

**Julia Wilbur:
Part 2
The Civil War Years in Alexandria and Washington, DC (October 1862-1865)**



**Diaries Transcribed and Annotated by Paula T. Whitacre
For Alexandria Archaeology**

The diaries of Julia Wilbur are part of the Quaker & Special Collections at Haverford College Library, Collection No. 1158. The photo used on the cover is part of the collection.

I undertook this project for the Alexandria Archaeology Museum and Friends of Alexandria Archaeology. The Archaeology staff have been very helpful as they see the value in having these pages in one place, transcribed and searchable.

I thank the Haverford Library and especially Diana Peterson and Ann Upton for helping me access the originals of the diaries, and the librarians in the Alexandria Library Local History Room for their assistance in helping me access microfilmed copies.

Anna Lynch, volunteer, Alexandria Archaeology, provided a second read for most of the entries, helping to decipher some of the penmanship and editing my transcription. Jill Grinsted, another Alexandria Archaeology volunteer, transcribed November-December 1865 and proofread the whole. Laura Bonomini, Laura Hellwig, and Skyler Padia, students in Dr. Pamela Cressey's Historical Archaeology course at George Washington University in Spring 2013, transcribed November 1864 through October 1865. Pam was the City Archaeologist who first suggested I take on this project and had helpful information throughout.

The uncertainties that persist are represented with a question mark within brackets—[?]. Further comments from the transcriber are *italicized*. Wilbur often used an abbreviation for the word “and” that is someplace between a “&” and a “&” that we have transcribed with “&”. Also, she used this symbol, combined with “c” that we have transcribed as “&c.” based on its context. She also occasionally inserted “break in thought” lines represented like this: ——. Occasionally, a word is abbreviated (such as “cd.” for “could”) or shortened with a super-script (such as “Alex^a” for “Alexandria”), and these have been transcribed as closely as possible.

As much as possible, I have tried to follow Wilbur's spacing, such as starting a sentence on a new line when she did and other times running it in with the previous sentence when she did. However, any errors that remain in the transcription or the interpretation of Wilbur's words are mine. Readers are welcome to call these errors to my attention or to provide additional background and context that I can insert to share with others by emailing me at paulatwhitacre@gmail.com.

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Introduction

The Civil War began in 1861 with fervor and enthusiasm on both sides, along with mutual expectations that the conflict would be short. In Rochester, New York, as elsewhere in the North and South, a woman named Julia Wilbur followed the news closely.

By 1862, as we know from so many accounts, reality had set in. Death, disease, and social upheaval had changed the lives of millions of people both at and away from the battlefield. African Americans were starting to act on the realization that they could leave conditions of slavery, but they were often met with discrimination and extreme poverty. In that year, as well, Wilbur went from an interested, but distant observer to someone directly involved and forever affected.

Julia Wilbur came south to Alexandria in October 1862 and stayed through February 1865 when she moved across the river to Washington, D, where she lived until her death 30 years later. A former teacher in her early 40s, she was asked by the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society to go to Washington as a relief worker on behalf of the Society to aid African Americans who were leaving slavery and heading for freedom.

As she recorded in her diaries, Wilbur's days were filled with the routine and the horrific, the ennobling and the debasing. Sometimes she felt she was doing good; often, she felt lonely and useless. She met military officers, fellow relief workers, business men, and a host of others who were working in some way for the Union cause, although she often saw that they did not have the interests of the former slaves at heart. She met large numbers of blacks for the first time in her life, beyond the relatively few (including Frederick Douglass) who lived or traveled through upstate New York. And at the same time, she was trying to make her way in a strange place by herself, with family and friends from home both supporting and questioning her choices.

The Diaries

Diaries that Julia Wilbur kept from the 1840s through her death in 1895 describe her own life, as well as what she observed along the way.

The originals of these diaries are in the Special Collections Room at Haverford College. Douglas Steere, Wilbur's great-nephew and a Haverford professor, donated the manuscripts to the college between 1980 and 1990 in three separate gifts. (The finding aid for the collection can be found at http://www.haverford.edu/library/special/aids/wilbur_julia/wilbur1158.pdf)

Wilbur kept at least three sets of records:

- Small, leather pocket diaries, beginning in 1856, with the length of each entry bound by the space provided in the printed record (a page or less). Each date is used; the “memorandum” pages at the end of each book, used for miscellaneous thoughts and notes, are transcribed after December 31 of each year.
- Larger, what we now consider “legal-sized” sheets from 1844 to 1863. She called these “Journal Briefs,” and there are about 95 pages in all. They seem to be a retrospective, perhaps using her other journals as a memory prompt. The text is in black and blue ink, with the date and page numbering, as well as occasional bracketing or other emphasis, in red ink.
- A self-constructed diary, consisting of pieces of paper about 5 by 7 inches, starting in 1844.

The first two of these collections are on microfilm in the Local History Room of the Alexandria Public Library. The third, self-constructed diary was scanned by Haverford College in Summer 2013, and we will begin to view and transcribe these pages in Fall 2013.

Poised for a Life Change

I have transcribed and annotated pieces of Wilbur’s earlier diaries to learn more about her and how she came to Alexandria (“Julia Wilbur Diary—Pre-Alexandria Life”). She was born in 1815, the third child in a middle-class family of 10, living on a farm in Rush, New York, a rural community outside of Rochester. In 1844, based on her writings, she began a career as a teacher at several schools in the Rochester area, helped out her parents and siblings and their families, and took advantage of Rochester’s many political and cultural offerings. She was an abolitionist and a clear-eyed observer of society around her, including recording several comments about unequal pay for male and female teachers doing the same job.

Perhaps she would have remained a well-intentioned teacher and sister, but the late 1850s and early 1860s propelled Wilbur first to joy, then to grief, then to a new life. In 1858, her sister Sarah died, leaving a two-year-old daughter, Freda. Julia quit teaching and moved back with her father and stepmother, and Freda came to live with them. Sarah’s widower, Revilo Bigelow, apparently initially agreed to the arrangement but was already saying he wanted Freda to return to him within a year. Nonetheless, Julia took her role as surrogate mother to heart, and she was devastated on December 31, 1859, when Revilo reclaimed Freda.

January 1, 1860

Sad day for me and for us. The sunlight has all done from our house. Freda, my darling, is gone & with her, all my earthly happiness. The year closed over my dearest hope. There is a vacant place at the table & her pleasant prattle is not heard.

Looking back from the 21st century, we would say she totally fell apart when Freda left. Her diary entries are filled with attempts to see Freda or at least get news of her. She did not go back

to work. Her brother Henry comes to live on the farm with his wife Ann, not welcome news for Julia as she did not get along with them.

February 2, 1861

What I have dreaded will be done. Father has decided to let things go on in this miserable way, & Henry & Ann are to stay. This is my home & if it were not, where should I go? It was once a pleasant home. Suffering, as well as happiness, have made it dear to me.

Many of Wilbur's entries from 1860 to early 1862 were similarly despondent. She continued to be involved in current events, such as this visit with Frederick Douglass, but she felt life was passing her by.

March 12, 1861

In P.M. Mrs. Coleman went with me to F. Douglass. We took tea & spent evening with the family. Very pleasant....Douglass told us all about John Brown & just how much he had to do with the invasion of Harper's Ferry. He was at D's 7 wks. before he went to Virginia. It was interesting to hear this from D. himself. D's family suffered much from the excitement. D. reveres the memory of J. Brown.

In Summer 1862, while on a trip to visit family members in Michigan, the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society wrote her to request that she represent them as a relief worker. She was a good choice—committed to the cause, in her 40s, and without the encumbrances of husband or children. Although her father had opposed an earlier offer to go to Port Royal as a teacher, this time she did not let him stand in her way. As soon as she returned to New York, she agreed to the position. A busy month of getting ready—and having the occasional pang of doubt—ensued.

October 17, 1862

....I expect to start for Washington next Tuesday. I saw Mrs. Barnes, Sec. of Ladies' A. S. Society & made the final arrangements to go & see what can be done for the contrabands in Washington. I have much to do & to think of to get ready to leave home for an indefinite time. A long absence, probably. If father is ill, I wd. like to be here with him but my way seems clear to go....

On October 22, 1862, Wilbur started for Washington. As she wrote in her Journal Brief:

October 22, 1862

Beginning of my life in Washington [underlined in original]

Left my home with father in Rush, N.Y. at 9 A.M. & went to W. Avon. It was sad for me to leave father in his old age, but as we neared the depot, a beautiful Rainbow spanned the Western horizons! Was it not a "bow of promise" for me? I accepted the omen & went hopefully on....

