Miss Mary Willetts, Skaneateles, N.Y., Miss Rachel Snell, Oskaloosa, Iowa & Mary Townsend, Iowa. Mr. Thompson, a Virginian has charge of the camp & he walked around with me. There is a chapel & a market & it is a community by itself to a great extent. These people get work & so they get along. I went with the ladies to S. Smiley's & took dinner. Miss S. is an interesting quakeress sent out by orthodox Friends of N.Y. She also looks after Howard Grove Hosp^l. Then I went back to Mr. F's. & Mr. Wells went with me to Howard Grove Hos. It is a long walk on the hills & the wind is cold & raw. I think I have walked 5 or 6 mi. today.

Saw Mrs. Colton, the matron. 200 patients or sick, old & disabled there. The wards are very large, quite open & of course very cold & wood is not

plenty & these people will keep the store doors open. I saw several that were at the Alms House last summer. They "were mighty proud to see me" & one said "mighty bye" when I left. Emma Jackson the footless girl was there. She is quite a smart girl. Dr. Harris, colored, has had charge here. He has now gone to F. From Mrs. C's account of things this place has not been well managed.—They now have Dr. Cockton (Citizen) & Dr. White. The college students go there also & I fear this is very wrong. Mrs. Colton is from Springfield Mass. Paid by Com. Miss. Sue & employed by Bureau. She seems kind, efficient & interested. No guards now & things go on better. They were generally vile drunken fellows, stole things & sold them.

I have heard a sad chapter of incidents. Last summer the people at the Alms H. were sent to Point of Rocks 15 mi. from Petersburg & 50 from Richmond.

It was designed to be a permanent place for the poor of the State. Phila. Friends took charge of it. The orphanage at Hampton was broken up & the orphans sent to P. of Rocks.

But Mrs. Gibbons & daughter were taken ill & were obliged to go to Phila. Sarah Worthington was sent there but she proved to be very bad. As great a secesh as her disloyal brotherinlaw, Crenshaw, who lives near Richmond. Mrs. Redmond (colored) who was sent with S. Worthington from P. she treated very badly & tried to make a servant of her. She withheld necessary things from the people & played the mischief generally.

It was not easy to get things to sustain the people in that locality &,, but the President gave up this land to the rebel woman that claimed it & of course the darkies had to leave. Things were wasted & destroyed & from mismanagement the people reached Richmond in the night & were taken in many wagons to the Hospital & the little

life that remained in them was jolted out of them & many died very soon. A great many died at Point of Rocks. The old people brought beds tied up in blankets. These were put in the building where the guards were & were all stolen & sold probably for tobacco & whiskey. When the old women found that these their household treasures were all gone they wept & refused to be comforted. Much of the Gov^t property was stolen also. I think Dr. Harris could not have been very watchful. Somebody at least did not do their duty. Went to Mrs. Carter's for the night.

Friday Dec 22nd Very cold.

Mrs. C. made me very comfortable last night. I rested well & amidst all the noises wh. are peculiar to this locality I slept soundly till nearly 9. I had breakfast at 10 A.M. Then I went to see how things look on Main St. & in the burnt district.

Buildings are going up rapidly & things look lively. New signs & new paint have improved the looks of the streets considerably. Then I went to Mr. Forrester's & looked all over my boxes. Packed one for Fredericksburg. This took all the P.M. Came back to Mrs. Jennings tired enough. Walked & talked with a colored girl in a "confederate bonnet". She was about 13 yrs.old. She overtook me & said "Lady, ain't you cold?" & then she told me all about herself & mother. I meet various specimens of humanity. I do not realize that I am in Richmond.

Saturday, Dec 23rd. Bright cold.

With Mrs. Jennings I walked to Camp Lee nearly 2 mi. from city. Here is an orphanage sustained by Phila. Friends. It is in charge of Anna Gibbons & daughter Susan. Last summer the orphans were removed from Hampton to Point of Rocks which plan was intended then to be kept as

a Refuge & home for the colored poor of the State. But as I have already said mismanagement & a readiness on the part of the Gov^t. to return the land to a rebel claimant, broke up all Col. Brown's plans in regard to this place.

Camp Lee has been a nice place. The headquarters building is of brick. Here we found Anna G. & her daughter. The 80 orphans are in an immense barrack building, which is

very cold of course. They nearly all have itch & scurvy & it is difficult under the circumstances to cure them. Their food is not suitable for them & then they are not kept warm. Poor things. There are several barracks near occupied by colored people. Some have no ostensith business & probably steal for a living.

A guard is kept at this place but it is a drunken set of men & no protection

in reality. One night they fired pistols into the windows. Secesh & soldiers are both lawless. It is not safe to go from this place to the city after dark.

John Kaighn of Phila. was here but he was afraid to stay & went back to P. leaving the ladies without any protection but themselves & a few friendly col^d. people. They are afraid all the while & do not take any comfort. But they think the orphanage is safer at this distance from the town than if it were in the suburbs. Then they wd. expect it to be burnt down. We rode back to town in Gen. Lee's old ambulance, wh. with horses & harness were all the worse for wear. With us were Miss Susie & Reuben, Romeo Washington & Dinah.

Then Mrs. J. & I walked to Sarah Smiley's. She says she intends to look after the people at Howard Grove Hos. & I have asked her to send supplies to Fredericksburg to Hosp^l. there.

She thinks it a nice & human plan to send College Students to the Grove Hosp^l. I think it an outrage on the poor colored people. She thinks the people here are kindly disposed towards the colored people. I think otherwise. She has talked with Dr. Delamater & he thinks it all right. How little she knows of the rebels, innocent quakeress that she is!

Came back up the long Broad St. Hill. Went to Mr. F's & made a final disposition of my clothing; sent 30 garments to Camp Lee. Gave Mrs. J. 88 to distribute & Mr. Wells 60 pieces for Howard Grove & packed 103 garments in the F.burg box.—

Came back to Mrs. J's. Stores display many beautiful things. People buying Christmas gifts. I made a few purchases.

Sunday, 24. Rained all day.

Icy streets & awful walking. I cleaned up & wrote a little, could not go to church.

Went to Mr. Samson's to dinner. A small coal fire in a small grate did not make the Co. comfortable. Then the Southern habit of leaving doors open was fully exemplified here. The dinner was plentiful & very good; but it was served in a cold & dimly lighted basement so that we did not enjoy the turkey & Christmas fixins as we might under more comfortable circumstances. There were present Miss Echols, Miss Jennings & her two brothers, John & Chas. Winston, Wickham, Motley & the Samson young people. They played & had a jolly time until 6 when we left & walked back to Mrs. J's. I appreciate the kindness of these colored people, & I have ample opportunity to study character. This evening visited Mr. Oliver here. It has not seemed at all like Sunday.

Christmas here like the 4th of July in the North begins several days beforehand & then, it is the greatest day in all the year.

Richmond Va. Christmas.

Foggy morning. Cloudy day.

Guns fired at midnight & this morning & fire crackers have been popping all day. Like a Northern 4th of July.

I did not rise till later. Walked down Broad St. to see what was going on. Went to the Governor's to see Christmas tree. It was loaded with beautiful presents for the children & servants & was placed in the large parlor. This was all very well but I honestly think it was appreciated like the one at Mr. Forrester's which Mr. & Mrs. Wells got up. It was loaded with presents for the family & the children of Mrs. Wells' school (about 12). When I entered Mr. Forrester was standing by a sideboard with a Bible open before him. He said "Miss Wilbur, this is the first free Christmas we have ever had. Last Christmas had we met in this manner we would all have been arrested. Oh! We do appreciate it." His heart seemed to full to say anything more.

There were some happy children here. I partook of some cake & wine & then called on Mrs. Carter. Here I was treated to cake & eggnog & Mrs. C's opinion of the people & Christmas generally. She says "the colored people will enjoy themselves if they are killed the next minute." She says "these people just wash up God in every way they think is right. They was so disheartened & disencouraged it seemed like the time would never come. They thought they had displeased God in some way. But when the slavery chain was broken & the handcuffs & the spansels[?] & they unmuzzled the mouths, - they just don't know what to do ~~with themselves~~. They don't want to make a goose of 'emself, but they so happy ,they appreciate it."

I saw no colored men drunk. There was no disorder. A quiet happiness seemed to prevail among the colored folks as they went about or stood in groups & I saw no one molested.

Barkeepers & saloon keepers treat their customers till 10 o'clock. (Mr. Dabney made 17 gals. of eggnog). Then the bars are closed until 10 at night. Nearly all business places are closed, only a few little shops are kept open. I think the churches were not opened for services.—

Little Joanna Butler went with me to the 2^d. Meth. Church 3^d St. It was trimmed with evergreens & Flags & there was a Christmas tree loaded with presents for the teachers & scholars of the S. School, Ministers &c. Rev. Mr. Harris & Mr. Oliver & Mr. Harris (teacher) addressed the audience. John Winston played the melodeon & there was singing & patriotic songs &c. finely done. "Freedom reigns today" was sung with great relish & enthusiasm.

Scholars recited verses & chapters of from the Scriptures. Well selected for such an occasion & for this particular time in their history. It had not occurred to me

before that so much of the Bible seems to apply particularly to this oppressed race.—It was a cheering sight, & men & women looked on with delight & amazement. Had nothing like this before. A Free Christmas indeed!

I had agreed to dine with Mrs. P. so I went to Mrs. Jennings, brushed up a little & then proceeded to the Governor's Mansion. There were present besides Gov. Pierpoint & family, Col. Lewis, Sec. of the Commonth, Mr. Stearns Mem. of House of Del. his wife, & her mother, Mrs. Willey, Mr. Ross & Mrs. Brooks. Mrs. W. helped Union people & soldiers all she could during the war; is an interesting old lady, dressed in quite primitive fashion, "fond of jewelry" so she said & she wore it in profusion. She had no diamonds but Mrs. Brand had & these were admired & the jewels of each discussed in a very edifying manner. Mrs. B. is very rich, boards at the St. Charles, does not like to have it known that she has much

jewelry, there are so many robberies & burglaries in the city. So she does not wear it in the Hotel.

Mr. Stearns was arrested for his Unionism & was in Libby prison several months; sent his sons to Europe to keep them out of the rebel army.—

Mr. Ross, his nephew cd. not get away. He wd. not serve in the C. Army & he was clerk in Libby Prison. Accused of favoring Federal prisoners, knew about the tunnel "but he was not told to watch any underground operations" so he gave no information. Went to Washington as a witness in the powder plot case. He says the Prison was mined, ready to be blown up in case the raiders should succeed in reaching the City.—Mr. Brooks is Richmond correspondent of the N.Y. Times. He was in Libby & was one of those who escaped through the tunnel. I think 83 escaped & 65 were taken & brought back. So we had an interesting company. Col. Lewis is an F.F.V. but heartily despises the rebel chivalry & seems to be a staunch Unionist

Mr. Brooks spoke of the "negroes rising" & the absurdity of the idea. I said I had seen a "negro rising" today. I had seen a negro rise into a pulpit & play the melodeon beautifully & I had seen a negro rise to the top of a Christmas Tree & take off presents for 200 S.S. children & people looked on delighted. Mr. Stearns said "& they were loyal people too". Of course they were, for they were colored people. There was talking this evening of "low lived Virginia Chivalry" & "informal Copperheads". I tried to realize that I was in the House of the Gov. of the "Proud Old Commonwealth" & within a stone's throw of the Capitol where a rebel congress talked treason 9 mo. ago. And the whole Co. were union people too. Mrs. P. says the Richmond ladies turn the cold shoulder upon her. She has met them a few times, but there is restraint & reserve & no cordiality manifested.

They are much worse than the men. Many of these are friendly & cordial & show no ill feeling, no hatred towards the Yankees. Why do the women act so?

After the Co. left. the Gov. told me about his controversy with Freeman Clarke Con. of Cur. A great story has been made of this. The Gov. was accused of saying Va. would repudiate the National debt & he was profane & angry & Clarke told him to leave the room &c.

Dr. Wing had called on Clarke to ask to have National Banks established in Va. She had but one & only \$1,000,000 invested. (Mass. has \$64,000,000.) Men of Norfolk were ready to invest money & do their part to revive business in the State. Clarke refused to do any thing for them. Mr. Wing said "perhaps you think these men are not loyal? Clarke said "I do think so" "Perhaps you think Gov. P is not loyal?" Clark said "I do think so" & "perhaps you think Pres. Johnson is not loyal?" Clark said "I do think so".

Then the Governor went to Mr. C. on the same business, Clarke told him he had done all the law allowed him to. Gov. said "Sir, you have not done all the law allows you to do. People of Va. can not endure this treatment. It will be

refreshing to see the spirit of repudiation that will prevail in Va. if you persist in this course. You have said that those men in Norfolk are not loyal, & that I am not loyal & that the President is not loyal, Sir, I do not allow any body to call me disloyal with impunity" & then Gov. P. walked out. He insists that the man in the room cd. not have heard all the conversation. I cannot doubt Gov. P's version of this. —As a teacher or Missionary to the Contrabands I have enjoyed sleeping in the Governor's House, in a room belonging to the State of Va. What wd. rebels say if they knew this? The Gov. & family are very kind & cordial & I regard as complimentary the familiar terms upon wh. we meet. Mrs. P says "Miss Wilbur, do you know that the Governor believes in you?" No, "Well he does believe in you."

This has been an interesting day for me & I shall not soon forget my Christmas in Richmond. Va.—Indeed, this was not among my dreams one year ago.

Richmond. Tuesday Dec 26th. 1865.

Foggy morning, warm as summer. Walked with Gov. P. in yard & Conservatory & gathered some mementoes. Visited awhile & finished up with one of the Gov's laughable stories. Took leave of the family as I do not expect to call again.—

Went to see Col. Brown, He proposes to send the surplus population of Eastern Va. as far as they are willing to occupy the Gov^t. lands in Florida. He satisfied me about the medical students at Howard Grove. He says the city will have to take charge of this Hos. sooner or later & while it is under the control of the Bureau they wished to see how a citizen doctor would treat the people & the students are not allowed to practise; they only

go there & look on. He says "don't believe all you see in the papers." "I don't propose sending all the negroes out of Va."—Asked me to write him particulars at any time. I think he manages well.

I saw Mr. Manly & Mrs. Peters & attended to her business. — Called to say Goodbye to the Forresters. Then to Mrs. Carter's & read to her my Report. She enjoyed it very much.—

Called to see Lieut. Merrill who has charge of Henrico Co.

In Richmond 811 colored persons draw rations. This includes Camp Lee, Howard Grove & 100 at Chimbarazo. No whites now. No colored people at Alms House, so I did not go there.—Things here are in quite a satisfactory shape.

Went back to Mrs. Jennings. Tidied things as leave early tomorrow morning.

Visited awhile with Aunt Minty & Mrs. Dabney. Very bad walking. Would like to stay a few days longer but I must try to get back to W. on Saturday.

Party of young people here this evening, between 15 & 20. No black person & only 3 or 4 dark enough to pass for colored in a crowd. Several were fair & as white as any body.

They were generally intelligent & educated & refined, & appeared as well as any company of young white folks that I have seen lately. They played & enjoyed themselves till half past 1 & I enjoyed it too, looking on & thinking how like human beings they are.

Wednesday Dec 27th

I slept but little & rose at 6 & hurried off. Mrs. J. went with me to Depot & Bushrod toted my large bundle of clothing. Mrs. Carter met me there with cold turkey & pound cake for a luncheon or 'snack'.

Train left at 7 & we reached F. at 10.15. Met Dr. Harris at Depot going to R.

I rode to Mr. King's. Received a warm welcome. Went to the Hospital. Things about as I left them. Fixing Church for a Hos. After dinner I went with Maj. M. to see it. It will be a very good place. I overheard a woman say who was standing in the door of the next house "that she wouldn't stand it, to have niggers there!"

Went to office & sorted clothing. Called on Mrs Stoutenburg & Mrs. Wright. Quite tired tonight.—

Thursday Dec. 28th. 1865.

Foggy morning. P.M. Bright & warm.—

Went to office & gave out clothing. Called on Miss Temple.

At 3 P.M. rode 3 miles to Mr. Morrison's in buggy with Miss Ann Couse. Majors Morse & Johnson & Mr. P. Couse were on horseback as escort.— The roads are dreadful, but we reached there without accident & I enjoyed it. We rode over the heights & the battlefields. Mr. Morrison is one of 4 brothers, all of whom were arrested in '62 & sent to Richmond. Mr. M. was sent to Salsbury & was there several months.— Prominent citizens of F. were taken for hostages, & they were exchanged after a while, but went

north & staid till the war was over. Their families suffered at first but as soon as they could they went to Delaware, leaving all their things. They had good farms & good houses & plenty of every thing, had been in Va. but a few years

Mr. M. came back 3 mo. ago, his house was empty & his farm stripped. Part of it has been a battlefield & many soldiers are buried on it. His house was on a picket line for some time. Then it was between the pickets of the armies.— But doesn't he hate the rebels!

Miss Couse & Mrs. Morrison went to W. to the Sec. of War & they were the means of getting 240 Union men released from prison.—

Mr. M. took pride in showing us a large picture of Lincoln. They found a part of their furniture at Bowling Green.—

Somebody had taken it thinking probably it wd. never be called for.

We took supper & left about 7 o'clock. There was a bright moonlight or it would not have been at all safe. Miss C. is knows how to manage a horse & is afraid of nothing since she has gone through the war. She drove a spirited horse but he proved to be gentle for we had gone

but a little distance when the harness broke but the horse stopped until it was tied up & pronounced safe to proceed. But for the bad roads it wd. have been a fine moonlight drive over these heights & I was absolutely astonished that we reached town in safety, for I expected the old light buggy would break in every mudhole or bad place we came to. But it was a pretty nice visit after all. If I could stay longer & the roads would do I should go out to the Wilderness & Spotsylvania C.H. I wonder if I shall ever see F. again?

Friday Dec 29th. Fine.

