

Diary of Julia Wilbur, 1863

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.

This file contains entries from 1863.

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 May 30, 1873). 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 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”)
- &c. means “etc.” It was 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.

¹Alexandria 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.

¹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26002_053 to HC13-26002_150 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1862 to May 13, 1863.

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 Meagher'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.

People 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!

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 Co¹. 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 Searing[?] 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 bed stead 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 bell 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

²Assistant 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

² 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.

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.—

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 & Hannah 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. Ms. 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 tthere 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 hard-ly 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^oclock 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

³Thursday 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.—

³ 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.

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.

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 tree 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. A 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 breese 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~~ discovered 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 21/2 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.

⁴What 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

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,

⁴ 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.

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.

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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 ~~on~~ 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 ~~29~~28th, 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 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 Jephtha'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.

⁵It 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

⁵ 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.

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.

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 then 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 apart 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 was 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-obscured 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. Lieutenancy & 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 meddlesome 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

⁶Warm & 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

⁶ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26004_001 to HC13-26004_055 in their Folder titled Nov. 20, 1863 to April 20th 1864.

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

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 did't know she was in & I asked if Aunt Kitty Lucas was there. I asked She is deranged isnt 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 does'nt 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

⁷Been 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.

⁷ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scan HC13-26004_018 to HC13-26004_093 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1863 to April 20th 1864.

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 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, Saturday 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. —