The train ride was not comfortable, but many new experiences awaited, beginning with a stop-over in Baltimore:

October 23, 1862

....Well I was in a strange city & at a strange house. But it did not hinder my sleeping for I was very, very tired. Today for the first time, I was waited on by slaves.

She arrived in Washington and, as she recorded on October 24, “*went out to find Geo. E. Baker, Treas. of the National Freedmen’s Relief Association.*” He and other Association officials urged her to go to Alexandria—“*500 contrabands and worse off than those in W [Washington],*” and so, with letters of introduction to the military officers then in charge, she boarded a boat across the Potomac.

Even now, the challenge sounds impressive, much less for a middle-aged woman in the 1860s. With no organization or building to go to, no “job description,” and no one to particularly welcome her, she came to Alexandria, an occupied city in the midst of war and went about figuring what to do.

“Oh what sights! What Misery”

From the first days of the Civil War to the last, Alexandria was Union-occupied. It filled with soldiers—on duty, in transit, in hospitals and camps—as well as civilians of all types, including “secesh” residents who stayed (many moved into the Confederacy), entrepreneurs from the North with money-making in mind, and religious and educationally minded Northerners, white and black, with their own sets of expectations and plans. Harriet Jacobs, who was known for writing about her personal experience with slavery and escape, came to Alexandria supported by the New York Friends Society. Wilbur mentioned many others who came for a day or two, up to many months.

While her heart was in the right place, Wilbur was not prepared for the poverty and abysmal living conditions she encountered. At first, she only bemoaned what she saw:

October 27, 1862

Went to old School House. 150 C’s [contrabands] there. A large house for sick near by. We went there, people in filth & rags — a dead child lay wrapped in piece of ticking — in another room, a dead child behind the door. Oh what sights! What Misery! No doctor — no medicines- only rations & Shelter.—

October 28, 1862

Went to Birch and Price’s Slave Pen. Now used for guard House & prison. & in some of the rooms families have been put. I cannot describe the scenes I saw. We cd. not stay a minute in some rooms. Such smells!

Within a week, however, she began to find things she could do:

November 6, 1862

Cold. Went to see Commissary Burge. Mr. Pierce from Rochester is with him. They deal out rations to C's. Then I went home with woman who lives in the oldest tenement I ever saw. All light came through crevices & vents. Here were 3 women & 13 children. Saw something of misery— Old women lying in damp places. Then I went to Burge & told him we must have bedsteads, or something to keep them from sleeping on ground.

Wilbur found her calling—finding ways to alleviate conditions—for the formerly enslaved blacks coming in to the city. She also visited with soldiers, especially hospital patients who were family members of friends or former students. On a daily basis, that meant finding ways to request, persuade, shame, and sometimes work around the military and civilian officials in Alexandria and Washington.

Becoming Established

Wilbur lived in several boarding houses, beginning at the home of George Seaton, a free African American in Alexandria, and soon moving to Scott House, a boarding house at the corner of Duke and Columbus Streets run by the Kimballs, a northern family who moved to Alexandria while Mr. Kimball worked for the Orange & Alexandria Railroad. The diaries include mention of the mundane chores of setting up house, cleaning herself and her living quarters, eating and making small purchases—yes, all this had to go on even in wartime. At various times, smallpox was a concern, and she was “inoculated” several times by Union doctors.

November 28, 1862

...Went to Prince St. Hospital to get vaccinated. Dr. had no virus. I am not well — water so bad I cannot drink it. Been obliged to drink tea after abstaining from it 20 yrs.

December 11, 1862

Small pox spreading among whites. This P.M. I saw 3 citizens funerals and 3 soldiers funerals.

December 12, 1862

...Was vaccinated again...

As Wilbur found her way around Alexandria, thousands of African Americans were coming into Alexandria, leaving slavery. One of the first of Wilbur's requests up the chain of command (requests often made to the dismay of the officials in Alexandria who had to follow up) was a request to President Lincoln that the military build housing.

December 7, 1862

...Met Capt. Wyman [provost marshal at the time]. He looked pleased & said, "Your letter to the President has reached me." I was frightened & said, "I hope I did not offend." He said "Oh no. Your requisition for Barracks has been granted." It had been laid before Sec. Stanton, who sent it to Gen. Slough, Military Gov. of Alex.-- & Gen. S. sent it to Capt. W. It had to go through all these hands.—

December 16, 1862

Work does not go well at barracks. Nobody oversees it.

By early 1863, the barracks were completed and occupied:

January 15, 1863 Thursday

Warm cloudy. Went to the rooms, & with Mr. G & Mrs. Jacobs went to the barracks.

They are nearly finished. They are not as I wd. wish them, but I am thankful that they are as good as they are.

As Wilbur described in October 1863 in her annual report to the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society (Twelfth Annual Report, pg. 12-13): "These consist of three buildings, each 150 feet in length, and designed to accommodate 500 persons. They were erected by Government during the winter and were not ready to be occupied until about the first of March. They are roughly built....The upper rooms are each furnished with berths; the lower rooms are each furnished with a stove, cupboard, table, and two benches. Here I supposed the most helpless and destitute of these refugees from slavery would find a shelter free of expense....But the authorities of Alexandria did not understand it so; the rooms were rented for \$4 and \$5 a month...."

Indeed, the issue of what to provide for free and what to charge the formerly enslaved was a continual issue, not only for housing but for other goods. Clothing was another fraught proposition. African Americans were literally leaving slavery with only the clothes on their backs, and even that, often in tatters. Wilbur and others solicited clothing donations from Northerners, and she reported at various times when "barrels" of clothing came from the North—at a time when clothing was usually sewed to size and people held on to it.

The challenge became where to store and distribute the clothing, and whether to sell it or give it away, as she wrote at different times:

December 9, 1862

Got a room for our stores at 53 St. Asaph St.

But she could not stay there long:

December 21, 1862

At 3, I went out & saw 53 St. Asaph St. was on fire. Soon there was a crowd, but those was rotten & the water frozen. Our stores were all removed & placed under guard....Got

a room to put things for the night. What next?

December 23, 1862,

....Capt. W. has given us use of brick house, cor. Washington & Wolfe Sts. for our stores, &c.

In 1864, after returning from a three-month stay back in Rochester, she found the Clothing Room was forced out of there, too, and Wilbur again had to seek redress from the military.

Wednesday, November 9, 1864

Rainy a.m. Last night was a hard one for me. Smoke, dust, heat, cinders. Reached Balt. at 7 ½, & Wash. at 11 a.m. Went to Pro. Mar. for passes.... Ladies here in some excitement. Mr. Gladwin has got my key. I tried to get possession of my room. I have been to see Col. Wells & Capt. Mason; but shall have to give up my room. I hardly know what to do. I have no boarding plan.

In the meantime, although behind Union lines, Alexandria was sometimes threatened by the Confederates, as noted at various times:

November 18, 1862

A stir in the City. Stores being moved down river to Aquia Creek. Cavalry gone south. Report that Stonewall Jackson is coming toward Alex^a & our army is retreating. I don't know whether or not I ought to be afraid -- Citizens here would welcome him. Wrote letters P.M., hope to get them off before the rebs come.

And 18 months later:

March 19, 1864

*....
Moseby & a large body of cavalry are said to be within 7 mi. of Alex. Virginia & I went & reconnoitered as far as S. Pen & Barracks. An ominous quiet prevails, hardly a soldier to be seen. All out west to guard the approaches.*

Yet, although the diaries describe occasional danger, and frequent discomfort, loneliness, and illness, they also describe situations of enjoyment and excitement. For instance, on various occasions, Wilbur joined small groups, often with military escorts, to travel outside of Alexandria, such as a trip in January 1863 to Aquia Creek, from which they could observe Fredericksburg.

In addition, Washington was a car or boat ride away, and she frequently visited friends and the sites, including observing some of the most famous congressional debates of the day. As one example of many:

December 18, 1863, Friday

Cloudy. Warm. Called on Mrs. Markham & at a few place on the Ave. & then went back to Dr. B's & Miss M. Robinson went with me to Capitol. Spent 2 hrs. in Senate & really enjoyed it. A debate arose on a Resoⁿ requiring all senators to take the oath of allegiance. I heard Saulsbury, Powell, McDougall, Reverdy Johnson, Tournbull & Summer. Then they went into Ex. Session & the galleries were cleared. House was adjourned too.—I took 4 P.M. boat & got back here to my room at dusk.

Sometimes, what is described are just simple acts of relaxation and kindness. For example, when Wilbur returned to Alexandria after her 1863 stay in Rochester:

September 23, 1863

...at 4 ½ P.M. we were in Alex. once more at room at Cor. Washington & Wolfe....seems natural to be here. Tea with Mrs. J.