Went to Hospital 3 times & arranged things so that they can go on until Dr. Harris comes. Then to the Office & gave out clothing. After dinner went to the Church. Ready to be cleaned & fitted up. Dr. H. will be here in a few days. Went to Office & put up all the things that are left. Mrs. Stoutenburg will

take charge of them.

Called on Mrs. Dr. Bates. Talked of rebel ladies & gentlemen, tournaments &c.

Mrs. Stoutenburg & Miss Bell have spent the evening here. Very pleasant. I have really enjoyed the company of those I have met in F. They seem so warm hearted & friendly. They, the Couses are loyal, Union people but have no interest in colored people any further than to be well served by them. They seem astonished when I tell them there are well educated, intelligent & refined & wealthy colored people. They have never known any but ignorant slaves in the country. I have told them about those I met in R. But they cannot understand how I can associate with them. I have seen no genteel looking colored people in F. I think there are none here.— Maj. Morse says his opinion of negroes is changing every day. He had been told that they are idle, lazy & shiftless,

But he does not see any such. They are willing to work & try to get along bravely. Maj. M. will do justice to these people as far as he knows how. His duties will not be neglected. I hope Dr. Harris will do well & command the respect of the negro-haters of this rebel old foggy[?] town.

Saturday Dec 30th. Mild.

Surprised this morning to see several inches of snow & it has snowed all the A.M. Rose early & packed trunk & got ready to leave.— Took leave of Aunt Maria, Clara, Moses & Miss Sallie. The ladies left their work & devoted the last hour to me, & with Mr. King & Mr. Couse ~~had~~ we had many kindly parting words, hoping to see each other again some time or other. Mr. C. very kindly took myself & trunk to the Depot, the snow falling fast meanwhile. Left at 11.15A.M. 'Twas a ride through fairyland. Every tree & shrub was loaded

with snow. It has fallen so gently that it ~~has clothing~~ rests on everything & each delicate spray ~~with a fine white drapery~~. The war paths are obliterated; hills, plains, swamps & ravines are clothed with beauty. There is a variety of trees & shrubs but the evergreens are a magnificent sight.

Nearly all the way are remains of cavalry camps, sheds for horses, log & mud huts, remains of buildings. Near Potomac Ck. Bridge is a stockade fort partly burnt, & earthworks. Occasionally the shell of a house. But little of the land looks as if it ever had been cultivated. One can hardly realize that a short time since nearly all the distance between F. & Aquia Ck. was a tented field & covered with the camps of the grandest army the world has ever seen.

Much of this land was cleared of wood during the war. It will be long ere the waste places are rebuilt & smiling plenty reigns again.

But when that time does come & free labor is the order of the day, the blight & mildew of Slavery will eventually disappear. And not till then will this be a beautiful state & a desirable place to live.—

I noticed one graveyard where rude head boards tell that some brave fellows lie sleeping far from their homes. No kind tears are dropped on those graves but the sun shines as brightly & the moon & stars look down as lovingly & the pure snow enwraps their resting place as kindly as if they lay in some cherished & sacred spot near their loved northern homes.

Reached Aquia at 12. Went on the C. Vanderbilt & reached W. at 3 ½ P.M. I am tired of seeing rebels. I have met them everywhere, rebel men & rebel woman.— I hardly looked out. I wrote in my Diary, mended my Gloves & eat my snack. On landing at 6th. St. Wharf I asked a man how much he wd. ask to take me to 207 I st.

“Three dollars!” Asked another “\$2”! Not wishing to throw my money away I engaged a man with an express wagon for \$1.50. By hard tugging the horse did reach I st. at last, but the streets are in a dreadful state. The deep snow is mixed with mud & I paid \$1.50 very willingly for my uncomfortable ride.

Found Frances well & things very much as usual. Letters have accumulated & I shall have plenty to do for a while.

Uncle Eseck Wilbur is dead. He died in the far west in Minnesota I think.

Alfred Van W. has sold his farm for \$16000 & Angeline will do a great deal of hard work before she is so well settled again.

I must write a report of my visit to Dr. Horner, Surg. in Chief of F. Bureau & fifty other things must be done as soon as possible.

Sunday Dec. 31st 1865.

Frances has been away. I have been very busy regulating things after my long absence.

The occupant of my room is not agreeable & things are not quite as I left them 25 days ago. There are some unpleasant things to be put up with at 207 I street.—

I have not the least idea of being here a year hence. I shall borrow no trouble but hope I shall be where duty calls me. I know there is much to be done here this winter. The future must take care of itself.

It is 6 years today since my darling Freda was taken from me & that wretched day will never be forgotten. She is now nearly 10 years old. I wonder if she remembers me at all?

It is so long since I have heard from her. Oh, dear!—

How rapidly the years roll round & how much has been crowded into the past five years! Into the last 12 months!

Emancipation has come to waiting millions of people & the blood of half a million of men has sealed the fact. Verily “without blood there is no remission of sins”. And ~~now~~ when the Anglo Saxon is emancipated from his prejudices & not till then, will the work be done.

Washington Dec. 31st. 1865.

[Transcriber's Note: Diary entry is on paper imprinted with “Penn'a. Freedmen's Relief Association, No. 207 I Street, Washington, D.C.

Jan. 1st. 1866.—³⁰

Unpleasant weather. Muddy.

³⁰ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26009_001 to HC13-26009_074 in their Folder entitled Jan 1, 1866 to Jan. 12, 1867.

Did not call at White House. But sent my respects to the President, hoping as it was washing day, he wd. excuse my inability to attend the Reception. But seriously I did not wish to see Andrew Johnson in the place of Abraham Lincoln. I preferred to stay away.

This evening went to Teachers' Sociable at Cor. 14th & M Sts. But few present. Walking so bad.

This A.M. helped Martha wash.

This P.M. unpacked 4 barrels of clothing from Farmington.

Jan. 2^d.

Went to Treasury to attend to Mrs. Peters business. Waited on several persons. This evening wrote Report to Dr. Horner of Fredericksburg visit.

Jan. 3^d.

A great many calls of various kinds. Mud positively dangerous. have not been out.

Jan. 4.

Visited several families

Helped Martha iron & did various things. This P.M. I was agreeably surprised to see Capt. Bohonon. He is just from his home in N.H. & on his way to Richmond. In employ of Treasury Dept.

Jan. 5 very cold

Went out to make calls. Went to Bureau. Saw Drs. Horner & Reyburn. They were glad to have my report.—Walked to 6th. St. to Teacher's Meeting. Address by Gen. Howard.

Jan. 6.

Mrs. & Mr. Earle called. Calls all day. 207 I seems to be the hub of the city. Mrs. Belding called. Frances has been away.

Waited on ever so many people.

Visited several families.—

Sunday. Jan. 7th. 1866.

Very cold. Did not go out. Arranged papers & did various things.

Monday Jan 8th.—

One of the coldest days I ever experienced. The poor must have suffered last night. Went to see Capt. Spurgin & to soup house. Called on Mrs. Breed. Unpleasant interview. Called on Mrs. Thomas. Tells me Lizzie Brown does not do well. Came back nearly frozen.

Box came from Rochester society. Unpacked it, regulated clothing room, gave out clothing. Too cold to go out again.

Wrote this evening.

—Commission from Bureau

Tuesday Jan. 9th, very cold.

dusty. Potomac frozen over to Alex^a.

Very cold at north.

Visited from 9 till 2 P.M. Waited on people here. Want of work the great trouble. Met no extreme cases of destitution.

This evening all but Miss Lane went to Teachers' Sociable, cor. 14th. & M. goodly number present. Quite pleasant. Very tired tonight.

Jan. 10th. Milder.

Visited from 9 till 2 P.M. Then waited on people. Nearly all want wood. Work difficult to get.

Waited on ever so many people. Busy day. This evening wrote.—

Jan. 11th milder

In N.Y. the weather has not been so cold since 1806. The coldest in the past 25 yrs. was in 1857. There for several days a few deg. below zero. Monday. Jan. 8th. 1866. 10° below zero. Albany 15 deg. below zero.

In Washington

To day visited south of Avenue, 16 families. Called to see Dr. Reyburn. Sad to see so many men wanting work.

Letter from home. father well. Tired to night.

207 I St. Friday. Jan. 12th.

Went out early & visited 5 very destitute families.

At 1 P.M. met a Delegation of Ladies in East Room of White House. signed a petition to President against the unconditional pardon of R. Cox former owner of premises now occupied by Col^d. Home for Orphans. The conditions are these he must give up the & 10 acres of land to the N. Assoⁿ. for Relief of Destitute Women & children. If the property is confiscated, the Assⁿ. want the privilege of buying it. I think there were 50 ladies, including Senators wives &c., some of them very elegant ladies.

They nearly filled the large room the President occupies. Mr. Stanton introduced Mrs. Trumbull (Pres. of Assoⁿ.) & several others that he knew. The President looked a little surprised & said he did not know that there would be over half a doz. If he had known

there were so many he wd. have gone down into the E. Room to receive us.

But he was very gracious & listened politely to Mrs. Sen. Trumbull. He said in reply 'that it was a complicated case he could not give an answer then, but all that he could do to help the ladies he would cheerfully & willingly do.—The law must have its course,' &c &c. He was gratified to know that such a large number of intelligent ladies were engaged in the work of elevating & improving the colored people. It was the right way to begin, give them a chance, & if there is danger of their getting ahead of white folks, it may stimulate white folks to improve. Each one should be estimated according to his own merits or demerits. All sh. have a chance &c.—Very good words, but I should like more action & fewer protestations.

The ladies of the President's family held a reception this P.M. Mrs. Sen. Patterson & Mrs. Slover were both dressed in mourning. Nothing uncommon or remarkable in their appearance. Plain, sensible women apparently,

But there were many elegant ladies in attendance; & such magnificent silks, velvets & laces! But I could not linger long to look upon this pageant.

I wonder how many ladies of the del. that waited on the Pres. would go into the wretched hovels & cabins of the colored poor in Washington & come into actual contact with the filth & misery with wh. these hovels abound! I claim no superior goodness for the work I do. It is necessary & somebody must do it.—If ladies are not disposed to do this & are disposed to give their money & influence to improve & elevate the race, I thank God for it.

After I came home I visited several families on L st. Such filth & disorder! Some of these people might do better. I was vexed & scolded them soundly.

I hope I shall never be unreasonable & pray that I shall not for a moment forget to make all due allowance for habits acquired in slave life. But what I saw this P.M. was too much even for me, of whom it has been said that “my only object is to make an easy time for these people.”

This evening it rained some but not enough to hinder Frances & I from going to Hear Anna Dickinson at E st. Bap. Ch. Subject “Women's Work & Wages.” It was very fine. She enchained her audience, which was very select, senators, &c. In speaking thus in behalf of woman, may she have great reward. May she go on trusting in God & the right.

Jan. 13th. Saturday

Warm. Lovely day.

Rose early. cleaned my room. Took till noon. Then went to see Capt. Spurgin, Old soup House &c. Went to City Hall to see Mayor. Came back so tired.

So fine, every body out in their best clothes.

This evening went to hear Anna D. subject, ‘Flood Tide.’ She was grand this evening. She was wonderful. A large audience listened spellbound nearly two hours.

She did not spare the President nor his measures & she made some telling hits. Then, she is every inch a lady, such a musical voice! Oh, she is a glorious young woman.

Sunday Jan 14th.

Bright, cooler. Have done but little today. Do not feel like work. Have rather overdone the past week. So much has been crowded into the space of six days!

Jan. 15

Very cold. Visited 19 families.
Snowed all P.M. Stormy evening.
I have been so cold today.
Dirty rooms. Smoky, Dark[?], cold. No fire in some. In others, a very little.
Very tired tonight.

Jan 16

Milder. Visited 11 families, bad walking. Some very destitute families.
Went to Cor. 14th & M for clothes.
A hard day's work. Must write all the evening.

Jan. 17th.

Bright. Went to Treasury Dept. Received Certificate. went to Navy Paymaster, for order, then to First National Bank W. for Draft of \$66.62 on First National Bank Richmond Va. Payable to order of R. W. Manly for Elizabeth Peters. I began this business last June & have

succeeded in getting this draft to send her. She may be thankful that she gets it at all. I have visited 6 families, & waited on people here. Calls from Mrs. Belding & Miss Evans. Very busy day & I am very tired.

Jan. 18.

Visited 21 families & did not come back till 2 P.M. Miss Searing called.
People coming for Tickets till night. Frances gone to Sewing School on Island.
I am very tired to night.

Jan. 19.

Have not been out. Tried to write, but was interrupted constantly. Am as tired as if I had been in the streets all day. Wrote Letter to Standard. Made Report to F's Bureau. Suffrage Bill passed the House Yesterday!

Jan. 20th.

Frances & I went to Treasury. Saw Mrs. Smith.
Called on Mrs. Belding. Dined with [?] Kenyon.
Saw Petroleum Stove in operation.

Jan. 21st. Sunday.

Very cold. Frances & I went to Capitol to hear Mr. Boynton[?]. The action of the House on the Suffrage Question was the inspiration of the Sermon. It was worth hearing.
Spent rest of day at Mrs. Smith's on I st. Pleasant visit.

In evening went to Col^d Bap. Ch. Heard Mr. Dixon, an illiterate colored man.

Jan. 22^d

Spent nearly all day in giving Tickets to people. The writing amounts to considerable. Martha has washed. I am very tired.

Jan. 23^d. Snowy.

Gave tickets till 10½ A.M. Then visited 30 families. Came back at 4 tired & cold.

In evening heard Mrs. Swisshelm on "Woman & Politics." I enjoyed her oddity.
Jan. 24th.
Snowy. Gave tickets till 10. Visited 10 families. How the poor will suffer in this storm.

Letter from Cousin Phebe.
Letter from Mrs. Marsh.
Letter from Mr. Manly enclosing Mrs. E. Peters' receipt for \$66.62.—
Mrs. Beldon called. Sorry to hear that she is going home to-morrow.
Jan. 26th

Dreadful walking. Waited on people here till noon. Then went to Senate. G. Davis made speech against Freedmen's Bureau Bill. Violent, tiresome, & I took a nap while it was in progress. I was so tired that as soon as I sat down I was sleepy. They voted on it. It passed.

Went to the House a little while.
Met Mrs. Stebbins of R. & Mrs. F.D. Gage & Clara Barton. I am to see them again.
Mrs. Kenyon here this evening.
Jan. 26th. Thaw. [*Transcriber's Note: Same date written as above*]
Swift rushing streams in the street. Slosh & mud. Started at 9 &

Visited 25 families. Such miserable shanties, & such filthy places!

Hugh Murray's Row near [?] is dreadful. I saw the landlord, and he knows my opinion of the shanties & the men who put them up & extort all the earnings from the poor colored people in some cases for rent. & then Gov^t. furnishes them food & fuel!—

This evening was at meeting of the Bureau Officers, Visiting Agents & others.
Compared notes of work done during month.

Want of work is the great trouble. It is [?] work to some of the Agents. It pained me to hear so many slurs cast upon this people. They were not spoken of with proper respect. I am glad no colored persons were there to have their feelings hurt. Oh how few there are who speak & treat the colored people as they should be treated.

Jan. 27th.
Waited on people till noon. Then went to ~~Senate~~ House with Miss Ford. Speeches on President's Message from G.C. Smith Ky. Baker, Ia., & [?] Pa. Saw Gen. Rosseau Gen. Paine & Horace Maynard of Ky. who is allowed a seat on the floor. This evening attended a meeting at [?][?] Library, Mr. Downing, Jones, Ross & others, wished to meet the teachers & others & learn their opinion of the Freedmen.

Jan 28.
Spent A.M. in cleaning up generally. P.M. & evening in writing letters.
Jan. 29

Frances & I went to Alex^a to see about the Hospital. Find things in bad way. Do not have enough to eat. Must be provided with clothes & Delicacies & an effort must be made to get better rations.

Why is it things are not better managed? I wonder if it is my duty to go back there again! Miss Collier needs help. But how can I leave W.? Secesh are very bad. No security for property or life hardly.

Called to see Virginia L, & Miss Heard. Did not see Dr. Heard nor Mrs. Heard nor Mr. Fish nor Miss Collier. Saw Mrs. Woodworth Matron. Went into all the wards, various things are needed.—Called to see Maj. Lee ass^t. Com., & Maj. Alvord. In the Same house is Mrs. Tazman & daughter & other children. Mr. T is manager of the Industrial School.

Something dubious about things in this house. Well, well, it is in Alex^a. That accounts for all that is strange & otherwise unaccountable.

Returned at 5 P.M. This evening had call from Mr. & Mrs. Lake & Frankie. Wrote several letters.

Tuesday. Jan. 30.

A crowd of people here from 8 this morning till 2 P.M. A new soup-house opened near us. This evening wrote to Dr. R. about L'Ouverture Hosp^l. Went to Bureau twice.

Jan 31st. Hutchinson's Concert.

Dr. Heard called. Gave out some tickets. Then visited 24 families. Went through mud & mire. Did not get back till after 4 P.M. Hard day's work.

Feb. 1st.

Bright. Waited on people.

Went to 10th st. to purchase white kids (\$2) to wear to S. Colfax's Reception. Very busy P.M.—When F. & I were ready to go Mr. Lake came to say that Mrs. L. was not well & they had given up going. Then went to 27, 4 1/2 st. to see Mr. & Mrs. Hobbins. Spent evening there till nearly 10. Then Mrs. S. returned from [?]'s Reception & we all went to Colfax's no 8, 4 1/2 st. Many were leaving.

& others arriving. A carpet was laid from the house to the curb stone.