Friends and Foes

The closest people in Wilbur's sphere were her family, and she frequently corresponded with and visited with sisters, cousins, and nieces and nephews (with regular lamentations in the diary of how many weeks had passed since she had seen young niece Freda). She referred to family members by first name or first initial, while friends are identified as Mrs., Miss, and Mr., even in the diaries.

At first, she was a bit put off by Jacobs, or rather by the New York Friends' insistence on keeping close tabs of every item of donated clothing in the Clothing Room they organized together. In her pocket diary, she wrote:

January 14 1863

Mrs J sent here by the NY Friends to be the matron here. Very well, I am glad she has come. She can attend to the sick so much better than I can.

This latter perhaps refers to the fact that Jacobs was African American, like those she would tend. In any event, in a letter written around the same time, she was more forthright. In a January 15 letter to Anna Barnes, Wilbur wrote, "Last evening I was very surprised to see Harriet Jacobs. She came to me with a letter from Benjamin Tatham [a New York Quaker]....She is to keep a record of the names of all persons & a list of articles furnished to them to prevent fraud or mistakes....I don't know how this strikes thee but it struck me very unpleasantly."

Still, Jacobs and many other women provided support in trying times, whether in Alexandria, Washington, back in New York, or several short visits to Philadelphia in spring 1864 and 1865.

Then there were the many people who rubbed Wilbur the wrong way. Amidst the military

officials and scoundrels, no one came to infuriate Wilbur more than Reverend Albert Gladwin, Superintendent of Contrabands, who she looked upon as preying on African American vulnerability.

It did not start out that way:

*November 1, 1862
Met Rev. A. Gladwin, who is doing for C's.*

In a letter to Amy Kirby Post, another Rochester abolitionist, on November 5, she wrote, “Mr. Gladwin is a Baptist minister, he has been here some time. I don’t know who supports him. He receives supplies from various places for soldiers & for contrabands. He has started 2 or 3 schools in W[ashington] & 2 or 3 here. He is very active & I think does a great deal of good. He has done a great deal for the sick, they have had no physician.”

But soon, Wilbur saw another side of the minister:

*November 11, 1862
I don't like the way Mr. Gladwin speaks to these people. Don't treat them as if they were women. Went to Hospital- 3 dead children. Mr. G. ordered a colored man to pray over some of them. I was too full & came away.*

Wilbur had two main grievances—his disrespect for the African Americans officially under his care and his efforts to charge them what she said were exorbitant rents for sub-standard housing. Her several efforts to have him removed were singularly unsuccessful—in fact, the end result was an endorsement for his work from General John Slough, the Military Governor of Alexandria, and official appointment as Superintendent of Contrabands.

*May 6, 1863 Wednesday
Rainy. Cold.
Don't feel like writing.
Mr. Graves called to tell some news that could not be kept over night. I thought I cd. not be surprised at anything, but I was when he told me that Mr. Gladwin is appointed Superintendent!*

She tried on several occasions to have him removed, and three physicians also lodged a complaint against him that had no effect. His final undoing came in early 1865, when African American soldiers successfully protested Gladwin’s burial of their dead in the “contraband cemetery,” rather than in the more dignified military cemetery reflecting their service to their country.

Gladwin, that thorn in Wilbur’s side, was a Baptist minister from Connecticut, although we have not found much information about him. A thorn in Wilbur’s side for almost three years, she even ran into him in post-war Richmond in May 1865.

Witness to (Some) Change

When Wilbur lived in Rochester and supported abolition, she came in contact with very few African Americans. She unsuccessfully had tried to integrate a small school where she taught in the 1850s and, as noted above, recorded visiting the Douglass residence and even briefly mentioned meeting Harriet Jacobs in the 1840s.

Moving to Alexandria was a different story. The mostly abstract became real.

Seen from the 21st century, some of her comments can be viewed as patronizing and seeing African Americans as “the other,” with whites knowing what was best for them.

June 5, 1863

Cloudy. This morning went to houses on Water St. & 2 on Wharf, or rather places were families live. That part of the city is so filthy that I was glad to get away from it, it made me sick. I must go out again tomorrow. Found cellar full of water. I took long walk to see an officer about it. So tired, & have head ache too.

She reported on her first meeting of Edwin Bentley, MD, who oversaw medical facilities for the Union army, including L’Ouverture Hospital, which was built for African American patients.

Wednesday, April 13, 1864

Pleasant.

Went to see Dr. Bentley. My first interview with him. Thinks it well enough to have a Matron at the Hos. but “wants to run a black machine entirely.” He is like too many others, Thinks anything is good enough for niggers. I think the Matron sh. be white for the present & sh. be intelligent, too. Oh dear, how discouraging.

Yet, she was also ahead of her time in demanding that African Americans receive the respect they deserved, for example, formally protesting when she witnesses the mistreatment of a woman detained for some sort of public disturbance and showered in front of men to subdue her.

More unusually for her time, she simply became allies and friends with many blacks—especially Harriet Jacobs, her daughter Louisa, and other relief workers from the North, but also former slaves. When she was in New York in 1863, she wrote:

July 30, 1863

.... No war news. If I cd. only hear from Alex. Strange that I get no letter from Mrs. Jacobs. How I would like to see Emma & Becky & Matilda & Lucinda & Betsey & Betty Thompson &c. &c.

Similarly, she observed when she was among African Americans but carried on with what she wanted to do:

Friday, January 1, 1864

Bright. Colder. Went to P.O. twice. Went to meeting at Col^d Meth. Church. Anniversary of Freedom for the Slave. Dr. Bigelow presided & read Proclamation of E. Speakers were Rev. Mr. White of Va. Alex. Rev. Mr. Post of Penn. Rev. Mr. Hunnicutt Va. Mr. Pepper of Maine. Capt. Wyman of Mass. Mr. Robinson of Alex. Turner & Drew & Marks, audience small but speaking good. I was the only white woman.

And as discouraged as Wilbur often was, she did recognize that she had seen some change. The day after this meeting, she noted:

Saturday, January 2, 1864

Coldest day. Then 10° above 0. Went to P.O. & Journal Office &c. Went to slave pen, but few prisoners. Left Anti Slavery Tracts & pamphlets for them. Also for 2 colored men & the guard, too. Only think, distributing abolition tracts in a Slave Pen! The world has moved some.

In one of her annual reports to the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society (Thirteenth Annual Report), she concluded by saying “when in Alexandria, your agent is a sort of missionary-at-large, woman-of-all-work.”

As the War Winds Down

In the summers of 1863 and 1864, Wilbur returned to upstate New York for several months at a time, exhausted. In 1864, she became ill and, for about a month, her entries were a lightly scrawled sentence or two, with a visit by the doctor the highlight of the day. In 1864, her father, who she reported in ailing health throughout her diaries, sold their family farm in the town of Rush (valued at \$8,400 in the 1860 census) and she helped with the move to a rented house in West Avon. (The 1870 census records that he and his wife Laura, Julia’s step-mother, were living in Avon and he is listed as blind.)

March 5, 1864

....

A line from home informs me that father intends to leave his home to Henry, & he is to live at E. Avon in hired house. Nothing hardly cd. be so bad for me, but I must not let this crush me. I feared it wd. come to this.

Remond & Downing [prominent abolitionists] speak at Barracks tonight, but I cannot go to hear them.

Mr. Gladwin has asked us to go into the other house. The selfish, contemptible fellow.

Wilbur returned to Alexandria in October 1864 with her sister Frances, who was interested in finding a position in Washington or in Alexandria. In February 1865, the two women moved to a

rooming house at 207 I Street in Washington, joining some other Northern women. Wilbur continued to visit Alexandria regularly and was there to celebrate the end of the war—and, thus was also there the night that President Lincoln was assassinated.

April 14, 1865

....

I went on the 10 A.M. train to Alex, Va.

I wished to see a gala day in Alex. A union demonstration & I have seen it. This was to celebrate our recent victories. The procession moved at 3 P.M. I had no idea there was such a large military force in Alex. & vicinity... there were cavalry & Inf & Artillery I enjoyed it keenly for the times now are such a contrast to what they were 2 yrs ago. Gen. Slough commanded the procession. I saw the whole 3 times. There was such good order & everything was so well-timed that all had a chance to see, Secesh as well as others, & I hope the sight did them good....

April 15, 1865

The soldiers go to every secesh house & told them to put crape on the door after they had left it was taken off, The soldiers went back & made them put it on again & told them if they took it off they would pull the house down....

April 16, 1865

...

Then I went to call on Aunt Lucinda. She is the picture of sorrow. She said "she was all tore up. Cond't work. Couldn't do anything She would black her house if it took the last cent in her pocket." I went around to the houses of colored people. I was a touching sight to see a piece of black cloth on every cabin, shanty & shed....

...

There is no consolation to offer. We all suffer alike.

Immediately after the war, Wilbur continued to seek ways to assist the now-freed slaves. In May 1865, she went to Philadelphia to try to round up assistance and then, with Frances and several other people, traveled to Richmond and Petersburg. Richmond had been the capital of the Confederacy just about six weeks earlier:

May 18, 1865

....Moved to Cor. Franklin & 14th. Went to Jeff house & Capitol. Mrs. Well's & brother & J. Winston went with us to City Jail and Whipping Post. Cells and dungeons bolts, bars, & irons! Horrid place!

Went to Lumpkin's jail. He showed us the place & we told him what we thought of him & his business. Saw some of his slaves. He is a villain. Went to Auction House of Hill & Dickinson. Saw Hill & others. Plain talk with them. Those with us were delighted to hear us talk to those traders.

Took long walk to Poor House. Such horrid things as I have seen today.

By the time she left Richmond, she saw some small improvements, although problems persisted:

Saturday, June 3, 1865

Very hot. Bright.

At 10 ½ A.M. Mrs. Jennings & I rode to Poor House & worked there till 3 P.M. Went into every room & saw nearly every person. Am convinced that the Irishman who carries the whip has whipped women & children. When into every white room also.

A school will be opened on Monday.

And I hope a woman will come also. An orphanage will be established also.

Looking beyond 1865, Wilbur's diaries continue, and I hope to review them to learn more about her life as a suffragette and woman trying to support herself in the last 19th century. The Haverford collection contains a few other related records, including a journal written by Julia's sister Mary Von Buskirk. During the war, Mary was a young mother dealing with the anxiety of her husband Joseph's military service. In 1881, Mary chronicled a trip to Washington that included a day trip to Alexandria—20 years after the war, it is almost a trip of nostalgia: "September 18, 1881, This morning, Sister Julia, Freda, Stewart [*Mary's son*] & myself took the ferry to & went to Alexandria, Vir. Went to the Soldiers' cemetery where there are over 3000 union soldiers buried. Government keeps the grounds very beautiful....Saw where our soldiers were quartered during the war, a great many of the nicest buildings were used for Hospitals, one large quaker meeting house. Saw the old price, birch & co slave pen, Bruins also that we read about in the time of slavery. Saw many interesting things that day, the main streets in Alexandria are paved with cobblestones, full of great ruts and holes worm by Army wagons & the most singular thriftless[?] sight was the grass grown all in between the stones on the main streets in the city."

Thus, as mentioned in Mary's entry, Freda re-entered Julia's life, and I will have to read through the diaries to see when and how this occurs. It was between 1865 and 1870 because the 1880 Federal census lists Frances Hartwell, Divorced, Keeping House; Julia Wilbur, sister, single, government clerk, and Alfreda Bigelow, daughter [sic], age 24, student living together at 86 Eighth Street NW.

Charles Lenhart, a descendent of Julia Wilbur, shared a transcript of her obituary from her death in 1895:

Passed to Her Reward

Nunda News

Miss Julia A Wilbur, formerly of Avon, N.Y., a clerk for many years in the Patent Office, died at her home in Washington, June 6th. of influenza and results, aged 80 years. Sprung from sturdy Quaker stock, she early in life took up arms against slavery. For many years she engaged in active partisan labor for the cause of freedom, and was intimately associated with all the great anti-slavery leaders and workers of the time. The breaking out of the war brought her to Washington where she labored long for the amelioration of

the negroes and the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers. After the war she was appointed a clerk in the patent office, which position she held until her death. The burial was at Avon.

Chronology Overview

Here are some useful dates to keep in mind when reading Wilbur's individual entries:

1818: Born in New York, the 3rd of 10 children (7 girls, 3 boys)

1834: Wilbur's mother died, either at the time of or shortly after the birth of her youngest child Mary. Her father re-married twice: to Sally Tanner, 1836–1857, and to Laura Winegar, 1850–1870. He died in 1872.

1844: Wilbur began her diaries as she started teaching in Rochester

April 1857: Julia's sister Sarah died, and niece Freda came to live with Julia and others in the family

December 1859: Revilo Bigelow, Freda's father, comes to reclaim her

October 1862: Julia Wilbur traveled to Washington, then Alexandria, on behalf of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society.

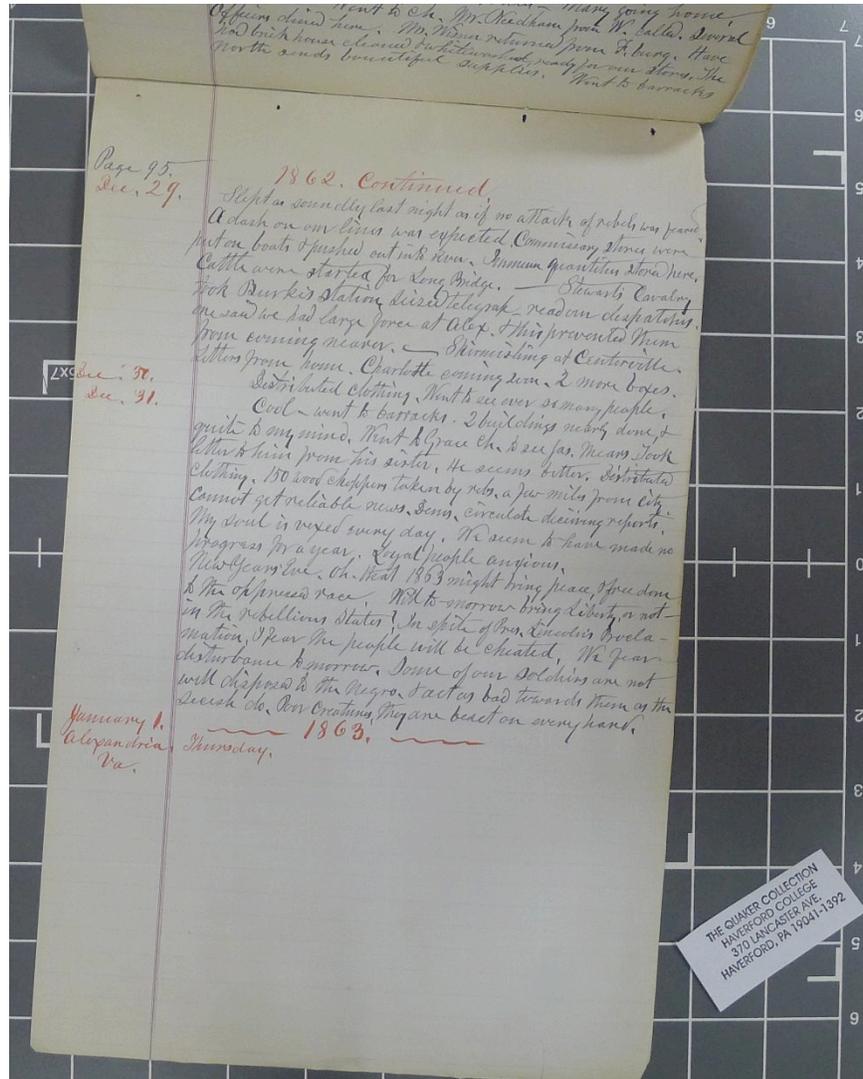
July 1863: Wilbur returned to New York, returned to Alexandria in September 1863

August 1864: Wilbur again returned to New York and became ill, returned to Alexandria in October 1864

February 1865: Wilbur and sister Frances Hartwell moved to Washington, DC

May 1865: Wilbur and Hartwell traveled to Richmond

October-December 1862 "Journal Briefs"



[Transcriber's Note: As explained in the Introduction, Julia Wilbur came to Alexandria at the end of October 1862. Three sets of records chronicle the period through the end of December 1862, two of which are presented here. (The third set of records is in the process of being transcribed). The section below transcribes what she called "Journal Briefs"—these are on large sheets of paper, with the dates and page numbers handwritten in red ink, and appear to be a retrospective looking back at a later time. The Journal Briefs end at the end of 1862.

*A small pocket diary also chronicles this period and onward, and these transcribed pages follow in the next section. **Full dates (month, date, year) have been added by the transcriber to aid in searching.***

The days immediately leading up to Wilbur's trip are transcribed here. For further context, see transcribed diaries "Julia Wilbur: Before She Arrived in Alexandria (1844-October 1862)"

Page 78 1862-Continued *[Transcriber's Note: Page numbers and 1862 headings are handwritten on the original]*

October 16, 1862

I cd. be ready in a few days. But I must wait for father & mother to come back from S.—Letter from Mary. She has so much to do to get ready to leave her house all winter.—F. there now.¹ The Rochester Ladies' Anti Slavery Society want me to go to W. right away.---

October 19, 1862

Went to W. Avon² & worked in the cemetery. Our lot is neglected & need work done on it. But Henry will not do it. I went to Uncle Ephraim's to stay all night & came back this morning.—Father & Mother came from Somerset last Friday.—I am very thankful that Frances is in Mich. with Mary. She will bring Mary & children back with her. I am glad she cd. do this. I am getting nervous & anxious about going away & am far from being well.