We staid till 11 1/2 P.M. to look at the ladies, their beautiful dresses, laces, pearls, diamonds, etc. Some magnificent ones. Mrs. Pomeroy was the most elegant lady.—Some quite ordinary looking people & some so queer & oddly drest [*sic*]. Mr. Colfax, his mother & sister, stood near the entrance to the parlor & shook hands with every one as they entered. They were all smiles but it looked tiresome for people came from 8 1/2 to 10 1/2.—Then John Hutchinson came & sung a few pieces. We took car wh. run of track at 14th. st. & we walked rest of the way. It was very cold & 12 o'clock when we got

back.—It has been an interesting evening. Mrs. Gage was there & Clara Barton & E.D.E. Southworth.—

Mr. C. has reception every Thursday.

Feb. 2^d. Cold

I did not rise early. Attended to people from 8 1/2 till 1 P.M. & in the meantime, overhauled everything in Clothing Room & cleaned it out. A hard, busy day. I wanted to go to Reception at White House & to Teacher's Meeting but have had hardly time to think of them.

Frances not well today.

Feb. 3^d. Cold.

Frances quite sick all day. I did housework till noon. Then I went to Capitol, House in session. Debate on "Bill to enlarge powers of Freedmen's Bureau." Marshall of Ill. spoke at length against it. Said "Government clothed & fed the negroes at the same time they were permitted to darken this House by their lazy presence."

Moulton of Illinois spoke for Bill.

Constantly interrupted. Then (General) Rousseau of Ky. made lengthy speech against the Bill, unconstitutional, &c, &c, Roscoe Conklin took the wind out of his sails twice & Judge Kelley used him [?] once. Rousseau had never heard of Ge. Spinner. Kelly said perhaps all the intelligence of the world had not reached Central Ky. Spinner was on Sherman's staff he thought. Just before me were seated a lady from Ky. & a lady & gentleman from Alabama. They became acquainted at once. Ky. says "I don't like the freed niggers but I have a great affection for the old niggers." Alabama says "yes, the freed niggers are impudent but I have a great affection for old family niggers."— They were pleased with Marshall & Rousseau of course. The dome of the Capitol to be lighted this evening.

Dr. Rapier came to see Frances.

27 I st. Sunday Feb. 4.

Bright & cold.

Cleaned my Room. Took till noon & till 2 P.M. to get things regulated. I am quite tired of waiting on Miss Laverne. She tries my patience exceedingly. I can hardly endure the infliction. Frances is much better. Dr. R. called. I have done various chores.

Feb. 5th. Very cold.

Intended to visit all day, but people kept coming till noon & I had to wait on them.

Have printed tickets now, but is a good deal of work to fill them up. The Bureau wanted a Report by 4 P.M. Mrs. Griffing has complained to the Sec. of War & the Freedmen's Bureau wish to inform Sec. Stanton how much has been done & what is being done.—

There is much suffering certainly & I sometimes think the Bureau might do better.—

I went to corner 14th & M. A crowd of men were waiting to see Capt. Springin[?] but could not get access to him.—They tell me they wait there day after day for somebody to come & hire them & there is (I think) about one chance for 50 applicants. Yet Capt. S. says he can get work for all.—Another officer says these people do not want to get places. They ask too much wages, &c. &c.

Oh dear! I do not know about all this. But I do know that some of these people I am acquainted with & they worked faithfully as long as work was to be had.

I have to day seen men, women & children suffering from hunger & cold. I have not seen starving people before. Stout able bodied men ask me for bread & own they have to beg or starve.

Many of these while they worked for Gov^t. slept in camps & corrals. Now they have no place to lay their heads, only as somebody takes them in for the night.

There are many returned soldiers

unpaid & they can get no work. Clothes are worn out. They know they are treated unjustly. They are getting desperate. They will take to stealing. I would steal rather than starve.—

The rations are all received from the same window. The people standing outside & many wait for hours in the cold & then perhaps have to go home without them. There should be better arrangements, they should be treated with more consideration. They crowded around me & begged for tickets. I stopped my ears & ran away from them. I have felt condemned for eating or warming myself to day. It has been bitter cold. I had my Report ready by 4 P.M. & Lieut. C. called for it.—

Letter from Rich^d Cadbury. Sent boxes to Hospital in Alex^a.—Letter from Mrs. Booth. Pokeepsie Society ready to [?] for F__burg.

Feb. 6th.

Very cold. Visited 21 families. Took till noon.

Went to Capitol. Listened to C. Sumner one hour & a half. Great Speech on Bill to guarantee to every state a Republican form of Government.—

Crowded galleries.—

Went to House & listened a little while to debate about W. Virginia & the Pierpoint Government.—

This evening Frances & I called on Mr. Baker & Mrs. Smith.

Feb. 7.

Visited 20 families. Out nearly all day. Tired to night, dull & stupid. Have seen some queer people.

Feb. 8.

Waited on people & gave tickets nearly all day. Tiresome work.

Feb. 9th.

Waited on people till 11^o clock. Then visited 16 families. Walked through mud & mire. Worked at weekly Report.

Feb. 10.

Went to see Dr. Reyburn. Tells me things will be better in L'Ouverture. But I do not expect much with the same Ration order.

This P.M. at Capitol speeches in House by Ward of N.Y.; Delevan of O. & Williams of Pa. I was so tired I could not enjoy it. Finished Report this evening.

Sunday Feb. 11.

Went to Unitarian Ch. Heard Mr. Briggs. Miss L. has used my room to such an extent that I could not occupy it to day.

What am I to do? My writing is hindered & I have no place to myself.

This evening went to Capitol. Last meeting of Christian Commission. Report of what it has done through the War & speeches from Stuart Pres. & Bishop Simpson. Rear Admiral Davis. Gen. [?] & others. Singing by Phillips & the Hutchinsons. Gen. Grant present & Chief Justice Chase & senators & M.C.s

S. Colfax presided. Hundreds of people came and went away without getting a chance to look inside. Crowded throughout. I sat partly on a step in the gallery. Hot & tiresome. Speaking of ordinary character.—Crowd came to see the notables rather than to hear.—This hall does not hold over 2500. No large hall in the city of W.

Monday Feb. 12

Waited on people all day. Tiresome work.—Mrs. Fish here. F. & I could not get tickets for the Capitol to day.

Feb. 13

Frances & I fixed room for Miss Laverne. I am rid of her now. Such a relief. She has annoyed me so. I have had to wait on her so much. She has hindered me so! Well, I hope it is over.

My room is in order & seems so comfortable now. This P.M. unpacked 2 large

boxes from Phila. Hard day's work.

This evening went to hear Douglass on "The Assassination & its lessons." He said it was a long way from the Cornfield to Dr. Sunderland's Church. Chief Justice Chase presided. A fine audience, grand lecture, but Douglass was sick. Yet he did well for all that. He made some capital hits. Only one thing to regret, so few Colored people there. Lecture was for the benefit of the Colored Home in G.

Feb. 14

Gave tickets till Eleven o'clock. Then visited till 4½ P.M.

Came back very tired.

In evening went with Mr. B. to Sociable at Mr. Bowen's. About 60 present. Very pleasant company. Reviving the Unitarian Society. Frances staid with Mrs. Belding & Mrs. Smith.
Rained all the evening.

Feb. 15th

Very cold. Sudden change last night. Worked in house all day. Gave out over 100 garments. Frances is away. Letter from Mrs. Jacobs. She in Savannah.

Feb. 16th.

Coldest night yet.—& bitter cold today.—Went to P.O. Then to buy Looking glass for \$2.—

Then to see Mrs. Belding. Lunched with her. She came to I St. with me. Called at Davis Hotel to see F. Douglass but he was out.—

Went to Reception at White House. But few present. Weighed 113 lbs.—

Went in to Conservatory. Flowers beautiful, Japonicas, Azaleas, Acacias, Euphorlias, &c.—

Then called to see several families. After dinner called at 212 K st. Saw Douglass, Downing, Lewis D. &c. Very pleasant call. D. leaves tomorrow for Ill. To be back in 10 days.

Feb. 17.

Waited on people till noon.

Then went to Capitol. Heard speeches from [*Transcriber's Note: left blank*]

So tired I could not keep awake.

Mrs. Belding went with me to see Barrack wh. the Bureau has obtained for the teachers to live in if they choose. Looks rather forbidding.—

On some accounts it would be convenient, & on others I should not like it at all.

It is 2 squares east of the Capitol. I had rather remain in this part of the city.

This evening Mrs. Holy called. Also John Jolliffe

I have made my weekly report for the Bureau. Quite a job.

Frances away.—

Sunday. Feb. 18. 1866

Rainy day. Have not been out. Really enjoyed the day in my room, resting some & writing some. Frances away this P.M.

Feb. 19th.

Rained all day. I have given tickets & given out clothing all day. 75 pieces. President has vetoed the "Freedmen's Bureau Bill." Nothing to hope from Andrew Johnson.—

Feb. 20th.

Bright. Visited till 11½ A.M. Mrs. Belding came. I went with her to the Senate to hear the discussion on the Freedmen's Bill, or rather the Veto Message of the President

Garrett Davis took up much time. Then Trumbull spoke 2 1/2 hrs. Cowan rose to reply & I came away at 4 1/2. When we reached there at 12 1/2 o'clock, the galleries were full & there was a crowd at every door. We took a position & by slow degrees were pushed in, several having come out. At 3 o'clock we got a seat. Such a crowding & pushing! Some persons are really uncivil & disobliging. Some people seem to have left their good manners at home

The Veto has caused a deep feeling. Mr. [?] made a powerful speech, took up all the objections of the Veto message. The Democrats & Copperheads are jubilant over the veto.

Came home & dressed myself for the Reception at the White House. Mr. Newton was going with us. Mrs. Belding, Mr. Kenyon & all were going, not to pay their respects to Andy Johnson. I wd. not shake hands with such a man. But it is a public place & the public have a right to go there. But at 7 o'clock we hear that the Bill was voted on in the Senate & lost by 6 votes. It is a sad blow for the freedmen & the friends of the freedmen. Frances comes in & says there is no Reception this evening. Is it because there are so many indignant people here. I should think Johnson wd. be ashamed to have the people he has defied.

Feb. 21st. 207 I st.

Fine. Gave out Tickets till noon. Called at Bureau. [?] Maj. Lee, urges me to go to Alex. If I was at liberty to go there I would like to go, as there is no person but Miss Collier to go among the people.—

Dr. Reyburn is displeased with Dr. Heard & I think he will be relieved. I am sorry he does not give satisfaction. I have so much regard for Mrs. H. Dr. Reyburn wishes me to go to Campbell Hosp^l. with him to see how nicely they got along there.—

Went to Capitol. Nothing interesting in Senate or House. People uneasy. We hardly know what will come next. It seems as if a great calamity had befallen the country. My Flag draped with black has been suspended from my window all day.—

This evening F. went with me to Mrs. Belding's. Then I went to a Unitarian Sociable at Mrs. Johnson's.

Feb. 22^d 1866.

A sad day for the Country. Rebels & Copperheads have had a meeting at Grover's Theater to endorse Andrew Johnson's veto message & his reconstruction policy. Large crowd there. After the meeting, those in attendance (old secesh citizens, returned rebels copperheads & the rabble generally) went in procession to the White House & hurrahed for Andy Johnson. He came out & made a speech to them. He denounced the Republications. Called Chas. Sumner & Thad. Stevens traitors & said what delighted the crowd generally. The most undignified, disgraceful speech ever made

by the Chief Magistrate of the nation. He has thrown himself into the arms of the rebels & copperheads. He denounces Congress & now will come removal of all republicans from

Gov^t. offices. Stanton & Harlan opposed the Veto, so they will lose their heads. Seward approved it. Just like him. Nothing since the assassination has affected the loyal people like this betrayal of his friends by the President.

Wise men think this is the darkest time our country has ever seen.

Thad. Stevens said in Congress the day after the Veto that "Earthquakes are around us." We have only Congress to depend on now. I fear the Republicans will not remain firm. Sen. Morgan votes with the Democrats.

God only knows what is to be the result. I think an attempt will be made to drive Congress from the Capitol by force of arms & Andrew Johnson will lead the rebels that will attempt it ere long. He is determined that representatives shall be received from the rebel states.

And Henry W. Beecher endorses the Veto & lauds Andrew J. to the skies. "Such a pure-minded statesman" &c. Oh! dear, what will come next?

Frances has been out. Streets full of people. The old fogies & secesh are out.

I have not been out. I gave tickets till 1 P.M. then unpacked boxes. Rested a little. Then fixed for Colfax's Reception. F. & Miss J. Ford & myself went with Mr. & Mrs. Stebbins about 8½ o'clock. There was a crowd, some very elegant people. All seemed to enjoy it. There was dancing & I looked on awhile. It was pleasant, but I do not care to go again.—Nearly 12 when we returned.

Last 22^d. of Feb. there was rejoicing in earnest by all local people over the evacuation of Charleston. Illumination in evening. Mrs. Jacobs, Louisa & Frances went out to see. I had lame foot & could not go out. Union people do not feel jubilant to day.

Feb. 22^d. 1866.

Feb. 23^d

Severe head ache. Almost sick. Visited 14 families. Then unpacked 2 boxes from Phila. Tired out. Could not go to Garrison's Lecture. Frances went. says it was grand. Fine audience. Slept this evening. Felt better. Collation in sitting room in honor of Mrs. Newton's birth day. I partook of it & then returned to my room

Feb. 24th.

Pouring rain all day. Could not go to Alex^a as we intended. Glad I am not obliged to go out. Some of the poor things will be almost drowned in their shanties.

Cleaned my room. Starched my collars. Made Report to Capt. Spurgin. Fixed up accounts generally. Feel rested.

Sunday.

Ground frozen. dust flying. raw wind.
Went to Unitarian Ch. Heard Dr. Briggs.

Then went to H. st. to see Miss Evans. lunched with her. Came home at 4 P.M.
In evening Miss Evans came & we went to Dr. Garrett's Ch. to hear W.L. Garrison. A fine audience, colored & white & a very interesting lecture. I enjoyed it much & so all the audience appeared to do.

Monday 26 cold.

Waited on people nearly all day. Gave 50 tickets & 85 garments.

Hard day's work. But I always feel much satisfaction after giving in this manner. I know so many more people are more comfortable than they were last night. Called at Bureau with Miss Evans.

This evening heard Mrs. F.D. Gage at Seaton Hall, subject "[?]" Very interesting lecture, large audience for benefit of Geo. town Home.

Been to look at 2 houses to rent

Tuesday. 27.

Bright. Cold. Visited till 2. 9 families. Long walk.—Wrote up accounts. With Mrs. Belding & others went to Reception at White House. Spoke with Mrs. Patterson & Mrs. Stover but not with Andrew Johnson. I would not take his hand, traitor that he is. It was sad to see him in the place of Abraham Lincoln. We have heard that he was drunk last Tuesday evening & for that reason there was no Reception.

To night there was an immense crowd. But few Republicans & few distinguished persons. All sorts of people, white, some in evening costume & some in working clothes. Soldiers & civilians, fine people & coarse people. I think a large proportion were secesh & Copperheads. Old fogies, been buried for 5 yrs. & just unearthed again. Now that the President is one of them they

both men & women were out in full force to pay their respects to a President that good & loyal people are ashamed of. It was not a happy gathering. It was not enthusiastic. There was constraint & restraint.

We left at 11 P.M. quite satisfied.

Wednesday. Feb. 28.

Last day of winter. Oh! well.

Hard day's work in the House. Waited on people till nearly 2 P.M. Went to Bureau to see about folks from Freedmen's Village.—532 persons on Arlington Farm at present. Rations are sent there for 470.—Government has given up all the other farms. People come here & complain, can get no work there & no rations. I wish I knew the truth about things there.

Unpacked 2 boxes. 3 more large boxes here, no room for them. I am so tired to night. I cannot

behave myself. Miss Flagler called. Mr. J. Joliffe called. Have been seriously disturbed today. But this is Washington & I should be surprised at nothing here.—

Thursday, Mar. 1st.

Waited on people awhile. Visited 9 families. Looked for others & did not find them. Unpacked a large box.

Called on Mr. Downing at Davis' Hotel. Saw Mrs. Dorsey of Phila.—

When F. Douglass was in Baltimore last he was shot at twice when leaving the Depot.— We are evidently on the brink of a rebellion. There will be an outbreak soon. Andrew Johnson & Seward have arrayed themselves against Congress. Things cannot remain as they are. Copperhead papers dare to say that “it may be necessary for the President to drive Congress from the Capitol by Military force.”

Mar. 2^d. warmer

Made my weekly Report to Capt. Spurgin. Went to Bureau with it. Called on Mrs. Belding. She went with me to the teachers' meeting. Brig. Gen. C.H. Howard, Ass^t. Com. present & spoke to the teachers. Nothing very interesting done.

Mrs. B & I went to Capitol at 4. The incorrigible Davis was speaking. He was followed by Doolittle, Wilson & Fessenden.—These were interrupted by McDougal, Saulsbury & others.

At 7 o'clock vote taken on Resolution “That no members shall be admitted from the rebel states until Congress declares those states entitled to representation.” Passed 29 to 18. Davis asserts that the President has a right to admit them at once & he ought to do it.— Mr. Fessenden is Chairman of the Reconstruction Com. & to save his own reputation, he being

accused of delaying [?] Report, he must explain by saying they have asked repeatedly for the documents relating to those states & for information wh. the President withholds from them.

With neither dinner nor supper Mrs. B & I were nearly exhausted, but we were determined to see it through. (Mrs. B. went home. I went directly to the Meeting of the Visiting Agents at the Soldiers' Free Lib.y. but few present.) I saw the Senate Chamber lighted & I saw the dome lighted. Oh! it is a very beautiful sight, worth going a long way to see.

The street lamps were not lighted this evening & the moon was of no use after it did rise for it is quite cloudy. I was alone in the dark but not exactly afraid. I stopped & bought some cake & eat it in Meeting from sheer hunger.

Saturday March 3^d 1866

Bright & warm.—

Frances & I went to Alex^a on 10 A.M. boat.