October 21, 1862

At home.--packed trunks & got things ready to start to-morrow. If they will only write me often, I shall feel better.—Letter from Joe. He is at Edwards Ferry³ —He thinks I can come up there & see him.—I can ride with the mail carrier who belongs to their corps. And Joe thinks he can come to W. to see me.

¹ Somerset, NY, where several of Julia Wilbur (JW)'s siblings and their families lived. Mary refers to Mary Von Buskirk, her youngest sister who lived in Pine Run, Michigan, with two young children. Mary's husband, Joseph Von Buskirk, had enlisted in the 2nd Michigan. F. is Frances, another sister, who later visited Alexandria and lived with JW in Washington, DC, after the war.

² West Avon, south of Rochester.

³ Joseph Von Buskirk, as noted above, JW's brother-in-law. Edwards Ferry, Maryland, was a strategically important crossing point on the Potomac River during the War, connecting current-day Montgomery County, MD, and Loudoun County, VA.

pg 79 Beginning of my life in Washington

October 22, 1862 1862 Continued

Left my home with father in Rush, N.Y. at 9 A.M. & went to W. Avon. It was sad for me to leave father in his old age, but as we neared the depot, a beautiful Rainbow spanned the Western horizons! Was it not a “bow of promise” for me? I accepted the omen & went hopefully on. Called on Mrs. Winans. She went with me to train & she sent things to her soldier boy. Ticket to Baltimore \$9. Changed car for still poorer one at Elmira. Soldiers here.—In passing Conesus Lake I could see on the other side the house that contains my darling Freda⁴. Oh, if she will only remember me!—

Night came down on Magnificent Scenery. Changed cars for still poorer ones at Williamsport. Only the one ladies car had fire in it & all wanted to go into it. But only men with ladies were allowed to stay. Frank Phelps, a Showman,⁵ called himself my protector & he kept his seat. He was going to W. to open a Theater, was a Democrat, pro-Slavery but good natured & sociable. We represented the extremes of thought & opinions. Waited at York. First negro I saw was selling pies.⁶ Our delays caused by wrecked trains. Everything new to me now.--in a Slave state (Md.). Reached Baltimore at 10, too late for train to W—Went in omnibus with Mrs. Cameron to Barnum’s Hotel. She proved a pleasant lady. She asked me to take room with her. She had lived in Toronto & helped fugitive slaves, wished me success in my mission. She was going to see her husband Maj. C., a nephew of Ex. Sec. of War⁷ at Harper’s Ferry. I saw something of the City. We left at 5. Soldiers guarded every car. Long stop at Relay, where Mrs. Cameron left the train.—Saw several camps—lights looked beautiful. Cars more uncomfortable. Col. Doran, 13th Va. Regt.,⁸ had seat with me & gave me information Thinks we cannot succeed unless

Page 80 1862-Continued

October 23, 1862

we emancipate the slaves. At 9 P.M. in Washington. Col. D. saw me on board an omnibus & said to Driver, “Take this lady to Willards.”⁹ He was a kind gentlemen & helped me with my

⁴ Freda was the niece whom JW raised for about two years; she remained heartbroken when Freda’s father takes the child to live with him and his second wife; throughout her diaries, Wilbur laments how many weeks it has been since Freda was taken.

⁵ Phelps is referred to as “the Showman” in a newspaper clipping from Elmira on the website of the New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center (http://dmna.ny.gov/historic/reghist/civil/counties/chemung/Chemung_CWN04.pdf)

⁶ This should not give the impression that this was the first African American that Wilbur had seen first-hand, as she mentions the Douglasses, the Jacobs, and others in her pre-war diaries in Rochester, and was somehow involved with the Underground Railroad. However, as she notes on October 23 when she reaches Washington, “first time I was waited on by slaves.”

⁷ Simon Cameron was Secretary of War until January 1862, resigned amid charges of corruption.

⁸ “13th Va.” is in the original.

⁹ Willards Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue. The building during the Civil War was replaced by the grander structure still standing today later in the 19th century.

baggage. Pa. Ave. was a brilliant scene.—Well I was in a strange city & at a strange house. But it did not hinder my sleeping for I was very, very tired. Today for the first time, I was waited on by slaves.

October 24, 1862

Friday

Like Indian Summer. After breakfast started, went out to find Geo E. Baker, Treas of the Freedmen's Relief Assn.¹⁰ Mrs. B directed me to Mr. Walter Johnson where Misses Patten & Doxy board. They are caring for the Contrabands, 2000 or 3000 here. Have been moved from Duff Green's Row to McClellan barracks, a little out of city. I found the place & I never saw before such destitution & misery. Many were in old tents on the ground—sick—rags covering, oh, dear! They have this poor shelter & rations & a Military guard. But they will have better shelter before winter. The Assoⁿ pays 2 Matrons & Superintendent. Oh such suffering! Back to Willards. Met several Phila. Friends. Eliza Sharples—Eliza Gurney & others. Went out again. Saw 2 Regts. Trains of Army Wagons, &c.

October 25, 1862

Went to State Dept. to see Mr. Baker & to Treas. to see Hannibal Hamlin, Pres. of the Assoⁿ—he is cousin of Vice Pres.—Thinks I had better go to Alex Va.—500 contrabands there, worse off than those in W.—Went to Patent Office to see Mr. Van Santvoord Sec'y of Assoⁿ where I told him what I had come for. He said, "Miss W it seems as if God had sent you here," He went with me to find a boarding place—first to his Aunt, Mrs. Munson. The 3d time successful at Miss Bohle's. Mrs. M. invited me to go to Harewood Hospital with her at 4 P.M.- She works for soldiers

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1862 Continued

October 23, 1862

[Transcriber's Note: written in margin] but she hates Abolitionists & Negroes.

Mr. Van S. gave me letter to Gen. Wadsworth¹¹, the Mil. Governor and got man he knew to take my trunks to Miss Bohle's--

Then I went to Headquarters & soon had audience with Gen W. He heartily approved my object & gave me a letter to Gen. Banks¹², Commander, Defenses of W. & Alex^a -- & said if you

¹⁰ The National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia

(<http://drbronsontours.com/bronsonnationalfreedmansreliefassociationofthedistrictofcolumbiaapril1862.html>).

President was H. Hamlin; Secretary was J. Van Santvoord; Treasurer George E. Baker, office in Temperance Hall, E Street, Washington, DC. The association formed in New York on Feb. 20, 1862

¹¹ James Samuel Wadsworth was born in a wealthy family in Geneseo, NY, in 1839, close to Rochester. Appointed as military governor in March 1862, he was supportive of abolitionist causes, for example moving contrabands out of the Old Capitol Prison and not enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. He went on to battle and died in a Confederate hospital when taken prisoner, May 8, 1864 (from the Lincoln Institute, Mr. Lincoln and New York, <http://www.mrlincolnandnewyork.org/inside.asp?ID=65&subjectID=3>)

¹² Nathaniel Prentice Banks, "one of the first political generals appointed by President Lincoln"

(<http://www.archives.gov/boston/exhibits/banks/index.html>) appointed to this position during parts of 1862 and

want any thing more, come again. I shall never forget Gen. W.'s kindness -- he made me think of Uncle C. Swarthout[?]. I saw Gen. Bank's aide, & then a man wrote a note to Gen. Slough¹³, Mil. Gov. of Alex., for me to take to him. It was not satisfactory. Went to my new place on E. St. near Post O.--Wrote to Joe & Lewis W¹⁴. Then at 4 went with Munson in Ambulance to Harewood Hospital.¹⁵ She carried things to them. It was enough to move a stone to see the 2 or 3000 sick men. Some tents clean, others dirty. She is from Albany (later from Georgia) & gets supplies from NY. She says the niggers sh. not have been allowed to make this war. ----What a woman!

October 26, 1862

Sunday. Rainy day. I sorted things, & wrote letters. Mr. Leighton called to see me. Day too short.

October 27, 1862

Fine. Rev. Mr. Channing¹⁶ called.--I went to see Gen. W. & showed him the letter of Gen. B.s adjutant. He said it was not what he expected. He said "go to Alex. & then see me again." I got a "Pass"¹⁷ for a Mo.-

Fixed for rain & mud. Went to see White House & to rooms of San^y Commission.¹⁸ Then wrote 6 letters.

October 28, 1862

1863. Before the war, he represented Massachusetts in the U.S. House of Representatives and served as governor from 1858 to 1860.

¹³ John Slough was brought in as Military Governor of Alexandria in 1862 and remained for the duration of the war. On Feb. 2, 1864, a Senate resolution passed to investigate conditions into the military administration of Alexandria. The ensuing report gives some detail about Slough's coming to Alexandria. The April 20, 1864, report to the Joint Committee on the Conduct and Expenses of the War included the following: "On the 25th of August, 1862, the Secretary of War sent for General Slought, who proceeded to the office, where he met the Secretary of War and General Halleck. They informed him that they had just received information that the town of Alexandria was beyond the control of the then provost marshal there...and it was their desire that he should immediately assume command and restore order...Upon investigation he found that the sale of liquor was the prolific source of all the grouble there....The prohibition of the traffic in liquor at once created great dissatisfaction with the administration of General Slough....Of the \$18,000 or \$20,000 collected as fines and rents, perhaps \$10,000 have been expended during General Slough's administration for cleaning streets, repairing King Street, paying the superintendent of contrabands, detectives, and the incidental expenses of the offices of the military governor and provost marshal....(U.S. Congressional Serial Set, Volume 1178, 38th Congress, 1st Session, "Military Administration in Alexandria,"

http://books.google.com/books?id=gnLHAQAIAAJ&dq=captain&wyman&provost&marshal&alexandria&va&source=gbs_navlinks_s)

¹⁴ Joseph Von Buskirk and Lewis Winans, the son of her friend from New York.

¹⁵ If JW's first contact with a military hospital was Harewood, it would have been a dramatic introduction. Set up as a series of tents built on the estate of William Wilson Corcoran, near Seventh Street NW.

¹⁶ Rev. William Channing had invited Wilbur to teach in Port Royal earlier in 1862. Her father opposed, and the ship taking the group to South Carolina sailed from New York without her.

¹⁷ For a description of the pass system, go to "Travel Documentation in the American Civil War" (<http://arcdream.com/home/?p=256>)

¹⁸ 1333 F Street NW in Washington.

Went to Alex. with Mr. Channing in boat. Very interesting on both sides of River, Alex, old & dirty. Went to old School House.¹⁹ 150 C's there. A large house for sick near by. We went there, people in filth & rags -- a dead child lay wrapped in piece of ticking -- in another room, a dead child behind the door. Oh what sights! What Misery! No doctor -- no medicines- only rations & Shelter.----

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1862--Continued

October 28, 1862

Went to Birch and Price's Slave Pen.²⁰ Now used for guard House & prison. & in some of the rooms families have been put. I cannot describe the scenes I saw. We cd. not stay a minute in some rooms. Such smells!

Then we went to Parker & Robinson's²¹ (colored) School. Then to Convalescent Camp.²² Found some of 2d. Mich. Co. F (Joe's) -- 1000 N.Y. men here. They fare hard. Need new clothes, blankets, &c. Extensive view, Camp cover all the plain & the slopes. Troops marching, bayonets glistening -- A remarkable sight to me. A long walk back. From boat we took Omnibus. A

¹⁹ The School House, described in a November 12 letter to Anna Barnes: "The school house is as large as a common church, one large room & 2 small ones. All along the sides are families, that is a woman or two, the children, what they call their beds, their cooking utensils, & fire in an old stove perhaps, pipe goes out the window." NOTE: Letters from JW referred to in footnotes are part of the collection of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society Papers, 1851-1868, located at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

²⁰ At 1315 Duke Street, in operation from 1828 to 1861; prison from 1861-1865, later a hospital and boarding house. With its location on the Duke Street/Little River Turnpike and not far from the port, Isaac Franklin and John Armfield, his nephew by marriage, bought the property and turned it into a prime slave-trading center. Armfield was in Alexandria; Franklin in Mississippi and Louisiana. They sold the property and business in the 1840s to George Kephart, one of their agents, and it was recorded as Price, Birch and Company after 1858 (as seen on photographs during the 1860s). During the War used as a jail for alcohol abuse, desertion, insubordination and other crimes, with an estimated 7,680 people detained over a four-year period. (Source: Janice Artemel, Elizabeth Crowell, and Jeff Parker, "The Alexandria Slave Pen: The Archaeology of Human Captivity" (<http://alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/ARSiteReportAlexandriaSlavePenAX75.pdf>). The building is currently the museum/offices of the Northern Virginia Urban League.

²¹ Rev. Clem Robinson and Rev. George Washington Parker opened "the First Select Colored School" for contrabands in the Beulah Baptist Church, also known as Second Baptist, 320 South Washington Street in 1862. The American Baptist Free Mission Society supported the school. In her annual report, October 1863, to the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, JW, looking back over the previous year, wrote, "Mr. Robinson, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Parker, of Baltimore, both colored have a select school of 250 scholars, and among these are many contraband children, who pay like the rest, one dollar a month. She also noted schools opened by Mr. Hill (50 scholars), Mrs. Crouch (30), Amanda Bell ("a contraband living at the Slave Pen...She bought books at her own expense to begin the school"), as well as a school begun by Leland Waring (pg. 10-11, 1863 Annual Report). See also *Special Report of the Commissioner of Education in the District of Columbia, Washington Printing Office of 1871*, for list of schools for black students at this time

(http://books.google.com/books/about/Special_Report_of_the_Commissioner_of_Ed.html?id=4q4AAAAAYAAJ)

²² The Convalescent Camp was set up near Fort Ellsworth in October 1862, known as Camp Misery for its wretched conditions. "In order of priority, camp officials admitted convalescents from all area hospitals, stragglers and deserters, new recruits and paroled prisoners." In December 1862, the camp was moved 21/2 miles north, along Four Mile Run. (James C. Barber, *Alexandria in the Civil War*, p. 36-36). See also Mary Livermore, *My Story of the War*; Livermore worked for the U.S. Sanitary Commission.

secesh²³ woman got out when a Union Soldier got in.

October 29, 1862

Went to see Gen. Wadsworth - He said Gen B. had gone to N.Y. & Gen. Heintzelman²⁴ was in his place & we cd. get nothing from him. Gen Slough wd. not be likely to help me. "Oh these politicians![""] he exclaimed, "They are so afraid they will be called Abolitionists." "They will not touch the Contraband question."

He sent me with a note to Sec. Stanton.²⁵ I went. Room full of waiting men. I said "I wd. wait until he had more leisure." Said he "It is just so all the time, Sundays & all. Good time now as any." So I told him briefly what I came for. He said "put it in writing." I did so. He looked at it & said "It shall be attended to."-- He is a pompous looking man. Some N.Y. men told him of abuses they wanted rectified. Stanton said, "I wish the N.Y. men wd. let us manage this war." & sharp words passed between them. I was glad to get away.-

Gen. Wadsworth gave me pass to Lt. Ethan Allen, & the use of his ambulance for a day (when he is in a hurry he rides in ambulance, & his driver is a Jehu.[?]) Miss Bohle went with me over Chain Bridge, guarded by Cannon & Soldiers. Roads rough, hard up thru heights to Ft. wh. mounts 15 guns 4th N.Y. Artillery. - Found Lewis Winans, James Rout & Robt. Schofield. all my Child Scholars once. I had things for them- They said they fare pretty well. I left pickles

[Transcriber's Note: following written in margin] grapes, &c. Hard ride & tired enough, but I wd. not have missed it. They were so glad to see me. & all was so new to me.

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1862 Continued.

October 30, 1862 Rev. W.H. Channing called -- gave me a letter to Lewis McKenzie²⁶- Mayor of Alex. from Jas. Hallowell.

I had left my letters at Office of Sec. of W. & had to go for them. & got them after waiting awhile.

Then I walked around to see things. Saw an Artillery Train. I went to Capitol, &c.

October 31, 1862 Went to Cap. again. & up the Dome as far as it is finished. 1100 sick soldiers have been here until 3 wks ago. I wished for my friends to be with me.

²³ "Secesh" or secessionists—those with pro-slavery, anti-Union views. In the Twelfth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society (published October 1863), JW noted, "I have not met with a white Anti-slavery family in Alexandria."

²⁴ Samuel P. Heintzelman was in command of the defenses south of Washington, DC, September 9, 1862-February 2, 1863.

²⁵ Secretary of Defense.

²⁶ McKenzie, a merchant and slaveholder who sided with the Union, was appointed acting Mayor in 1861. An earlier home at 522-524 King Street was excavated by Alexandria Archaeology (<http://alexandriava.gov/uploadedFiles/historic/info/archaeology/AR500BlockMcKenzie.pdf>). Later he lived on Cameron Street, where he reportedly installed the city's first bathtub with running water. For more on McKenzie, see *Alexandria on the Potomac: The Portrait of an Antebellum Community* by Harold Hurst, pg. 21.