Called on Miss Collier & lunched with her. Saw Maj. Alvord, says they issue 1500 rations & he has received \$5000 worth of clothing from the N.Y. Assoⁿ.—

We went to the L'Ouverture Hosp^l. They are quite comfortable now. They have received from Phila. 1 bbl. of sugar, 1 bbl. of rice, 1 bbl. dried apples, box of farina, box of cocoa, keg of barley & a large bag of clothing. Phila. does not do things by halves.

Dr. Heard remains yet & things will go on better.—About 70 patients.

Had no time to go through the wards. Went to Soldiers Rest, where the rations are issued. Such a crowd! The thing[?] is not well managed for the want of thorough & efficient visiting Agents & the giving is done quite indiscriminately.

Saw & talked with Mrs. Tayman[?] who is to manage an Industrial institution in the Soldiers Rest, sewing, weaving, &c, &c. Great plans, no results as yet. She believes the “darkies” an inferior race & treats them as a servile people. Finds fault with them, they will not improve & so on. I should very soon quarrel with her. What queer people abound in Alex^a! Whew!

We called on Virginia & Mary Lawton, bought some soft gingerbread & came back at 5. So pleasant, not a ripple on the river.—

I called on Miss Evans & did not get home till after dark. Frances has gone to Miss Chamberlin's.

Sunday Mar. 4th.

Dust & wind make it very unpleasant. Went to Unitarian Ch. Heard Mr. Hepworth. A beautiful discourse.

This evening wrote, fixed up accounts, &c. Frances away.

Mar. 5th. very cold

Wind & dust dreadful.

Waited on people all day.

Wrote 49 tickets. Gave out 97 garments. Hard day's work.

Charlie Newton sick with Varioloid.

Miss Evans came this evening. We have been to Dr. Garrett's Ch. to hear Mrs. F. W. Harper on the “Lesson of the Hour.” Douglass calls her the colored [?] Dickinson. She is very eloquent. It was a fine lecture. Douglass made some remarks after Mrs. H.—Miss E & I enjoyed it very much. Frances is away.

Mar. 6th.

Wind & dust terrible.

Have not been out. Refused to see the people & had a day to myself. darned stockings &c. Seems queer to work for myself. Read a little. My eyes trouble me.

March 7th.

Wind & dust terrific.—

Waited on people all day. Wrote 39 tickets. Given out 102 garments.

Hard day's work.—

Miss Collier here tonight.

Too bad to go to Douglass's lecture.—

Mar. 8.

Wind & dust dreadful.—

Waited on people till 2 P.M. Gave out 56 garments.—

Maj. Alvord called. I learn from him that Pres. Johnson requested the Bureau to find her a place, & if there was none to make one for her. She is "Super.^{nb}" of Industrial Schools & Distributing Agent" &c, &c.

Her salary is \$600 & emolument amount to \$400. She is a Catholic & employed 10 Catholic girls to make up \$1000 worth of material sent by the N.Y. Ass^{on} for the poor freed women to make up for their benefit. Paid these 10 girls in the clothing they made & then asked for rations for them.—She has not had a sewing School in operation

over 1 mo. since last fall.—

Maj. Lee turns over to her every thing sent to him for the Freedpeople. If I had known this, I should not have begged the box of shoes for Alex^a. Maj. Alvord thinks she does not make a good use of things put into her hands.

Friday Mar. 9. 1866

Determined to change my programme. I am getting wearied & worn. So I have been out for the first time this week. Called on Mrs. Breed. She is fading gradually. Poor woman, she cannot last long. She was very kind in her manner.

Called on Mrs. Lake. Then went to the Senate. Heard Fessenden attempt to demolish Sumner's speech of Wednesday. F. is Chairman of the Reconstruction Com. & the Bill it has reported Mr. S thinks very objectionable. It was painful to listen & hear Fessenden bring all his powers of wit, sarcasm, & ridicule,

against the "noblest Roman of them all." & this to the great delight of the Democrats & Copperheads in the Senate.

A common man would have been annihilated & Sumner felt it deeply. I pitied him; but the moment F. closed, Sumner was on his feet like a roused lion & for 15 min. he poured forth a torrent of grand & burning eloquence wh. electrified the House. Such noble, truthful, eloquent words are seldom heard even in the Congress of the U.S. He was stirred to the very depths of his soul for, as to a Compromise with wrong, he will have none of it. I was proud of him. And Wilson too spoke against Sumner. So sad that these men should

differ on such important questions. I heard the votes taken on the Amendments which were lost. After I left the Bill was lost by a vote of 22 to 25.—

Frances has been away all day. Had letter from Mrs. Wells. All well in Richmond.

Worked all the evening at my Reports. An Extra one is required for the Bureau. I am nervous. My eye, my eyes. It is 11^o clock! No more tonight.

March 10th.—

Rose early & wrote till half past Eleven. Took my Reports to the Bureau & to Capt. Spurgin's Office. Met Mrs. Belding who went with me to the Capitol. Orth of Indiana was speaking when we got there. Then Thaddeus Stevens made a speech on Presidents Message. First chance he has had to do this. The irony & sarcasm that he used in speaking of the President's late Speech were absolutely fearful. I did not hear it all. He does not speak loud. Then I came home; finished my letter to Nellie Perry wh. I began last Monday.—Frances away.

This evening with 2 Miss Ford's

Went to hear F. Douglass Lecture before the Equal Suffrage Assoⁿ. Sufficient to say, I was proud of him. After him remarks were made by Geo. Downing, Yates, M.C., Sen. Wilson, & Gen. O.O. Howard. It was a great deal for 50 cts. The hall was packed full & the audience seemed to appreciate what was said.

This is hearing a great deal in one day. I would gladly divide my privileges with some of my friends at home.—

Sunday Mar. 11th—

Rain. Glad to have the dust laid. Heard Rev. Geo. Hepworth, [?]

The discourse was able, beautiful, & eloquent. At times he reminds me of Mr. Holland. Mrs. Belding called.—

Monday.

Received people from 8 until 4^oclock. Wrote 57 tickets & gave out 140 garments. So tired to night that I am good for nothing.

Tuesday. very warm.

Went out among the people.—

Mr. W.Y. Andrews & wife called. From Rochester on their bridal tour.—so tired.

Mar. 14th.

Waited on people till 1 P.M. Wrote 26 tickets & gave out 68 garments.

Went to Georgetown to Miss C's school. Then to see Nancy Parker from Fred—being whom her old mistress wished me to find.

Called to see Miss O. Kelley. She has been ill 4 mo. & has given up her school.

The weather is so fine that every body is out walking, riding or driving.

Mar. 15th. Warm.

Cleaned my Room & did various chores.

Rested some & feel better.

This evening heard Rev. G. W. Hepworth at Un. Ch. subject "The Times as seen from a New Eng. Pulpit." It was very fine. Entirely fearless in his utterances. A noble young man!

Friday Mar. 16th.

Waited on people till noon. Spent P.M. in making weekly Report to Bureau. I have given during the week 99 tickets & 257 garments. This evening been to Cor. 14th. & M. to meet Visiting Agents at Gen. C.H. Howard's request.—Laborers are wanted to Mississippi & Arkansas.

Northern gentlemen are going there to work plantations. They offer good wages, & hold out considerable inducements. I am told that laborers are not to be had there. Perhaps not in some particular localities, but there must be a great many people down there yet, according to other accounts. Pretty sure of the protection of the Bureau one year, but after that what will become of them if left to the tender mercies of the rebels? Freedmen do not see the way clear & they do not want to go so far South upon uncertainty. They are cautious how they go very near the old rebel masters again. They understand that the veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill means something to their disadvantage. I do not blame them.

Washington. 207 I st.

Mar. 17th. 1866.

Saturday. Cold. Windy.

So unpleasant I do not go out. Have written several letters. But can only write what is uppermost in the hearts of the people. The Veto was regarded by true & loyal men as a calamity to the country, the saddest thing that has happened since the Assassination. It means a restoration of the Rebels to power & a thrusting back of the Freedpeople into the hands of their old oppressors & it is also a betrayal of the plighted faith of the Gov^t. towards 4 millions of its people.

And that Speech of 22^d Feb.! To call our true & noblest men 'traitors;' & to use words wh. mean nothing less than this "Assassinate Sumner & Stevens & you will do me acceptable service"!

To say that he was drunk when he

made the speech is no excuse at all. A drunken President of the U.S.! No, he knew what he was saying & there was a crowd around him, cheering him on.

And to think of the company he keeps! Traitors & rebels can have access to him at any time, while leading men, true & loyal, can gain no admission to his presence.

The times are sad & dark. Four Regiments of the Regular Army have lately come here. There are thousands of Confederate soldiers & officers in this vicinity ready to use the arms wh. it will be very easy to give them if the President so orders it.

I suppose it is very evident now that the Fenian movement in this Country has little reference to Ireland, but it is in reality an organization of traitors & copperhead who are to act at the bidding of Andrew Johnson. The Catholic

element is on the side of Johnson & against the negro & it matters little to Irishmen here whether they fight Englishmen or negroes, only they had much rather fight Negroes. The Fenians have collected quantities of arms as well as money.

Rebels, Copperheads & Democrats are all on the President's side. I think he will soon proclaim a general amnesty.

Seward says "there is no further need of making distinction between rebels & loyal men. There is not now a rebel in the Republic, & the word should not be used." Was he, too, drunk when he said such words. I do not think Seward can be trusted any more than Johnson. The latter will demand the admission of the rebels, & when Congress refuses, the loyal members will be driven from the Capitol, & a Congress of Rebels & Copperheads will be placed there instead. Bayonets can do this & the President has them.

But we have a loyal North & there are thousands of Union soldiers who know how to use bayonets. And God is on our side too & with him we are never in a minority.

Company this evening. 2 Misses Chamberlin & Mr. Wetherbee & Mr. Smith.

Sunday. Mar. 18th.

Cold. Heard Mr. Hepworth from "Thy Father which is in secret." One of the best sermons I ever heard. He magnetizes an audience completely.

Called on Mrs. Smith & Mrs. Belding & Mr. B. Took a lunch, then went to Garrett's Church to S. School.

Brig. Gen. Brown Super^t. It was a pretty sight—those shining stars presiding over a school of negro Children.

In evening heard Mr. Hepworth again. Very excellent discourse. Frances & Miss Moore went with me.

Crowded house.

Mar. 19th. 1866

Cloudy. Waited on people from 9 till 3. Wrote 40 tickets. Gave out 67 garments.

Finished "Lucy Alwyn." Do not like it. This evening wrote letters.

Mar. 20th.

Rainy P.M. This A.M. Frances & I went to Georgetown & called on Mrs. Blackford.

This P.M. wrote letters.

Frances sick this evening. Thinks she has Varioloid. I hope not. Sent to Mrs. Brown for medicine.

Mar. 21.

Frances sick all night. She has varioloid. Doctress Brown has been here. F. has suffered a great deal to day. headache & backache.—considerable eruption appears.

I have been to 17th. st. twice. Bought tinc. of Cimicifuga as a preventive of S. Pox. Waited on people from 10 till nearly 3 P.M. gave out 84 garments.—
Am quite tired to night.

Mar. 22^d 207 I st.—

Fine day. Ironed this A.M. & did various chores. This P.M. went out twice & made 14 calls. Children are having measles.

Men are finding work.—

Frances slept some last night & feels much better to day. We had an unwelcome call this A.M. wh. disturbed me considerably. What persistent fools we sometimes meet in the guise of sensible persons.—

Mar. 23^d

Frances better. I have waited on people & done various things. Been out once.

This evening rained, but Miss Ford & Miss Lane went with me to hear Mr. Hepworth. Very good Lecture of the “True Church.” He was followed by some remarks by Rev. J. Pierpoint, but they seemed droll & tame after Mr. H’s brilliant discourse. Mr. H. will spoil us for other preaching.

Mar. 24th.

Fine.—uneasy this morning. Read Standard & Reconstructionist.—Mrs. Swiss has another article on the “Assassination Plot.” Her paper will be suppressed if she goes on at this rate. She calls Johnson “Big J, Andy.” Spent several hours in making Weekly report to Bureau.

Pleasant call from Mrs. Stebbins & Mrs. Merchant & also from Mrs. H. who wishes to establish an Industrial School somewhere. How many are willing to work for the Freedmen now. It is quite popular, especially if one can get no other business.—

This P.M. cleaned thoroughly. Frances has worked most all day. But I have insisted upon her staying in her room. Letter from Henrietta enclosing pictures of W^m. Penn & Florence. W^m. Penn looks like a middle aged man & I remember him as a little boy!

Sunday Mar. 25.

Cold. high wind.—Snow squall.

Heard Mr. Hepworth. Very good discourse. Took the rest of the day easy. Too busy to write. Smokes when wind blows & cannot have fire in my room.

Monday. 26th.

Bright, very cold. Water froze in my room last night. Since F. has been sick I have slept in the sitting room but last night it was so cold that I could not sleep—Frances is quite well.

How the poor people feel the cold!

Waited on several people. At noon went to the Capitol. General debate on Mr. Stockton's claim to a seat. (N.J.)

The cold wind & dust are dreadful.

Heard Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, Nye, Sherman, Hendricks, Clark, Stockton &c. Moved to reconsider. Opposition wish to postpone the vote till Wright of N.Y. comes.

Tuesday Mar 27th.

Very cold, windy, dusty.

Waited on a few people. Then I went out. Called at Mrs. Belding's. She was out. Called at Mrs. Kenyon's. She & Mrs. Smith were practising [*Transcriber's Note: Blank space*], a beautiful art.

Perhaps I shall learn it.

Went to Senate. Whole P.M. taken up with Stockton's case. A shame. Nothing new nor interesting said.

President's veto message of Civil Rights Bill sent in. After 5 they began to read it. I could hear so little of the reading that I left in disgust.—He is determined to thwart as far as he can all that Congress is disposed to do.

Wednesday Mar. 28.

Waited on people until Eleven. Then went to Capitol. Senate adjourned. Sen. Foote (Vt.) died this morning. This evening with Misses Ford, heard Mrs. F. E. W. Harper on "Home Influence." very good indeed.

Thursday Mar. 29.

Waited on people this A.M. Then went to Capitol to funeral of Senator Foote. Dr.

Sunderland preached a long discourse. Mr. Gray made a long prayer.

There were present The Judges of the Supreme Court. The President & Heads of Depts. Members of Diplomatic Corps. Senators. Members of House & various others. The Pallbearers were Harris, Fessenden, Johnson, Guthrie, Sumner & Lane of Ind. They wore white sashes. The coffin was beautiful & covered with flowers. Judges & Senators wept. Mr. F. was respected by all, was an excellent man. Can ill afford to spare him now.

Five years ago this scene would have impressed me deeply. But now this did not move me much. Some how my sensibilities are blunted; my senses are obtuse & such scenes have not the charm of novelty. Every day we see distinguished personages. They have ceased to be a wonder.

Washington. 207 I street.

March 30th Friday evening.

Waited on people until Eleven. Then took down & packed things for moving to morrow to 20th st.

Superintended the cleaning of my room. It is all ready to go into in the morning. There are so many to be suited that there seems to be a little friction. Just a little. I wish I had a house of my own. But I suppose that is never to be. If I could have my things all together & enjoy them, as so many others do, how nice it would be. This is, I suppose, our last night at 207 I street. I came here 14 mos. ago. And what changes I have seen in that time! We are going to a more comfortable & convenient house, but it is far from being what we should like. To pay Rent \$45 per mo.

Frances has been away all day.

Mar. 31st.—

Washington. 20th. st. bet. K & L

Cloudy. Rainy P.M.—Quite a job to move. We didn't know until we stirred them up that 207 contained so many traps. Mr. Brooks' horse & wagon went to & fro numberless times. Took one load of trunks for me. The rest of my things were moved by hand. I had engaged the services of (Sir) Edward Temple for the occasion.

Frances & Mr. Newton attended auction all the A.M. but bought nothing.

We were pretty well settled when night came, & all were very tired. A hard day's work for me.—

House a hundred times better than 207 I st. Two basement rooms light & pleasant. New paint & clean walls throughout. Colored families on each side of us. Glad of it—for various reasons. We rent the house of Mr. Wright (Colored) who lives in a house adjoining precisely like the one we occupy.

March 31st. 1866.

Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. It is 32 years since she was taken from us. That was a dark, sad day; & many a dark, sad day have we seen since. My father is now [*Transcriber's Note: blank space left*] & has been quite feeble for a few years past, but during the present winter his health has been very good, & may Heaven spare his life many years yet. While he lives I have a home to go to. When he passes away I shall probably be thrown upon the wide wide world with no permanent home. But I will not borrow trouble; sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Sister Mary is now 32 years old. I cannot realize this, for it seems but a few years ago that I cared for her as a little child. A letter from her a few days since informs me that she is well, her husband doing well & Minnie is at school & learns well.

20th. st. Sunday Apr. 1st. 1866

Very fine day.—Slept well last night in our new room. Not so noisy as 207. This A.M. went with Mrs. Newton to Union League Rooms to hear G.B. Stebbins, subject “The Primal Gospel.” I was very well pleased with the manner of Mr. Stebbins, as well as with the matter of his discourse. Called on Mrs. Kenyon & Mrs. Belding. Spent rest of the day in quiet at home.

Monday. April 2^d

Moved Boxes from 207 to 343 20th st. Arranged clothing in dining room & fixed my room. Quite convenient & comfortable now, as I have had shelves put up. I have run to & fro & run up & down stairs. & written ever so many ticket. I am very very tired to-night. Bureau has issued Circular No. 4. Rations & wood will not be issued

to people here after the 10th of April. The orphans are to be sent to a farm near Eastern Branch. The hospital will receive the sick. The old & aged disabled &c. will be sent to Alex^a & Freedmen’s Village. The ablebodied are expected to leave W. & go wherever they can get work. They are urged to go to Mississippi & Arkansas with Northern men who promise to do well by them. Will take families. But the colored people can’t see it. They cannot understand why it will be better for them in Miss. than it is in Va. These people were never in Arkansas. It is a thousand miles away. They think if they cannot be protected near W. they certainly will not be so far off. I cannot favor this plan. I wish they would go North or West & scatter about the country. They cannot all find work here & Northern farmers want laborers.—But prejudice hinders every project for their benefit.

Apr. 3^d.

Anniversary of Fall of Richmond. Letter from Mrs. Jennings. The Church in wh. she taught school was set on fire last Saturday by rebels & burned to the ground. The colored people wish to celebrate the 3^d of Apr. & the secesh are angry. They call upon Gen. Terry to forbid the niggers from insulting the whites in this way. Niggers presuming to rejoice when whites are suffering from humiliation? How bad! They threaten & bluster. I dare say there will be disturbance. The poor negro has a hard time of it.—He will yet have to fight to make freedom a reality to himself. The white teachers have succeeded in getting Mrs. J. & her daughters out of school. I think the N.Y. Assoⁿ employs very objectionable teachers. Some of them have no idea of treating colored people as if they were men & women, their equals.

I have done various chores & wrote 4 letters & been out to find several families. Dr. Rhoads called this morning.

The President has proclaimed Peace.

Now prepare for War.

Washington. 343 20th st.

April. 4th.

Lovely day. Waited on a few people.

Went out for an hour.

Then went to the Capitol. Heard Mr. Trumbull on President's Veto of "Civil Rights Bill." Spoke 2 hrs. Quoted largely from Andrew Johnson's speeches in Senate on Buchanan's Veto of Homestead Bill. He denounced this Veto in the strongest terms. This created a sensation throughout the Senate Chamber. No Vote was taken. I would have enjoyed this more if some of my friends could have been with me.

I made a disgusting discovery. Public Snuff boxes are placed in the Senate chambers for the use of Senators! And potent[?] grave & reverend seigniors walk up & help themselves. Whether the U.S. Gov^t pays for this snuff & the boxes wh. contain it, I am unable to say.

Mrs. Belding & I called at the Milliner's shops to learn fashions & prices. A bit of a bonnet costs from \$10 to \$12.—

Called at Mrs. B's & rested. Also on Mrs. Smith & took tea with her. Then she & Mabel walked home with me & took supper. Papers say the celebration in Richmond yesterday by the col^d people passed off finely. 7000 in the procession?

Thursday Apr. 5.

Fine. warm. Waited on people until 10½ A.M. Then fixed & went to Capitol. R. Johnson made a long speech against Civil Rights Bill. Mr. Cowan made a contemptible speech. Turnbull used up Johnson, Md. by quoting his own words 3 mo. ago. Exactly opposite to what he says now. Democrats wished to put off voting till to morrow when they hope to have Dixon & Wright to vote with them.

Mr. Wade wished to vote at once, because we have the advantage now. If God has afflicted those Senators with sickness, & we can pass this

Bill by this means. He thanked God for it & he believed they had a right to use the advantage. The speech made a sensation. MacDougal made some remarks in his usual manner. The Vote was put off until tomorrow. Too bad. The bill will be lost. I sat there from 12 until after 5 P.M. Tired enough. Came back, dined hastily & went a long walk to see a sick woman.

Friday Apr. 6. Fine. warm.

Waited on a few people. Fixed bonnet. Letters from Elizabeth & Angeline. A. says she has given up coming to W. I am very sorry. When she might was well come as not. I must write again & urge her still further.

Miss Collier called.

About noon went to Capitol hoping vote wd. be taken early & then I cd. come away. When I went in Wade was speaking in his usual earnest way upon the President's policy. He was followed by Lane of Kansas in defense of the President

He is sorry the Pres. made that speech but excuses him for so doing.—A thunder shower occurred while he was speaking but his voice could be heard about the roar of the elements. He was interrupted by a dozen senators perhaps. Then spoke Doolittle for a long time. Mr. Trumbull used him up once so that D. cd. say nothing. We thought this wd. be the last speech before the vote was taken. But, oh! dear. Garrett Davis rose & spoke two whole hours! People were in despair. Many left. They were coming & going all time, much confusion, but on he went, nobody listened for his only object was to hinder the voting. But he did finish at last. Then Saulsbury ‘blowed’ away for awhile. McDougal giving the last kick. Then the question was “should the Bill pass notwithstanding the President’s

objections”! All unnecessary noise was hushed at once, & there were anxious faces among the Senators while the vote was taken. When Morgan of N.Y. said ‘aye’ there was applause in the galleries. But it was promptly checked. I counted the ayes anxiously & knew that it was going right & when the vote was announced, 33 ayes to 15 nays, there was an outburst of applause, a joyful shout in the galleries wh. of course could not be suppressed.

This scene amply paid us for 5 hrs. waiting this P.M. & I do not regret staying it through, Garrett Davis & all.

Saw Gov. Pierpoint there & many others that I know. Miss Evans & I staid to see the dome lighted at 7. It is very, very beautiful. The Vote was taken at half past 6 P.M. & now every city & village where there is a telegraph office knows the result.

Saturday Apr. 7th. Rainy

One week has passed already in our new residence. It is really pleasant here.

Have given but few tickets this week.

To day Frances has been away. I have enjoyed the time alone fixing bonnets.—

Reception at Gen. Grant’s last evening. President & daughters there.

Pres. shook hands with Thad. Stevens & they talked together pleasantly & Thad. didn’t assassinate him.—Alex^a Stephens present. Jeff Davis will be present next time.

Republicans in good spirits. I think the President will hold back a little now.

Sunday. Apr. 8. Rainy day.

Had good cleaning up. Made Report for Bureau. Rested & enjoyed the day. Frances away.

Mr. & Mrs. Goddard from Worcester called. Letter from Mrs. Earle.

Monday Apr. 9. One year ago

Lee surrendered. Illumination, &c.

³¹I have helped Martha wash & iron. Hard day's work, but it is a comfort to have a quantity of clean clothes.—

The House of Reps. has passed the "Civil Rights Bill" over the Veto. Great rejoicing & excitement when the vote was announced & the Bill declared to be a law. Colfax cd. not restore order & the House adjourned. I wd. like to have been present but I was otherwise engaged. This is indeed a victory!

The colored ladies of W. today presented each senator who voted for the C.R. Bill a bouquet of choice flowers & Sumner & Trumbull a basket of flowers. A card was attached & written upon it were these words, "We exercise the Civil Right to express our gratitude." These were laid on the aisles during the session.

Tuesday Apr. 10

Bright. Cold. Regulated boxes of clothing. Then walked to 7th St. & back. Finished my bonnet. After dinner Frances & I made

calls. First to Clara Barton, but she is absent in New Jersey.—Then to Mr. Bowen's, very pleasant call.—Then to Mrs. Kenyon's & Mrs. Belding's.—Busy day. Letter from Mrs. Jennings. The celebration on the 3^d in Richmond was a complete success.

Apr. 11th. Cool.

Made 40 calls on 18th & 19th, & E and D sts. Came back & arranged trunks. Sewed. Barrel came from Worcester, valued at \$99.—Unpacked it. Valued too high.

April 12, Warmer

Attended to people all the A.M. Gave out 86 garments. This P.M. sewed. Calls from Mrs. Belding, Miss Collier & Miss Kelty. Frances away all day.

Apr. 13th. Fine

This morning sewed. At 11 F & I went out. Called on Mrs. Brown & Mrs. Garrett, & Mrs. Breed, (but did not see her). She is

quite feeble. —Then to Mrs. Swisshelm's. What an oddity! She is also amusing. She is an institution! Has given up publishing the Reconstructionist. Her house has been set on fire twice. She could not publish a paper here with safety.—Then we called at Capt.

Spurgin's office cor. 7 & O sts. Sending families to Miss.—Long walk but we rode back. Frances is tired out. has been in bed ever since. After dinner I called on 23 families. Tired enough to night. Mr. & Mrs. Stebbins have spent the evening here, but F. cd. nt see them. Letter from S.A. Ferris. She intends to come to W. next week.

Letter from Maj. Morse. Encouraging state of things in Fredericksburg.

April 14th

Anniversary of a sad day.

³¹ Entries through the end of this document correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26009_075 to HC13-26009_159 in their Folder entitled Jan 1, 1866 to Jan. 12, 1867.

Departments have been closed, & flags are at half mast. No other observance. A year ago today I was in Alex. & could not get away. It was a sad time.

This morning was fine. I went out a little while, waited on a few people. This P.M. Rainy. Wrote to Mrs. Jacobs. Did various chores.—
This evening Mr. Baker called.

Sunday Apr. 15th

Went to Unitarian church. Heard Rev. E.E. Hale. Several children were christened & several persons united with the church. Looked over papers, read, etc.

Monday Apr. 16th

Rained all A.M. Such a disappointment! Too wet & muddy to go out. Celebration put off until Thursday. I called on Mrs. Belding at Davis's Hotel. Colored soldiers came from the forts & marched through the streets.

In P.M. Frances, Miss C. & I went to Capitol. Disgraceful scene in the Senate. M^cDougall was drunk & insulted Conness while he was speaking. Mr. C. was so indignant he cd. hardly speak, so mortified too. Said it was the first time he had alluded to M^cD's disgraceful habits, but he cd. be quiet no longer. Senators hung their heads with shame. M^cD kept talking, but at last was induced to go out.

Then we went to the House. Discussing Army Bill. Rogers of N.J., Ingesall of Ill. & Eldridge of Wis. said sharp words. I. called E. a contemptible Copperhead, & E. called I. a traitor; points of order were raised by various persons. There was laughing & excitement & confusion. The chair could not decide whether it was out of order or not to call the Dem. side of the house, "followers of Jeff Davis", & this caused applause in the gallery. It was a rich scene if it was disorderly. And these men are the assembled wisdom of the Nation!!

Tuesday Apr. 17. Cloudy day.

Wrote letters. Went out & bought wheelbarrow load of wood. So cold. Must have fire. Did various chores.

In evening Frances went with Mrs. Kenyon to the Theater.—Mrs. Belding called. I went with her to Davis Hotel. Select party of colored people were to have a hop. (Waited to be sure that Sally Ann wd. not come on 6 o'clock train.)

Met several agreeable people. Company came about 9. Dancing began about 10. Very genteel & well-bred young people. I am apparently white. Others quite dark. Nearly all shades of color.

Mrs. B, who said a few days ago that "it seemed so strange to have colored persons sit in the parlor with her, & not in the capacity of servants;" even Mrs. B. became interested in the company, & danced with Dr. Tucker & Mr. Hodges. Mr. & Mrs. Barnes (white)

also joined the dancing & enjoyed it. If I ever danced I should have danced tonight; such a good chance to put social equality principles into practice. I think Mr. Baker was sorry that he could not dance. I enjoyed the whole. I am always happy to meet intelligent & refined colored people. They are active, living arguments against caste & prejudice. — These young people belong to the best class of col^d people in W.—This is the first time I have met them under such circumstances. Supper was not over until 2 A.M. Then a Virginia breakdown & a few quadrilles & the co. left. I am to remain with Mrs. Belding.

Wed Apr. 18th. Cloudy

Am so afraid it will not 'clar' today. That to-morrow may be a fine day for the celebration. But it is now 2 P.M.

The sky grows lighter. The clouds look thinner. Really hopeful.

Well, I do not feel very bright today. It was 3 before I retired, and I slept but a few hours.— Frances wondered what kept me out all night.—

This A.M. I visited 18 families & saw the extremes of ignorance and poverty among the colored people. Some of these have improved none since they have been here and never will. But others live really nice & are smart & thrifty. —

My friend S.A. Ferris came about 7 P.M. Am very glad to have her here. She is so tired we do not go to hear Mrs. Swisshelm this evening.

Thursday Apr. 19th

A glorious day in more senses than one. Bright, warm & beautiful. A celebration of Emancipation in the Dist. has been held & only two occasions

have ever surpassed this for numbers & display. These were the Grand Review, & the funeral of Ab^m Lincoln one year ago today. Some sad associations connected with this day & the colored people realize them.

The Procession was formed at Franklin Square. About 11 o'clock Sally Ann & I went out. At the corner of I and 17 we asked ~~we asked~~ permission to stand on the steps of Mr. Knapp's residence. The father-in-law, an old gentleman, said "bless you. I will get chairs for you. We declined to trouble him. We became considerable acquaintances. He said, "I do not know what others think, but I think it a grand affair." He was a loyal man from Ohio a few years ago. Said "his son's life was saved by the colored people. He had been in Libby prison & suffered much." This old gentleman enjoyed the display as much as we did. We stood there & saw it all pass. I notice this incident because I didn't

expected they were all secesh in this elegant mansion. He asked us to go in & take a glass of wine, but we declined & went over to the White House to be there when the procession stopped. There was already a crowd of men, women & children, but they were not allowed to go onto the portico. We waited awhile in the East Room. Then we stood on the Portico until the President came out and made another 'Speech.' We could not hear

much of it. It was "Big J Andy" all over. "My policy" was made very prominent, boasted of his friendship for the race, & gave us to understand that he, & not the radicals, was the best friend of the negro. —Sec. Stanton thought best to use some powder on the occasion & the booming of the cannon while the crowd was at the White House added to the excitement of the occasion. There were delegations from Geo T. & Alex^a & Baltimore. Several companies of Col^d. Troops, several Brass Bands, Masonic

societies, benevolent Asso^{ns} with banners & appropriate mottoes. Two battle flags, tattered & torn, as well as many others bright & new that made the procession a grand one. I hope sometime to learn the numbers of people. All colored. When it approached Gen. Grant's Headqrs. he ran away, for fear, I suppose that he wd. be called on for a speech.

The President stood on the usual stone wall, & after the speech he stood & waved his hat & bowed as the procession passed. I hope he saw it all, especially the banners & their mottoes, some of them didn't quite endorse "My Policy". After this a crowd pressed round & he shook hands with a great number. How condescending! The procession went to the Capitol, & then back to Franklin Sq. when the speeches were to be made. The Chronicle says, "The movements of the procession were really

magnificent. There was no baulk when they came back to the square. There was a dense mass of people assembled and we stopped in front of the stand long enough to hear Bishop Paine pray & H.H. Garnett make a short speech & read resolutions. Then it was so hot we left, & went to Dr. Breed's & sat on the balcony an hour & overlooked the crowd. The speakers were Trumbull, Wilson, Howard & Day etc. While Wilson was speaking the platform fell, but no one was hurt. In a few moments they, the speakers were occupying another stand & all went on well.—People seemed to appreciate the occasion & all looked happy. There was not a single instance of disorder. Nothing out of the way done by any one that I saw & I have heard of nothing. It has all been very creditable to the col^d. people & they have had a day of enjoyment. I am glad Sally Ann has had an opportunity to see this.—We are very tired tonight.

Friday. Apr. 20th. 1866.

We were very glad this morning to see Alfred & Angeline who have come to stay a few days. Have just come from Avon. Father is not very well.

We rested this A.M. About one P.M. we went to the White House but there was no Reception. They are over for the season. Went to Capitol. Sat in Senate & heard Doolittle & Cowan. Went to the House. Nothing interesting going on. Mr. Van Horn showed us various rooms. Returned at 5. —Mr. Baker called. — I fixed F.'s bonnet.

Saturday 21st

Started at 8 for Navy Yard. Spent an hr. there. Saw the monitor & cigar [?] iron clad. Went aboard the Tonawanda. Shops, Museum etc. Then went to Alex. on 11 A.M. boat. Called on Miss Collins. Maj. Lee away, so that I could get no ambulance. We walked until we were nearly tired out. Went to

Christ Ch. Hospital, Slave Pen, & Soldier's Rest. To Magnolia for refreshments & then reached the 3 P.M. boat just in time to escape a shower. When we reached W. it had stopped raining. We were all tired. This evening Alfred & Frances have gone to Theater & so has closed another day.

Sunday Apr. 22^d. Fine. Warm.

Alfred went to meeting to the Capitol. Rest of us too tired to go. I wrote some. At 2 Alfred & Angeline & Sally Ann & Mr. Newton & myself started for a ride. Went over Aqueduct Bridge to Arlington. Went into the first gate, where there are several hundred soldiers' graves & the graves of thousands of contrabands. Then we drove to the west side of the house where there are acres of graves. About 8000 are buried there. It is a deeply interesting spot. —We went to the house, saw the old furniture & paintings etc. Then to Fort Whipple wh. we entered by scaling the ramparts, quite to the

surprise of the guards. In this fort are the prisoners that were sent from the Old Capitol. It is a strong fort & well worth a visit. The view from this is magnificent, as is also the view from Arlington House. Then we drove on through Freedmen's Vil. Much enlarged & improved since my last visit there. Then we came back through G. in Boundary St. to 21st. Interesting drive all the way, & reached home at 6 P.M.—Mrs. Kenyon and C. here.

Monday Apr. 23^d

Rain this morning. Could not go to Bull Run. Went to Capitol. Went up into The Dome, to the Tholus. A most stupendous work of art. We were lost in wonder & admiration. Alfred felt timid & cd. not go as far up as we did. The prospect from this is magnificent. This is my first visit to the Dome. The frescoed ceiling is a great work.

Went in to the Senate awhile & rested. Then went to the Government green house. Very beautiful there —

Then to the Patent Office & took a hasty survey of the curiosities & Washington Relics. At the Capitol met Mr. & Mrs. Forrester from Richmond.—

Tuesday Apr. 24th. 1866.

Cloudy, cold, high wind, But we left 6 this morning for Bull Run Battle Field. (Alfred, Angeline, Sally Ann & I). Reached Manassas at 9 A.M. Passed Springfield, Burke's, & Fairfax Stations. Desolate region. A few fields being cultivated, but few people at work. A few Earthworks near Manassas. Stopped at Manassas House. The other hotel is the Eureka. Three other houses & a Livery Stable I think are all the buildings at this station

now. A Rockaway drawn by one horse was all the conveyance we cd. procure. Three other persons & a driver went in a stout 2 horse wagon.