November 1, 1862 At 11, went to Alex. with Mr. C. Saw Capt. Wyman, the Pro. Marshall²⁷, he gave me letter to Mr. Burge²⁸, commissary, wh I gave him. Met Rev. A. Gladwin²⁹, who is doing for C's. Dinner at Geo. Seaton's³⁰ with Mr. Whipple & Gladwin. We went to Wolfe St Hospital. Then to Convalescent Camp. Took things to Mich men. They dislike to stay there. In City met Chap. May³¹ of 2nd Mich Regt. (Joe's). He saw Joe a few days ago -- spoke highly of him, said he ought to be promoted. Called on Robert Bill to inquire for boarding place. When told what I was going to do, he treated us coolly. (Queer quaker) I expect to go to Alex. to live in a day or two. I don't mean to be afraid of Secesh, although Miss Bohle says "the people in Alex. would just as not cut my throat, & they will lie so." It seems she wants me to stay in W. & board with her — She is Southern.

November 2, 1862 Heard Dr. Gurley (Pres-) preach.³² he said nothing a rebel cd. object to. Does not pray for the President.

November 3, 1862 Cold-windy-dusty. At 10 A.M. went to Alex. on boat. Mrs. May cannot take me. At last I went to Mr. Seaton's (colored) & engaged board. Back to W. at 3 P.M.

November 4, 1862 Went to Pat. Off. to see Mr. Van Santivord & Mr. Chester & J. Dennis. Last wishes me to receive supplies from Cayuga Co. He gave me Primers (a quaker). Then Mr. C. went through Pat. Office with me.

²⁷ Provost Marshall was in charge of "order" and police functions, both for the military and civilians under his command.

²⁸ General Slough appointed Sidney A. Burdge, as noted in *A House Divided Still Stands*, pg. 8. In a November 12, 1862, letter to Anna Barnes, Wilbur writes that "B[urdge] is a young man from N[ew] Y[ork] city who does this as he wd do any other work....Mr. P[ierce] deals out the rations mostly. Mr. P[ierce] drives them [contrabands] as if they wre horses or dogs..." In other words, they were not exactly caring for the contrabands, especially the women, as Wilbur would expect.

²⁹ This seems to be the first mention in Wilbur's diaries of Albert Gladwin, later named Supervisor of Contrabands and a thorn in her side. According to the website <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=43437847>, a Baptist minister named Albert Gladwin was born on April 22, 1816, in Essex, CT, and died on November 14, 1869, in Laramie, Wyoming, buried at Prospect Hill Cemetery in Essex. The 1850 census lists an Albert Gladwin, age 34, occupation trader living in the Minion Hotel in Essex Saybrook. In a November 5 letter to Amy Kirby Post (see FN below), JW wrote, "Mr. Gladwin is a Baptist minister, he has been here some time. I don't know who supports him. He receives supplies from various places for soldiers & for contrabands. He has started 2 or 3 schools in W[ashington] & 2 or 3 here. He is very active & I think does a great deal of good. He has done a great deal for the sick, they have had no physician." In the first of her annual reports to the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, she notes, "Rev. A. Gladwin had been sent out by the Free Mission Society of New York City, and he divided his time between the soldiers and the contrabands."

³⁰ George L. Seaton was a free black master carpenter who began a school and later a member of the City Council in the 1870s. Home at 404 South Royal Street.

³¹ This may have been Chaplain Franklin W. May, who enlisted in the 2nd Michigan Infantry on April 25, 1861 from Detroit, at the age of 36. For background about the role of chaplains, see John Brinsfield et al., *Faith in the Fight: Civil War Chaplains*.

³² If this is the Rev. Gurley, Rev. Phineas Gurley was pastor of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, where the Lincolns worshipped. If so, JW's perception of his sermon is particularly interesting.

November 4, 1862 continued - Some of it used for hospital. 1600 sick men here. Long Corridors & recesses filled with beds, a remarkable sight. Then I looked at Relics & Models. Took long walk by Old Capital Prison. Then to see Dr. Hurd at Casparis Hospital.³³

November 5, 1862³⁴ Left W with trunks on 10 a.m. boat, but what a place I have found! How can I stay here? It is too uncomfortable to sit down & write.

November 6, 1862³⁵ Cold. Went to see Commissary Burge. Mr. Pierce of Rochester is with him. They deal out rations to the C's.

Then I went home with woman who lives in the oldest tenement I ever saw. All light came through crevices & vents[?].

Here were 3 women & 13 children, Saw something of misery.-- Old women lying in damp places. Then I went to Burge & told him we must have bedsteads, or something to keep them from sleeping on ground.

Then to Slave Pen. In one room, with one window were 20 women & children,-- some of them sick — brick floor — damp- Only a few cd. get near the small fire. It was horrible! I went in to other room until I felt sick & had to leave. These people came to Alex. with the Army. "The Unions told them to come along, & used them well."

November 7, 1862 Cold — snowed all day, but melted fast. Did not feel like going out. Wrote 5 letters.

November 8, 1862 Snow all gone — muddy, — Went to Burge for wood. Went into an Irish place: the filthiest I ever saw — Then to Fish Town³⁶ near River, where I saw many C's in dreadful places — no chimneys — no floors — Unfit for brutes. No windows — no beds — but rags! It made me sick! Dr. Ripley³⁷ is physician, but he attends to the sick very little.

³³ Located south of the Capitol, Casparis was a hotel converted to hospital use.

³⁴ November 5, 1862, letter from JW to Amy Kirby Post describes coming to Alexandria the previous day, with some of the descriptions also included here, such as conditions in the old Slave Pen. She asks for boxes to be sent to Julia Wilbur, No. 69 St. Asaph Street, South, Alexandria. *Source*: From the Family Papers of Isaac and Amy Kirby Post, 1817-1918, Rush Rhees Library, the University of Rochester.

³⁵ From the Alexandria Gazette, November 6, 1862, "Several cases of small pox are reported amongst the "contrabands" in this place."

³⁶ Fish Town was near the river, approximately between Oronoco and Princess streets.

³⁷ According to a letter from Wilbur to Amy Post on November 5, 1862, "Yesterday Dr. Ripley of Rochester was appointed physician for the contrabands." On December 22, she complained to Anna Barnes that "Dr. Ripley is not seen by us sometimes for several days. [H]e gives but little attention to these people. Dr. Spencer says Dr. Ripley is a thief & a quack, & Col. Tait says Dr. R[ipley] is a thief, & he should be turned off at once—but he gets his appointment from the surgeon general. I think I shall have to go to him & the medical director, & ask to have him dismissed. It is not pleasant for me to do this. But shall we let these folks die?"

Obtaining the services of a good physician for the contrabands was not easy. On December 12, 1862, Provost Marshal Wyman wrote a letter to "Dr. Abbot, U.S. Mil. Director" saying "Dr. Dow does not seem altogether pleased with his position as a Surgeon to the contrabands of this city and expressed a desire for a change in his position. Should you decide to accede to his request I think I should be willing to try Dr. L.H Ripley again." (Source: NARA,

November 9, 1862 Sunday — Cleaned up — wrote. did not go out.

November 10, 1862 Like Indian summer — dreamed last night that Freda was dead. — Went long walk — I saw Mrs. May.

Burnside supersedes McClellan.³⁸ Roses in bloom.

Page 85 1862 Continued

November 11, 1862 Went to old S. House — Colored man teaching children in sun. Atmosphere reeking inside. A woman sat nursing 3 day old baby. Told me how slave Mothers had to manage their children the first month. She had had “Mighty ailments, baby’s name Abe Linktem because he was born in a big time.” — Fugitive Slave law enforced. & woman sent from W. jail to Md — Gen. Wadsworth is gone & there is no help for fugitives

Went to Convalescent Camp. 1000 sick just from Harpers Ferry - Here is Stragglers’ Camp & Paroled Prisoners’ Camp.³⁹

Evening to meeting in Old School House. A weird scene[?]

November 12, 1862⁴⁰ Went to S. House again. Such shocking sights, living and dead in close proximity

I don’t like the way Mr. Gladwin speaks to these people. Don’t treat them as if they were women. Went to Hospital - 3 dead children. Mr. G ordered a colored man to pray over some of them. I was too full & came away.

Note from Joe. Said Sutler would take anything I want to send him. My rations to be ½ lb pork or 1½ lb of fresh beef, 1 lb 6 oz flour or 1 lb bread 1 ½ oz rice, ½ gill beam - 2 oz sugar ½ oz coffee. ¾ in candle - soap 1 in square - Molasses & potatoes are extra rations. I am not Yankee enough to know what to do with them--Vexed with what I see and hear. Soldiers from H. Ferry going to Con. Camp. Some so weak they gave out. I spoke to one sitting on steps — Geo Smith from Irondequoit 108th NY—Missed seeing Mr. Channing.