We were told that the roads were very good, but we found them very bad & we were in danger of breaking down for our carriage was very light. It is 7 miles to the battlefield. We went to the monument of the first battle, July 21st, 1861. This is on an eminence. Near the site of Mrs. Henry's house. She was old, 90 years of age, the battle rage all around her, & she was struck by a shell as she lay in her bed & killed & here is her grave surrounded by a picket fence. From this point we could look over much of the field, but can see no vestiges of the battle. We went to the Stone House in a hollow near Young's branch, wh. is now owned by Mr. Starbuck. From this place we walked about half a mile through fields where we picked up various things, & in the woods where the grounds were strewn with haversacks. At some particular spots a mile or

two distant we were told many relics might be found, but our time was limited as we were to be back to Manassas to take the 3 o'clock train, and seven miles of bad road lay between us. We regretted exceedingly that we had not made arrangements to stay longer & go over more of the ground. It is an interesting place. We did not go to Stone Bridge or Sudley's Ford.—or to the Monument of the 2^d Battle of Bull Run.—Most of the dead were taken up last summer & removed to Arlington I believe. —A Mass. gentleman and his wife were visiting the ground to see the place where their son was killed, but they could not find it. Things are so changed. We left the Field reluctantly & reached the station at 3. Alfred was to go on to Richmond, & we came back to W. Reached 343, 20th st. at 6 P.M. feeling well paid for our trip although we wd. like to have seen more.—

Wednesday Apr. 25th. 1866.

Frances went with Angeline & Sally Ann to see schools at cor. 14 & M sts. I waited on people, cleaned my room. We all called on Clara Barton & Mrs. Lake & Mrs. Stebbins, & Mrs. Kenyan. Very tired.

Apr. 26.

Left at 9 for Mt Vernon. (Angeline, Sally Ann, & I) Cool & windy. Cabin of Thos. Collier comfortable. Over 100 passengers. Boat could not go up to the wharf. Landed in small boat. Took 2 hrs. Angeline a little sick but ventured to go on shore. At 2 P.M. went up to the house. Saw the garden & grounds & Tomb. I did not enjoy it as much as formerly, I was seeing for others this time, not for myself.

Embarked at 3½ P.M. & reached home at 6.— Too early in the season to be very pleasant, so cool on the water.

I called on Mrs. Belding.

Apr. 27th. Fine

We all went up to the Congressional Cemetery. Then to the Experimental Garden, then to the Smithsonian. Came back nearly tired out. Alfred came back at 3½ P.M. Has been to Richmond & Fredericksburg, etc. Does not like the country well enough to purchase a home.

Mr. & Mrs. Forrester from Richmond called this morning. Have never been out of R. before. Slaves do not travel much & Mr. F was a slave until 2 yrs. ago. He has a brother here, & they have visited all the interesting places in & about the city, & they have appreciated the privilege, especially the visit to the Capitol & to Congress. They are very worthy people & I have a great regard for them.

Saturday, Apr. 28th.

Fine. Warm.— First in the programme was a visit to Campbell Hospital. The

chief motive for this was to see Sojourner Truth. —She was in a talking mood & we were highly entertained. Sojourner hates rebels & Copperheads. Told us about her visit to President Lincoln &c. Says her name was Belle Van Wagoner from Esopus, Ulster Co. N.Y.

We came back & rested a little while. Then we went to the Observatory. Prof. Doolittle was very obliging. Explained the use of the different Telescopes etc. Came back. Took ~~dinner~~ lunch. Then went through grounds south of White House. Improvements are being made. Then went through the Treasury. There are acres covered with the stone for the new extension.

Went to the Army Medical Museum. Many interesting in this Museum. Called on Mrs. Smith. She is ill. Went into Ford's Theater. Not finished yet. It is intended for archives

relating to the War of the Rebellion. The sad associations connected with it will make it an object of interest for generations to come.

Then we looked at the beautiful things in the Shop windows on Pa. Av. Went into Perry's Dry Goods Store. Sally Ann made Frances & I each a present of a pair of Alexander's best \$2 kids.

Came back very, very tired, but after dinner we visited the old dilapidated House. cor. 27th & K where Gen. Washington stopped to visit his niece Mrs. Peters. The last time he visited the city. After that several Foreign Ministers have occupied it.—A family of poor White trash occupy one room in the extreme back part & say they take care of the premises for Widow Smoot [?] who owns the house. — Boys have broken all the glass of some of the windows & all the bannisters

of three flights of stairs. But we went up to the attic. It is truly a dismal place. The white woman was lying on a bed on the floor, room filthy & in disorder, but she was not so drunk that she could not get up & follow us about & talk a stream. "The niggers raked the house. Lincoln set them free & put them in it. He should have been shot long before he was. If there had been two or 3 Booths the Country wouldn't be as it is now. There'll be a bloody war here before long. There'll be no niggers left here, I know, I hear the men talk. There hadn't ought to be a nigger left above ground. They won't work, have everything given them, while white folks that belong here have to starve & freeze, but it won't be so much longer, but I'm not afraid. I shall not be hurt. You may give the niggers things, but you'll see. There'll be a war soon."

This was all thickly interspersed with 'd__d's & other equally polite expletives. She was a fair specimen of a rebel woman. The genuine spirit was here. She meant & felt all she said; but of course if she had been sober she wd. not have dared to say those things.

Came back & went to visit a sick woman. I have not been so near tired out before & Angeline & Sally Ann are nearly tired out too. We have done Washington pretty thoroughly. They intend to start for home Monday Morning & Alfred is to meet them in Phila. He left for Harper's Ferry yesterday morning.—

Sunday, Apr. 29th.

Fine. Cool. Have rested today; only F. & Angeline have been to Lorenzo Dow's grave. Mrs. Kenyon & Charlie, & Miss Chamberlin called. This evening Sally Ann & I have been to Dr. Garnett's church. Mr. Watkyns preached.

Monday. Apr. 30th. 1866.

Fine. Rose early. Angeline & Sally Ann took leave about 6½ A.M. Frances went to Depot with them. I felt tired out this morning, but cleaned my room & regulated things generally, & waited on some people. Frances came back at 1 P.M. We miss our company. I have given most of my time to them & I think they have enjoyed being here. The visit has been satisfactory all round I think —& I am so glad they could come & not be hurried, & see all that is worth seeing. Now I must devote my time to the poor & sick & work again.

May 1st, Rainy, & I am trying to rest.—Exerted myself too much last week, do not feel well today. I have written letters, fixed up accounts, & Marked Fancy Goods for Fair. Tornado this evening.

May 2^d.

Called on Mrs. Garnett & several families. Mrs. Stebbins & Mr. & Mrs. Curtis from Rochester called. I went with them to see several families. Called on Mrs. Lenthall[?]

391, 19th St.—Then to White House. Saw the class of persons that occupy the waiting rooms every day. Mostly rebels & secesh, I think.

Went to Hammack's for Lunch.

Then I left the Party.

May 3^d.

Visited 12 families. Went to 7th st. —Went to Seaton Hall to see specimens of Left Hand Penmanship. One specimen was written with the Mouth by a soldier who had lost the use of both hands.

This evening F. & I called on Mrs. Belding at D's Hotel. Dancing party there. We looked at them awhile. Not so nice a company as the other one. We came back about 12. Spent the evening neither pleasantly nor profitably.

May 4th, Friday

Waited on a few people & regulated all my boxes. This P.M. went to Teachers' Meeting. Then with Misses Ford & Miss Moore to see Sojourner Truth. She said some sharp things. This evening called at Mr. Wright's.

May 5th. Have not been out.

Waited on a few people. Served all day. Dull & lonesome.

May 6th, Sunday

Went to Unitarian Ch. Heard Mr. Israel. In P.M. read & in evening went with Miss Moore & Mr. Newton to Grover's Theater to hear Murdoch read. The pieces were, "Joseph & his brethren; Destruction of Sennacherib, Death of Absalom; When all My Mercies; Oh! My God; The Widow's Son; Passage from Sir Walter Scott; Wounded & Mustered Out." Some of these were well done, others were over acted, especially "Paul's Defense Before Agrippa," & the Lord's Prayer," wh. last was applauded! Read for the benefit of the Soldiers' Aid Society. Large attendance.

May 7th. 1866.

Attended to washing—Cleaned room. In P.M. went out to purchase bonnet and hoops. Long, weary walk. Such fantastic fashions! I will none of them!

May 8th

Visited 15 families. Ironed 2 hours. This evening F. & I have been to Post Office to meeting of Visiting Agents. Congress has appropriated \$25,000 for the relief of the poor both white & colored, & agents are appointed to disburse it.

May 9th. Rain P.M.

Walked to 7th st. & back. Finished my bonnet. Suits me very well. Cost \$4.50, not \$10 nor \$20. Waited on several people.—This evening had a call from Mrs. Wright & Miss Lane & Mrs. Paine, wife of Bishop Paine of Ohio, a very lady like woman. The Bishop has gone on to Savannah, Ga. He is a native of Charleston, S.C. driven away from there 31 yrs. ago for teaching

colored persons to read. Went back last summer & enjoyed the visit much. He now resides at Wilburforce Ohio.

May 10

Went to see Miss Evans. Then to school on the Island. Then to the Capitol. Heard Sen. Nye finish his Speech (began it yesterday) Doolittle replied, tiresome I left & went into the House. All confusion. Left in disgust. They took a vote on the "Reconstruction Bill." Passed !!

This evening been to Senate Chamber to hear Mrs. Walling lecture. It amounted to just nothing. She spoke so low nobody could hear. As soon as she began to speak the audience began to go out. The most moving speaker I ever heard. A small portion remained to the close. It was about the war, the negro, slavery, etc. etc. I heard a few sentences.

May 11th.

Visited 7 families. Very few sick. Called on Mrs. Townsend. We were serenaded last night by the Colored Band. Fine music!

May 12th.

Visited 11 families, only 2 sick persons. This evening went to Geo. town to the Fair, but it was not open. Frances away all day & evening.

Letter from Sally Ann F. at home safe. She & Angeline met Alfred in Phila —S. says she enjoyed every minute of the time here. The places & things that interested her most were Bull Run, Arlington & Dr. Garnett's congregation.

Sunday May 13.

Went to Unitarian Ch. Heard Rev. E.F. Holland of N.Y. Dry preaching for me. Agnes Jones came. Wrote letter for her, & returned the last of the money she put in my care. (\$5). Mr. Belding called.

May 14th. 1866.

Cold. Visited families.— Called at Bureau & at Mr. Garnett's, & Dr. Breed's, & Miss Hyde's, & did some errands. Came back very tired.

May 15th.

Served awhile. Went to the F's Bureau Then to the Phil^a school on 19th st. Called on a few families.

Went to see Mrs. Belding.—

This evening have been to Reception at White House with Mrs. Belding, Misses Ford's, Mr. Newton & Charlie. I neither spoke to nor shook hands with Andrew Johnson or the ladies. The former I despise too much to take his hand & it amounts to nothing with the latter. —We remained in the Reception Room til nearly 10. So did most all of the elite. We stood where we could see the people come in, & after looking at the foreigners, the Cabinet, Judges

Lieut. Gen^l Grant & especially Mrs. Grant (cross eyed and cross looking) & whole Constellations of Generals & Maj. Generals, Senators & their wives, M.C's etc. etc. Not until I shook hands with Gen. Grant (what an ordinary looking man! He appears diffident & scared & I think I frightened him by asking to shake his hand.—But after shaking hands with about a hundred he seemed more self possessed.) Not until I had feasted my eyes on magnificent dresses, pearls & diamonds, & studied the faces of the foreign ladies & was awe-struck with the wonderful heads that were there assembled (such fantastic tricks as are played with the hair!) Not until I was satisfied with all this did I go into the East Room. This room was not crowded & it was very pleasant. The whole scene was very brilliant. There was

but a small proportion of ordinary looking people, very few wore bonnets It was almost a full dress Reception. Mrs. Patterson & Mrs. Stover were dressed beautifully & appeared exceedingly well. I hardly thought of Andy. Several children were presented to him & he stooped & caressed them very graciously.—

If Angeline & Sally Ann & Frances had been with me I should have enjoyed it much more. —

May 16th.

An unhappy day for me. Oh! dear. I wonder if it is true that I am always in fault & others are always right.

I have been out but little today. Have served some. Have not felt like doing any thing else. F. away to night.

May 17th. Rain last night.

Visited 7 families. Served some. Called for Mrs. Belding to go with me

to Mr. Hepworth's Lecture. She decli- going, so I ventured alone. (Frances away a large share of the time.) I tried to carry myself as if it were all in the usual way of doing things. I sat with Mr. S. so I did not feel so much alone & he accompanied me to the Car after the Lecture & I returned all safe. But I do hate to go out alone, especially in the evening. I make no dependence upon F. to accompany me anywhere. She seems wholly absorbed with others & shows no sort of interest in any thing that pertains to me. I do not think I am exacting or suspicious, but such indifference from one from whom I have a right to expect sympathy does hurt my feelings in spite of myself. I must try not to think of it & act as if I were alone. I suppose I am disagreeable to people generally & yet I prize sympathy & friendship as much perhaps as any person in the world—

Mr. H's Lecture was at Metzertott Hall before the Equal Suffrage Assoⁿ. It was very good, as well as very brilliant. In speaking of Andrew Johnson he said "He says he is a self-

made man. Well, I am glad of it; it takes a great responsibility from the Lord." This brought down the house.

May 18th. Cool. fire in stove.

Visited 7 families & also "Aunt Milly Edmundson," mother of "Edmundson girls."

Miss Schneider one of our teachers died this morning.

Dr. J.H. Rapier is dead, a severe loss to the colored people & a loss to the world. He was educated, intelligent, talented & exemplary as a man & skilled as a physician & an honor to his race. He was an Alabamian; his father was a Frenchman. He was educated at Ann Arbor. The faculty not knowing he was a negro until he had graduated. Then they were much shocked. They thought he was a Cuban.—

Washington D.C.

Saturday, May 19th.

A perfect day.—

Frances, Miss Moore, Mr. Newton & Charlie & myself had a delightful drive. First out 14th St. past Columbia College, & where Carver & Mt. Pleasant Hospitals were. What a change. Those extensive buildings have nearly all been removed & not a tent or a Soldier to be seen. —Fences have been rebuilt & some fields are cultivated now.— We went on the Piney Branch Road to Fort Stevens which the Rebels attempted to take July 12, 1864. The fort is a strong one, in a commanding position but is not dismantled. A few of the 170th Ky. Col. troops are stationed here. We found a few relics, & examined it to our satisfaction. Then we went a little further on to the Burying Ground where are interred the remains of 140 Soldiers who were killed in & near this Fort—

A man is employed to tend the ground. Then went a little further on to the battle field, which was a peach orchard, but the trees have been cut down & the ground has been ploughed. Here is a long rifle pit. I found 2 mini balls & a knife. There is a house here which was riddled some by shot, but it has been repaired. A few feet from the front door is a large tree behind which a rebel sharpshooter stationed himself & fired at every head which appeared above the rampart of Fort Stevens about a half a mile distant, but at length a Union Soldier made his way around & fired at this Sharpshooter & killed him. he fell near the tree.

Two rebel officers are buried near the gate. Nothing marks their graves.

We obtained a few mementoes & left reluctantly.—It is not 2 yrs. yet since contending armies met on this spot, &

precious lives went out amid the roar of battle, but soon all vestiges of the fight will be obliterated.—

A few rods from 7th st. road on the other side are the ruins of what was once an elegant house. Iron columns, marble mantels, grates, spring beds, broken china are scattered all

about. Rebel sharp shooters took refuge in this house & the guns of Ft. Stevens dislodged them by destroying the house. From these ruins we brought away marble for paper weights, a brick, etc.—

Then we came back to Ft. Stevens & Brightwood. —We passed clearings where there were log houses, looking as new as any thing in Michigan. If the country about here was improved & cultivated it would be very beautiful. Shown[?] are fine elevations for country residences, villas, etc. —Fort Slocum is a little off of the road. Then drove on[?] Forts Totten

& Slemmer. (Fort Du Russy is west of Ft. Stevens.) We drove to the National Cemetery. This is one of the most beautiful & interesting spots I ever saw. Here are over 5000 soldiers graves. The ground is beautifully laid out. There are 5 arbors, & from one of them we can overlook the whole ground. What a sight! Here we pondered awhile & I involuntarily asked, “Who slew all these?” (There are a few rebel graves.) There are shrubs & plants in bloom, & there is an appropriate building for an office near the entrance. In these rooms there are scraps of patriotic poetry in ornamental letters on the walls & they are put up all about the grounds.

I copied this, “On Fame’s Eternal Camping ground,
Their silent tents are spread;
And glory guards with Solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.”

We left this place reluctantly. There is a melancholy satisfaction in knowing how tenderly Government cares for the noble & patriotic dead.

(I regret exceedingly that Alfred & Angeline & Sally Ann did not drive out here.)

The Soldiers’ Home or Military Asylum is near the cemetery. But we drove around to the principal entrance to the grounds which are very extensive. This is on the height of ground & the view from the Asylum is magnificent. This was built & is sustained by money from soldiers of the regular army. Each man paid 25 cts. a mo. until the fund became so large that now they only pay 12 ½ cts. a mo.—There are 130 inmates, poor or invalid or disabled in some way, a very comfortable place for them. —Some of them served in the War of 1812. The beauty & extent of the grounds & the situation surpass any thing I have ever seen before. Besides the main building there are three elegant houses,

In one of which the President usually passes the summer months. It is a cool, quiet, & in every way a desirable treat. I would not object to a residence here. It is altogether preferable to the White House. We returned about 4 well satisfied with our trip & I know I had a dollar’s worth of enjoyment. (We paid \$5 for the carriage.) The country is so fresh

& clean & green & fragrant now after the rain & no dust yet. This day has been perfect every way.

After putting away our specimens & resting awhile, I went to the White House. In the grounds south, the Marine Band plays on Saturday evenings & people go there to enjoy themselves. I think I never saw so large a crowd of well & elegantly dressed people in my life. I had no idea so many people availed themselves of this privilege. I am very tired to night. Frances is away.—

Sunday. May 20th. 1866.

Fine. Warm. Went to hear Dr. Sunderland. Dry discourse. —
Called on Mr. and Mrs. Stebbins.

Went to 368 11th st. to attend Dr. J.H. Rapier's funeral. — Large number of very respectable looking people there. But few white folks. —Only a few of the teachers present—

Monday, May 21st.

Rose early. Made 7 visits.

Miss Collier called. Went to Capitol with her. Nothing interesting in Senate or House.

May 22^d

Cold enough for fire in room. Visited 7 families. Went to New Eng. Rooms twice. Mr. & Mrs. Earle just back from Richmond. Had a nice visit with them. Think I shall visit Worcester this summer.—Papers say there has been a Tornado in Rochester.

May 23^d

Went to meeting of N.Y. ladies in relation to fair for orphans of soldiers and sailors. (white of course) Did not amount to much. — Letter from Angeline,

Thursday. May 24th.

Visited 4 families and have not done much else.

May 25th.

Visited 18 families. Called on Miss Hyde & Mrs. Kenyon, dust very bad. Went to meeting of Visiting Agents at P.O.

May 26th. Rain last night

Cleaned my room. Miss Chamberlin here. She & Frances called on Gen. Grant. He was very pleasant. Obtained his autograph.

May 27th.

Went to U. Ch. Heard Mr. Ellis. Miss Belding called this evening. Fr. gone to meeting.

May 28th.

Attended to washing & ironing & wrote some. Miss Moore left this morning.

May 29. Cool.

Spent most of the day in writing Report.

May 30.

Visited 18 families.

Hear from Father. he is very well.

Preparing to go to Harper's Ferry tomorrow.

May 31st. 1866. Thursday.

Fine morning. Miss Chamberlin staid with us last night. Rose at 4½ o'clock. Ample time to get ready. Walked to Georgetown to take Packet Minnesota which left at 7. Miss Hardy joined us & our prospects were delightful although the boat was not as spacious & luxurious as a N. River steam boat. So many boats in the Canal that our progress was quite slow at first, but I am not saying it was rapid afterwards. We passed Chain Bridge which is not guarded with Cannon as it was in the Fall of '62 when I crossed it to go to Fort Ethan Allen. There are several forts on the W. side of the River & on the East side is Fort Sumner. (Accident 1st. "Hat overboard!" & it was a new one too, but Mr. P. had another so he did not suffer.) 6 mi. from G. is an Aqueduct Arch – 7 mi. The first gold mine, "Union mine" it is called. So many docks. The ladies left the boat & walked a half mile.

I remained on boat to read Life of John Brown by Redpath. Wish to refresh my memory in relation to the Incidents of "The Holy Invasion". 15 mi. from G. in the work of the "Gold Mining Co. Md." — Until this point we had the company of Mr. Clear the soldier who discovered these mines. He was in the Union Army 2 yrs. (An Ohioan, but went from Ky. where all his relations & friends live. He did not like the idea of trampling on our Flag & was indignant when the Kentuckians in the first of the war tore it down. Mr. C. declared in the heat of the moment that he wd. go to enlist in the Northern Army. He says his heart was not in it, but he tried to do his duty. It was dreadful to be opposed to his friends & he left as soon as his time was out.

When his Regt. was stationed up here he lay down one night with his head upon a stone. In the morning he saw it gold in quartz. He had been in California & knew about mining. He kept this secret until the war was over. Then he bought the farm on

which he found the ore. A co. has been formed & they have begun operations. He invited us to come & visit the mines & he would entertain us to the best of his ability.

15 mi. from G. is another aqueduct. Here are extensive Ice Houses. The canal widens into a basin & the high rocks on one side & the river make it a beautiful place.

A few mi. further on is Great Falls which we cannot see from the Canal. Here the water is taken to supply Washington. Here is a large old house, hall for dancing etc. Has been a resort for pleasure parties. Soldiers have used it also & it is much dilapidated. The bed of the River is broad & piled with rocks & there are islands with trees wh. hide the Falls.

There are 27 locks between G. & Harper's Ferry. At every lock is one house for lock tender & family & sometimes there are 2 or 3 houses. We met many boats loaded with

coal mostly. The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal is the only direct means of communication between Washington & Harper's Ferry. There is one Steamboat wh. carries passengers to Point of Rocks, 48 mi. from G. & here is a R. Road. We were on the Minnesota, a packet drawn by horses running in opposition to the Steamboat.—The coal boats are drawn by mules mostly. Some wear bells wh. are very musical in these quiet regions. Nearly all the drivers go barefoot, & they generally walk. Miserable looking people look out from the houses. All poor of course.

12 o'clock. Canal Boat.

Had refreshments with us. took our lunch. Then as we had the cabin all to ourselves some of us took a nap & rested awhile.

At Edward's Ferry is a Lock & a few houses. 4 mi. further on is Ball's Bluff on the Va. side of the River. Here is an Island which divides the river & it is some distance across it. On the East side is an earth works & a house wh. was Gen. Stone's headquarters, & from this

spot he sent hundreds of soldiers over to certain death. The canal was dry then. But there is the road through the trees down which men & artillery went to the River. Strong earthworks on the other side, & our men were slaughtered dreadfully. Scarcely a boat was provided. Many of the wounded were shot in the river & their bodies were found nearly to Geo. T. having floated over the Falls & the rocks. There Gen. Baker was killed, as he felt he should be when he crossed over. It was one of the most dreadful defeats of the war. Gen. S. was much blamed, but he was soon promoted & so it went on. This battle was in Sept. 1861, on Ball's farm.

Then comes White's Ferry. Army lay all about there. Some earthworks at a distance. Some good houses & good farms along here.—6 o'clock. 8 mi. from Point of Rocks. So quiet & pleasant.

An Aqueduct over Monocacy creek built in 1855 is a noble work, 400 ft. long.

Rebels tried to blow it up, but it was too strong for them, has an iron railing. Here we see Sugarloaf Mt. in Md.

Then comes Nolan's Ferry. Here are ruins of Bridge burned during the war. Looks like Genesee Val. Canal & Gen. Flats. Large Elms & other beautiful trees. Here I saw the first fire flies of the season. Our Capt. was Chas H. Merrill, formerly of Avon and knows many persons that we know. He was a Q.M. in the Army, with Gen. Wadsworth. Was at Battle of Bull Run &c. The Mate was Mr. Howard of Shepardstown, Va. but a Union man & employed in secret service. Could tell many interesting things. Our boatman was a rebel deserter. Two boys & a colored girl made up the crew. As the boat dragged its slow length along, there was time to talk of many things & think of many more. Only one

passenger besides ourselves - J.H. Palmer of Geo. T. went through with us to Harper's Ferry. He lived in

or near Winchester, took his family to G.T. went back after his things, was taken & made to serve in the Army, was under Stonewall Jackson 7 mo. before he could get away. He was employed in an office where he wrote passes & wrote one for himself & so got away. Was going to Ill. to find a home.

Reached Point of Rocks at 8 P.M. soon ascertained that no passenger train would stop there til next day at noon. Oh! dear, & to wait in such a place! No road to Harper's Ferry, could only go part way on the tow-path & then there would be danger of meeting mule teams. Only one team in the place & the man that drove that had the chills. — Too disappointed to want supper, for all this would shorten our time at H. Ferry.

Very comfortable house, good room & we determined to rest if a coal train did pass every 15 min. right under our windows & not one rod from the house.

And we did sleep very well, considering. The only way to leave the place was to get on a coal boat. These boats cross constantly. So we rose about 4½ a.m.

Friday June 1st. 1866.

Point of Rocks. Md.

The landlord & others tried to dissuade us from the undertaking, but we were not to be thwarted in this in order to increase the profits of Mr. Berry, the hotel keeper. So the 1st boat we saw was invited to haul up, it took us on board, all we wished was a seat on its deck & this we had. It was as clean as the deck of the Minnesota. It is 13 mi. to the 'Ferry' & we were told, & expected to believe, that we wd. not get there till noon, but we did get there at 10½ o'clock, 2 hrs. ahead of the train. It was better to move slowly than to stay at Pt. of R's, a forlorn looking place. About 1 doz. houses, some earthworks near, & one hill. We went, & were glad we did not wait for the train. (Ruins of Bridge)

It was early morning, cool, quiet. River, canal & R. road run along together. We saw a large rock wh. had been thrown down to destroy a train & block up R. road & canal. Here were men at work making a tunnel through the rocky hill for a new R. road track. There are 6 or 8 locks bet. Pt. of R's & H. Ferry. —At Berlin is a burnt bridge, about 30 houses, a Lock & Accident. 2^d dog left! boat hauled up & after some delay doggy was received on board & somebody was overjoyed no doubt. (In the distance is Md. Heights. on the highest spot is a Fort of Masonry looking like a castle on same mountain we have read of.)

Then we came to Knoxville about 40 houses, a large share of them logs. Here is old stone church wh. was used for a hospital, & a soldiers burying ground. Then comes Weavertown, an unfinished factory & several stone houses for operatives.

All along the Md. side the hills are very high. Across the River is Loudon Heights in Va. —Then comes Sandy Hook, a few homes close to the rocks. At last we reached Harper's Ferry! Got off at a lock. Crossed the immense Iron Bridge & Mr. Palmer went with us to the Shenandoah House. The only good Hotel, kept by King Conn. man. This is near the bridge, & the Railroad track, & the Arsenal, & the "Engine House" is only a few rods from it.

As there are no passenger boats & no passenger trains coming in at that hour, our presence there was a matter of astonishment.—For aught that I know the Clerk at the Hotel thought we might be John Brown men in disguise, or some new fangled Invaders of the very sacred soil of Va. The impression that we made upon him was such that he didn't seem to recover from it while we were there. His faculties seemed suspended or benumbed & small was the information obtained from him.

Mr. Palmer said he was bound to see us through to the Ferry. He was very kind. At 1 P.M. he took the train for Winchester. —We had a very nice dinner & not having breakfasted we did ample justice to it. Rested awhile. Train came in from East at 1.15. Passengers stop here to dine. We engaged a conveyance to ride out, but it was so long before it was ready we were very uneasy. We wished to lose no time & not till 1 1/2 P.M. did we start for Charlestown, Bolivar Heights &c.—A fine turnpike, & spirited horses, & we were whirled over the ground at a rapid rate. The Country is beautiful.—Halltown, 5 mi, is a station on the Winchester road. Earthworks here. About 5 houses. Near this place lives Mr. Allstadt who was taken prisoner by John Brown, & a little beyond lives Col. Lewis Washington, who was also taken prisoner & held as a hostage in the Engine House. The clouds had looked threatening & now a shower was upon us. We were

in a close hack & did not get much wet. It hailed considerably & Driver was exposed to it all. The first house as we enter Charles T. is Andrew Hunter's, counsel for state on trial of John Brown. His house suffered during the war & he is now repairing it, making fences etc. Reached Charlestown at 3. Drove to "Widow Bell's" & stopped till rain ceased partly. We registered our names in a book lying in the parlor table for that purpose. Nearly opposite her house is the Jail which is in ruins & next to her house were two buildings which were destroyed entirely & then are the ruins of the Court House. The walls & the pillars in front are standing but the roof & windows are gone & the inside cleaned out, a large room on the north side was the Court Room where John Brown was condemned to die.—

I asked Mrs. Bell who destroyed these buildings. With a look of hatred & contempt, she replied hesitatingly, "The Yankees destroyed them."

When I asked her where the field was where John Brown was hung & remarked that we were interested in everything relating to him Oh, such a look of contempt, as she gave me, as if it would pollute her lips to tell me. She said "its right out there not more than a quarter of a mile distant."

So we went there, our driver showing us the spot as near as he knew it. I was not satisfied, so I called to a colored man on horseback who was driving hogs. I think, "if he could tell me?" He said "he cd. very nearly." He said he helped saw the lumber there to make the gallows & he helped take it away again. I was better satisfied now about the spot. (I afterwards learned from Mr. Sadler that the col^d. man was about right.) This field belongs to Mrs. Hunter, sister in law of Andrew Hunter, prosecuting Atty. It was a well selected spot & could be seen from some distance around. It is said that J. Brown remarked on his way to the scaffold "This is a beautiful country" and indeed it is exceedingly fair to look upon. The Blue

Ridge is a beautiful feature in the landscape. The 40 acres field (a part of it) has been ploughed over since. There are 2 trees in it. No fence around it. It was one of the most interesting spots I ever set my foot upon. I wd. like to have lingered longer there, but the rain was coming on again, & my company wished to go.

We then drove to ~~the~~ Carter's Hotel where the Northern people stopped who visited C. on John Brown's account. Since then it has been headquarters for the Military, both Union & rebel. Gen. Egan & Moseby would have it by turns. Then were a great many skirmishes here & considerable fighting. It has been a beautiful village. The houses are mostly on one street, & there have been shade trees, some are yet left. Carter's Hotel is being repaired & fitted up, but not used for the public at present.

A gentleman here invited us in, was very civil & obliging & we concluded to stop till the 2^d. shower was over. This gentleman was Mr. Sadler, the undertaker who rode with John Brown to the scaffold, visited him almost daily in the prison, & was very kind to him. He had great regard for John Brown. He says "John Brown & Stevens were two of the gamest men I ever saw. They were as game as Ashby. John Brown & Stevens were true prophets. It has all come to pass as they said it would."

I remarked that John Brown's best friends thought he made a great mistake & tried, those that knew it, to dissuade him taking Harper's Ferry, but he thought he was doing right." "Oh, yes" Mr. Sadler said, "he thought he was right." Said he, "That was the beginning of the great conflict that has been going on since." He said if we would like to see Mr. Avis

he would send for him, so he asked a colored man in a grey suit (who said he was only Confederate on the outside.) if he wd. ask Mr. Avis to come there, as he had just seen him on the steps of a store near Mrs. Bell's. He returned saying "Mr. A. had just gone home to set out his cabbage plants." But we saw his little boy, John Brown's pet[?], who used to

stay in the prison with him for hours. Mr. S. said Capt. A. had great regard for Brown. His family lived at the jail then. The jail was burned by Federal prisoners who set fire to it & then escaped. Mr. Sadler's buildings were near it on the same side of the street. They were all burned, & he says "he has lost all he was worth. He had 6 slaves & he gave each \$100 to leave him. They went & he hears from them & they say they are very sorry they left him. One is head waiter at the Metropolitan Hotel in W. & he wishes he was back again with Mr. S. He is sick enough of it." (Sick of freedom no doubt)

I asked if he did not think it would be much better after this, better to have no slaves?" He said hesitatingly, "They won't work. We shall have to get white labor. They won't hire to the farmers." Then I told him how well they had done in Alex^a, since they were free, and in W. too. He said "There were but two men in that vicinity who did not treat their slaves well, & they were looked upon as disrespectable persons. Why, my slaves fared just as well as I did," & Mr. S. was born & raised in Charlestown, was very frank, courteous & gentlemanly, & we tried to be very civil towards him. I asked him "how people felt about there, if they would conform to the new order of things & make the best of it?" He said they would willingly do so. He says he never did any thing to help the war. He did not believe in seceding. He believed in the Union & opposed the Southern leaders until his State went out, then he went with her. His county, Jefferson, has been made a

part of W.Va. & they don't like it; they don't want to be ruled by the radicals. I asked him if he regarded Willey & Van Winkle as radicals. He said 'yes.' He says "it is hard that his rights should be withheld from him & there were others too like him." I said "they attempted to set up another Gov^t to break up our Gov^t & destroy the Union & now th. should not complain if they were not admitted at once to share in the Gov^t." "Oh, that was the leaders but we are true men & we ought to have our rights." &c.&c. "They want no such men as Gov. Pierpoint to govern them. They want some of their own men, those who have had position before." Here it is all in a nutshell. They want the same men to represent them in Congress that have done so heretofore. We said a great deal during the short interview. I was glad to meet a man of this stamp. We can learn from such how the people feel & what they wish & hope to do.

The jail was very near & he told me wh. was Brown's cell & where his cot stood & if Mr. Avis was there he would go with me to the jail etc.

The doors & steps were filled with people watching every movement we made all the while we were there. Then we stopped again at Mrs. Bells, but she refused to receive any compensation from us. "Anybody was welcome to stop there to get out of the rain." Then we rode through the village & came away. This is a part of the Shenandoah Valley. We then rode up on to Bolivar Heights above the town. Here our army was encamped & here Geary & Ashby fought.—Such a magnificent view! such lovely scenery! The town

has straggled about half way ~~above~~ up the heights & there are two clusters of houses up here, one is called Lower Bolivar. After riding around here & seeing the number of houses that were destroyed I can believe it was once a town of 5,000 inhabitants. While we were gone to C. a large brick house was struck by lightning, & was burning when we came back. Made quite an excitement.

On the promontory overlooking the lower town is a burying ground. There is hardly a stone standing upright; wall surrounding it is partly torn down. Such a jumbling up of graves, & monuments I never saw before. It was a singular sight. Soldiers have made havoc with it & no care has been taken of it for 6 yrs. past.

There are some fortifications up here on the first shelf. The Magazine was partly destroyed —It rained most all the time, but we did not hesitate to leave the carriage & walk about & look about all we could & wished for more time.

We returned at 7. quite wet & tired. Had very nice supper. Then took care of the flowers we had gathered as mementoes of the visit. I picked up 2 or 3 stones & got some clover & grass in the field where the scaffold was. I got a piece of the Court House also.—The driver W^m Wilson from Pa. was 3 yrs. in our Army, as wagonmaster etc. He was very obliging & drove to every place that he thought would interest us.—

Saturday. June 2^d. 1866.

“Clarred off,” quite cool. Slept soundly after the interesting side we took yesterday. First thing after breakfast went to the Engine House, one room locked. A guard of half-doz. soldiers is stationed here & at the gate. We were told that Mrs. Kennedy, mother-in-law of John Cook lived on High St. So we went there at once. She is living in a Gov^t House & the Capt. somebody tells her she must pay rent or he will turn her out. She thinks it hard, as her house & property was destroyed. She is a Va. but has lived in Md. 15 yrs. Lived at Lower Bolivar when the raid took place. Cook told her a few days before he was going to Kansas to hunt. She was surprised, of course. We asked her to go with us & show the places of interest. She led us to Hall’s Rifle Works on an Isl. in the Shenandoah. These are in ruins now. This was a beautiful place. . Kagi & 8 men were stationed here at one of the gates. She was almost wild with alarm when she was told in the morning what was going on.

She came down the heights immediately “there by that path, went to Kagi whom she knew & asked him what he was doing there.” “he said not much.” She begged him to leave, he said he could not, he was ordered to stay there by “Capt. Smith.” Near the Rifle Works 2 men were killed & lay there some time. Several women went to see them. One man begged them to kill him. The doctor’s wife was there. She drinks right smart & was right warm & she wd. have killed him but the others would not let her do it. You see over

there in the mountains? Very ornery people live there. They came & took the shoes off these men. When Kagi & several others had to give up they tried to cross the river & stopped on an Isl. & fired. This drew the fire of the Virginians upon them & they were riddled with bullets. Their corpses floated downstream.—The bodies were buried afterward on the other side of the River nearly opposite the Rifle Works & there are a few young Sycamore trees near which mark the spot.

(Bridge over the Shenandoah is destroyed) Mrs. Cook used to go over there often when she lived with her mother but she has gone away now.

That morning Mrs. Kennedy went to the arsenal gates & asked to see Capt. Smith & asked him where Cook was & was told he was not there, he had other work to do & was in a safe place. —Mrs. K was looked upon with suspicion by many. Even now she is prosecuted & her sons find it hard to get employment.

She told us many things about that eventful morning & pointed out places. This made us realize the circumstances more than anything else wd. have done. She asked us to see Sec. Stanton for her & tell him how she is treated by the officers there. She is poor now. She is a widow & has a hard time getting along. But we had to cut short the interview for the carriage, that is, the ambulance & mules were ready to take us to Maryland Heights.

8½ o'clock A.M.—

Harper's Ferry. June 2^d. 1866.

(Continued)

After crossing the bridge the narrow road between the Mountain & canal extends a mile or more. Then we go up till we come to a Table land where there are farms & fortifications & remains of a camp. Then further up are 2 farms & 2 houses. Here we left the team, & it is not considered safe to drive further up although 2 wagons went up the day before. It a walk of a mile or more to the top. We stopped often to look upon the beautiful scene spread out before us. But tired & hot we at length reached the summit and standing on a magazine we were almost bewildered with astonishment at the magnificent sight. Here are some log huts & what a grand lookout it must have been! Then we went up still further on the road to the forts which are on the highest part of this mountain. One is called Stone Fort.

Before the war no person had dreamed that a wagon road could be made to the top of this mountain. But it was made & 100 pounders were transported to the top & mounted on these Forts. It took a week to get a gun to the top & yet this strong post was surrendered by Col. Miles & he was blamed very much. Since the war this road has not been kept in repair, & it is very bad. Standing where a battery had been we stopped awhile & surveyed the scene. In one direction was Loudon Heights, & Loudon County, the first[?] part of

Va. away beyond stretches the Blue Ridge. Then as far as the eye can reach extends the Shenandoah Valley famous for its beauty & fertility. Then Bolivar Heights which seemed far below us & the 'Ferry' was not seen at all it being so near the base of the Mtⁿ. Then another beautiful valley through which extends the B. & O. railroad & canal. The Southern river embraces what is very

appropriately named Pleasant Valley. The Potomac, the canal, & the railroad extending as far as we could see. Cultivated farms interspersed with woods & quiet, cozy looking farm houses. Altogether it was the grandest & loveliest scene I ever beheld. We did not go to the two large Forts, our time was limited & we must descend. Nearly to the top is a fine spring which supplied the Army when it was here.

We went straight down a narrow gulley full of loose, rough stones & roots, to Mrs. Unseld's where we left our shawls, etc. When I reached the house there was no more strength in my feet & ankles & a chair & cup of water were very acceptable. Mrs. U. is a deaf woman, but quite intelligent. She apologized for her untidy appearance as they were just finishing their Saturday P.M.'s work. She asked "if we were authoresses" & said many distinguished people came there. Her house was the stopping place of the

officers who commanded on these Heights. She talked of the 2^d Mass. wh. was composed to a great extent of the best citizens of Boston. When she found some of us were from N.Y. she spoke of Col. Porter & the old lady wept as she talked of him. They have lived in this spot 15 yrs. through all the excitement of the J. Brown Invasion, saw the fight between Geary & Ashby & witnessed many interesting scenes that have occurred in this region. They have never been molested.—A young woman, Miss Maginnis, teaches school in a commissary building, had 30 scholars in the winter. I wonder where they came from for there are only 2 houses in sight on the Heights.—The train was to leave at 2 so we could not go to John Brown's school house, nor to John Brown's cave. Had a nice ride back & after dinner went to the Engine House, obtained a brick; & 3 soldiers there with the aid of a hatchet, a spade, & a crowbar, & a combined attack on the

historic door succeeded in getting off a piece of it, & several bolts. The inside of the door is wood & the outside is plated with iron. I wished to examine the ruins of the Arsenal & Armory but could tarry no longer. Not of much of interest is to be seen on the Balt. & Ohio road to Relay which reached at 6 P.M. We noticed Monocacy Junction. Branch road to Frederick. Bridge been destroyed. Mt Airy, Woodbine, Hood's Mill, Pikesville, a Tunnel, Marriott's Mills, Ely's ville, all brick houses, Ellicott's Mills wh. is quite a village.— & had we gone to H.s Ferry on Railroad we should have known but little about the Country. Antietam is but 11 mi. from H. Ferry, & cd. we have staid one day longer & gone there we would have been quite satisfied. But we saw a great deal that was interesting & are glad that we went & it will be worth remembering the rest of our lives.

Relay is 9 mi. from B. & 31 from W. We waited 2 hrs. for the train. Took supper at Relay house, & walked out to see the Thomas Viaduct over [*Transcriber's Note: blank space left*]. It is a magnificent, a stupendous structure! but we hardly see it, or notice it as we pass over in the cars. —We reached W. at 9 ½, & got home at 10 in the rain. Found things about as we left them Thursday morning.

Sunday, June 3^d.

Put away specimens, flowers, etc. Cleaned up thoroughly & felt rested. This P.M. have spent in writing.

June 4th,

Waited on people nearly all the A.M. Went to Bureau twice & visited 7 families. Election Day. Wallach is to be Mayor.

June 5th.

Visited 12 families. Went to Bureau twice. Mrs. Belding & Miss C. called. Frances does not get rested. She is almost sick, I believe.

June 6th. hot.

Walked to 6th st. & back. Called on Mrs. B. & Mrs. K. & did various things. Called on Gen. Howard & got autographs & had a very pleasant interview. In evening went to the opening of the Fair for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans.—The Ladies have done well considering the season & the limited time for work. —The speakers were Sen's Wilson & Lane of Ind.; M^cKee of Kentucky, Gen^{ls} Banks & Howard & last & least Andrew Johnson, & such a speech! We are heartily ashamed of our Chief Magistrate. My policy[?] kept oozing out. Yes, we should care for the 'orfins' of rebels as well as for those of loyal men; we should ignore the past, & our only work should be conciliation & forgiveness. We should have a national church too; but he did not elaborate this idea to any great extent. When 3 cheers were proposed for him, it was an utter failure, but cheers for Grant were given with a will.

June 7th.

Very warm. Have been writing Report but have been subject to constant interruptions & have not accomplished much. Jeff Davis's trial is put off till October. I have no idea he will be tried at all.

Friday. June 8.

Worked at my Report. Mr. Simms from Savannah called with a letter from Mrs. Jacobs. He is brother of Thomas Simms of Fugitive Slave Law memory. A nice gentleman he is too. Spent an interesting hour with him. Mrs. J. & Louisa invite me to visit them at Idlewild the first of July.

June 9th

This A.M. did various things. This P.M. went home with Benj. Tabor, across Eastern Branch. Interesting ride. Lives on place just cleared, unfinished house, woods all around, full of flowers. Mr. Lawton teacher of colored school boards with Mr. T. Some people live in one way, & some live in another way.

Sunday, Jun 10th. 1866

Cooler. Came back this P.M. Interesting ride around by Uniontown & across bridge, & by Navy yard. Our carriage was not a luxurious one & we came back quite tired. —It was one of those visits wh. are made under a sense of duty. I could hardly afford to spend the time or strength required for it. Brought home a quantity of flowers.

June 11th. Hot.

Visited 4 families. Waited on a few people. I spent rest of day in writing Report. This evening went to Fair. Stephens C.O.I.R. made remarks. Clara Barton has her relics from Andersonville on exhibition.

June 12, hot.

Went to Cor. 7th & O but did not see Capt. Spurgin. Went to Capitol Hill Barracks. Visited the schools. Miss Harris's Industrial School, & Miss Heacock's soup rooms. Called on Mrs. Wright. Went to Fair a little while. Wrote 2 letters. Called on Mrs. Belding. Good day's work.

June 13. Shower this morning.

Relieved from dust wh. had become almost intolerable.—Called to ask Gen. C. Howard for an ambulance. To have it on Saturday. Wrote nearly all day. Too hot to do anything. Called on Miss Foshay[?] & Miss Flagler.

June 14th. hotter yet.

In morning visited about a doz. families. Some of them very uncomfortable. Too hot to work. Heavy shower this P.M.

June 15. not so hot.

Visited about a doz. families. Went to Bureau. Then to Capitol. Nothing interesting in House. Then to Mrs. Kenyon's. Called at Metropolitan to see Jeremiah Baldwin, one of the 'Servants' that Mr. Sadler told us of. His whole appearance is that of a perfect gentleman. His wife & children were owned by Mr. Sadler. Says it is true that he gave each of his 6 servants \$100 when they left him. Says Mr. S. is a very kind man; treated his slaves better than any body else in Charlestown

but it is not quite a fact that they would like to go back & be slaves again.

The idea of person claiming to own such a man as Jeremiah Baldwin! I can understand why Slaveholders are proud.

Called on Mrs. Rumsey[?], Matron at Columbia Hosp^l for Women. Was formerly Martha Potter, a scholar of mine in Chili.

Called on Mrs. Belding & Miss Grove. With Frances & Mrs. B. went to the Fair. Very crowded. Theo. Tilton spoke & to the purpose. He is the first speaker that has mentioned the claims of the orphans of Colored soldiers & I dare say this displeased some of the ladies.—

Saturday June 16th 1866

Delightful day, not so warm, no dust.

Ambulance was at door at 9 A.M. & Frances, Mrs. Belding, Misses Chamberlin & Ford & myself essayed to ride. Drive said his orders were to take only 3 persons. But I told him Gen. Howard said all might go that cd. pile in.

Ladies wd. not make a heavy load.” So we put in 3 chairs & away we went by way of Geo. T. over Aqueduct Bridge to Arlington. The road through the woods is so pleasant. Looked about the House & garden & then drove to the cemetery. Oh! what an interesting sight. Acres of graves! Have begun to build a monument.—

It is not true that Lee went to Arlington when he came to W. to testify before the Committee.

We then drove to Freedmen’s Vaillage but did not get out of the Ambulance. There are 950 persons thre, 40 in hospl.

Then went a few miles further to Camp Distribution. Very extensive buildings here. Families who work the land live in some of them. Two companies of colored soldiers here. Officers & their families. Two teachers, Misses Benedict & Ruvier. They have a nice place to live. Shade & good air. Good school rooms. Horse & buggy for their own use. They like their situation.

Then a few miles further on to Alex^a. Went to see Maj. Lee & Miss Collier. Then to L’Ouverture. Saw Mrs. Woodsworth & Dr. Heard. Went through the wards. Things look very comfortable.

Went to Soldier’s Rest. Saw Mr. Layman[?]. Saw colored soldiers here.—

So quiet in Alex^a. Grass grows in the principal streets. Little business done. Pleasant ride back to W. Got home at 5 well satisfied with what we accomplished.

Sunday June 17th

Rained all day. Arranged my flowers.

Monday June 18

Called at Miss Grove’s school. This P.M. worked at Report. Letter from Home. All well.

June 19

Spent most of day in writing Report. Have not been out. Tired to night.

June 20

Wrote nearly all day. Towards evening called on Mrs. Stebbins & Mrs. Lake & went to hear Mr. Julian, M.C.

Thursday June 21st 1866

Went with Mrs. Stebbins on 9 o'clock boat to Alex^a. Delightful dat. Went to see "Jonathan Carey" house, Market, &c. Called on Miss Collier & Maj. Lee. Allowed us to use ambulance till 2 P.M. He went with us to see a few persons. Then Mrs. S. & I saw Aunt Betsey Chase, 110 yrs old, born at White House. Below Mt. Vernon. Has seen Washington & his soldiers. Gave them water. Mrs. Washington used to bring her children to the practizing (dancing) school in Alex^a.

Interesting old woman.

Called to see Harriet Mills that has the large wen & Aunt Kitty Berry. Could not find Aunt Lucy Lawson—Went to L'Ouverture, took dinner there. Went through the wards. Saw Dr. Heard. Mad that such a filthy city should be allowed to exist.

Went to Soldiers Rest. Then to the Military Cemetery, beautiful place. 3600 buried there, white & colored. Arbors, Fountain, shrubs & flowers.

Then to the Slave Pen. It has not been used for a prison for 2 months past. It has been given up to the claimant Mr. Stover but Price, Kempfart & Cook claim it also. Fanny Lee & her family live there yet & she has the keys. She is told to let no one in there but she says Union folks come there very often & she lets them see it.—We explored it thoroughly, cells, dungeons & all.—Fanny Lee had a brother in that jail once. The prison has double doors & I remarked when coming out that I would like to have a bold from one of them. Said Fanny, "you can have one." She procured an axe & went to work & after sundry heavy blows one staple began to yield. She would have shivered that door to atoms if it had been necessary to obtain that bolt for me. It! It was glorious to see her work. Here was poetic justice. A woman whose family had suffered there when it was a trader's jail was tearing off the bolts of the

prison doors because two Yankee women desired to have them. By the help of a young crippled soldier, the bolt of the inner door was taken off for Mrs. Stebbins. They worked with a will & we felt like shouting glory, hallelujah over the literal downfall of one of the famous Slave Pens of Alex^a.

When I first came to Alex^a. in '62 & this slave pen was the terror of all the colored, as well as some of the whites. It did not occur to me then that I should ever see the bolts removed by a woman once a slave, & that I should bring them away. At one time I was not allowed to go in there because I exposed some of the deviltry practiced there.

Mrs. Lee gave me the Prison Book for 1865. Containing the cause for imprisonment & sentence, for instance 4 col^d men for tossing cents here put in for *[Transcriber's note: blank space left]* days each & *[Transcriber's note: blank space left]* showers. Oh! Such injustice as has been practiced there towards prisoners by Union officers!

Mrs. Lee took our trophies to the boat for us. We called to see Va. & March Lawton & left Alex. at 6. Very pleasant on boat. Towards evening took long walk to see a poor family.—Called on Miss Foshay.

June 23, hottest day yet.

Spent most of day in my room writing. At 5 went to grounds S. of White House to see the people & hear the music. Every other man had a cigar in his mouth & this made the pace unpleasant. I left in disgust.

Sunday June 24, hot.

Went to U. Church. Heard Mr. Angier preach nearly an hour. Tired enough. At evening F. & I went to Cap. Hill Barracks to see Miss Lavere.

June 25

Hotter than ever. Cannot work. Aunt Lucy &c here from Alex^a.

June 26

Very hot. Towards evening took long walk & went to the Fair.

June 27th. So hot.

Called at Davis' Hotel & at Mr. Garnett's. Mrs. Stebbins called.—Shower in P.M. So refreshing to have the dust laid.

June 28th Cooler

Took up carpet & cleaned my room. This P.M. went out to do a few chores. Called at Mrs. Kenyon's.—Sewed on Garbabaldi. This evening went to Fair with Jenny Dowling, Fanny Wawzer & Mary Walker. Was not sure they would admit us. But we were only told to "hurry along & get out of the way" & passed in. The girls enjoyed it. Saw two other colored persons there. Capt. Van Riper was the Speaker.

Saw Miss Wood who teaches in Warrenton. School have been attacked twice by secesh. Dares not have a Union flag there. Whenever it rains every thing has to be removed from the tables. Goodly number present this evening.—Met & conversed with Mr. Salde in car. Met Col. Lee.

June 29. Cooler. Shower.

Sewed nearly all day. Called at Bureau 3 times. Called on Mrs. Belding this evening. She intends to leave W. on Monday.

Abbie & Emma Ford left this evening.

Miss Evans called.

June 30. Lovely day.

Out nearly all the A.M. Mrs. Grove called. Va. & Mary Lawton here to dinner. Miss Kennedy came from Richmond. Mr. Baker called. Very tired tonight.

Sunday July 1st. Lovely day.

But have not been out. Cleaned up & wrote some. Mrs. Belding called. Mr. Wetherbee & Mr. Smith called.

July 2d

Tried to write. Mrs. Stebbins called & Miss Collier. Went to Capitol with Mrs. Belding. Nothing interesting.

July 3d.

Finished copying Report. Packed trunks. Frances away. I am very tired tonight.

Transcriber's Note: The current effort has transcribed Julia Wilbur diary pages through early July 1866, corresponding to HC13-26009_159 in the folder Jan. 1st 1866 to Jan. 12th 1867. Haverford College, as of 2014, has scanned diary pages through May 30, 1873, the last date of this set of diaries in the collection. It is quite that she kept these diaries beyond 1873, but they are not part of the collection . However, Wilbur's smaller pocket diaries go through 1895.