November 13, 1862 Letters from Frances & Mary & Anna Barnes⁴¹. All well but Stewart⁴² –

RG 393, Pt. 4, E. 1526, Lts. Sent 1862-64 (Alex). This is a bound book of correspondence that had been copied for record-keeping).

³⁸ Burnside decided the Army of the Potomac should attempt to capture Richmond and headed there via Fredericksburg, where the Union troops would be defeated in mid-December.

³⁹ These camps moved location along the outskirts of Alexandria at different times during the war. See the The Civil War Defenses of Washington, Parts I and II, A Historic Resources Study, at <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online%5Fbooks/civilwar/>. Chapter IV includes some individuals’ descriptions of these camps.

⁴⁰ JW wrote a letter to Anna Barnes on this date.

⁴¹ Anna M. Cornell Barnes first suggested that Julia travel to Port Royal but later asked if she would work for the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society in Washington. From an 1888 passport application, we know Barnes was born in Rochester in July 1824, so she was about a decade younger than Julia. At the time of her application at age 64, she describes herself as a widow, 5’4”, with a high forehead, dark eyes, small nose, small mouth, thin lips, full chin, fair complexion, very gray hair, and “rather full” face. She wrote that she was applying for the passport to travel “in Europe and parts of Asia and Africa.”

Mary is with Frances.
I went to Kimballs⁴³ to get board.

November 14, 1862 Went to Conv Camp with Mr. Warwick (Chaplain). Saw 3 Mich. men. Left pickles. Then to Stragglers Camp. Found several I know—Chas. Smith, Chili went around with me. Grandview but a sad one from
[written along left-hand side of page]
with tents. Got pass to W. from Gen Slough. Then went to Slave Pen.

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1862 cont.

November 14, 1862—continued Houses being repaired for C's. More coming. Mr. Griffin⁴⁴ in Washington. Slaves released from W jail. "All quiet on the Potomac."---

November 15, 1862 Went to Slave Pen and hospital. Saw much distress

November 17, 1862 *[Transcriber's NOTE: sic—although this should have been dated Nov. 16].* Sunday. Went to Christ Church (where Washington worshipped).⁴⁵ Was told that Mil. Gov. Geo Slough was not a religious man & don't attend church

In P.M. went to Soldiers Burying Ground⁴⁶ & the others too. Saw a colored funeral. Across Hunting Creek and all over the Slope were beaten paths and roads (war paths). This is where McClellan's Army lay that dreadful winter & many died from disease -- waiting for spring when they cd. march on Manassas -- as if the rebels would wait for our army to come to them.

Saw a citizens funeral.

Then the sound of muffled drums told us there was a soldier's funeral coming. A N. Hampshire vol. to be laid in the new Cemetery. There 8 or 9 graves are dug & ready for occupants. Before this had left another funeral came. As busy and as much activity as in the City. I had never seen anything like this before. Sad sights here. All this desolation & mourning caused by Slavery. Went to colored meeting in evening.

November 17, 1862 Virginia Seaton died this morning. Eldest child — 15. Sick only a few days I cd. not realize there was death in the house. She was laid out so handsomely in the parlor below—

⁴² Stewart was JW's infant nephew. While husband Joseph Von Buskirk was in Army (and often mentioned in these pages), sister Mary and her children Minnie and Stewart moved from Michigan back to New York State.

⁴³ Kimballs, Corner of Duke and Columbus Streets. In November 25 letter to Anna Barnes, JW explains that Mr. Kimball came to Alexandria to provide lodging to railroad workers and was occupying a building that had been a boarding school run by Caleb Halowell, a noted Quaker. She wrote that most of the workers were at Acquia Creek, south of Alexandria; this is perhaps why there was room for her.

⁴⁴ Charlotte Griffin was married to JW's brother Theodore, who died in 1858. She remarried Louis Griffin, but JW remained close with her and her niece and nephew, referred to as Mary Julia or Sis, and Neddy.

⁴⁵ Corner of North Washington and Cameron Streets.

⁴⁶ Believe this to be what is now called Alexandria National Cemetery, 1450 Wilkes Street. One of 14 original military cemeteries opened in 1862; in 1864, because it was filling up, Arlington National Cemetery opened.

Went to Wolfe St hospital. Then to Fishtown⁴⁷ — Such squalid poverty, suffering & filth. And all this in sight of the Capital & President's House.
Engaged board at Mr. Kimball's (Scott House), \$7 a wk.

November 18, 1862 Went to Hospl — So bad couldn't stay in rooms but a few minutes. Cd. not go to Soldiers home this time.

Pg 87 1862 con't Alexandria

November 18, 1862 A stir in the City. Stores being moved down river to Aquia Creek. Cavalry gone south. Report that Stonewall Jackson is coming toward Alex^a & our army is retreating. I don't know whether or not I ought to be afraid — Citizens here would welcome him. Wrote letters P.M., hope to get them off before the rebs come.

November 19, 1862 Went for rations & to see the "people"
In P.M. Va. Seaton's funeral. I went with the family to the cemetery. The ways of people here are new to me. City quiet today. Intend to go to Mr. K's to board tomorrow.

November 20, 1862 Went to Scott House. Cor. Duke & Columbus Sts. House full of boarders – Rainy —Unpacked trunks for first time since leaving home. Exciting army movements. Rain bad for Soldiers and Contrabands.

Nov. 21 Went in morning w/ Gladwin & Whipple⁴⁸ to see how many C's had died during the Night — to make report. To Slave Pen & several other places — all crowded. Smallpox in some of them.⁴⁹ Oh! such miserable places. Something must be done. Cold & rainy our Ambulance driver mad & drove like mad. Hard day's work.

November 22, 1862 Fine — Went to Washington in Ambulance. Had to get pass of Pro. Marshall. Saw others come for passes who cd. not write — Went over Long Bridge. Met 2 Cav. Regiments going to Burnside. Gen Wadsworth, Mil. Gov. has been superseded by Gen Martindale. I did not see him. Took dinner at Mr. Lake's – We went to camp of 8 N.Y. Cavalry on flats W. side of River. Saw Mr. Griffin a few minutes. Dark when we started to come back. Our Ambulance was loaded with things from Sanitary Commission. Long Bridge draw broken. Had to go to G.town and across Aqueduct Bridge. Neither Mr. Gladwin or driver knew the way.

⁴⁷ Fishtown was north of the center of the city, later known as the Berg. It was also sometimes referred to as Petersburg. The Fishtown reference was because of its proximity to Alexandria's wharves.

⁴⁸ In a November 12 letter to Anna Barnes, JW said Whipple "spends most of his time among these freed people" but "his precises status is a mystery." This may have been Rev. George Whipple, a New Yorker mentioned in several reports from abolitionist and freedmen's organizations.

⁴⁹ On September 29, 1862, the Alexandria Gazette reported that deaths among African Americans in Alexandria were at six per day, with smallpox one of the causes (cited in "African-American Civilians and Soldiers Treated at Claremont Smallpox Hospital, Fairfax County, Virginia, 1862-1865"). In the Twelfth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, Wilbur wrote "During the Winter and Spring [1862/1863], the small pox made dreadful ravages among them [African Americans]. No measures were taken at first to prive it and it spread all over the city. Of the contrabands, we think about 700 died of the disease."

We got off the road. So dark we found ourselves at Ft Runyon. Guards drunk, c'dn't direct us. A dangerous ride. I sat in hind part of Ambulance & cd. see the city lights &c. Got back safe at last — 8 o'clock

Burnside near Fredericksburg

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1862 Continued

November 23, 1862 Did not feel like doing much. My room is over the kitchen—noises give me headache.

Saw two funerals. One a soldier's. An ambulance – 13 men with arms reversed – & the solemn, doleful music. The other a citizen in elegant hearse – long line of carriages & pedestrians – Both funerals went side by side.

Mr. Gladwin has had a person in Old Schoolhouse arrested. She did not please him exactly. Too bad--.

November 24, 1862 Went to various places. To Mrs. Dangerfield & Adam to get something for an extreme case. The sight of an old emaciated sick black woman made me brave. She was cold & feeble. But I was repulsed with bitter words, & my courage forsook me. "The government had freed her & it might take care of her now."

Went for Dr. Ripley to see a sick woman. He said I need not come to him again. I couldn't tell him anything & he can't attend to them all – he needed 2 men.

I called on Mrs. May – Joseph Van B. is near Fredericksburg ---- I am sick tonight.

November 25, 1862⁵⁰ Sick last night. I cd. see blue uniforms, & pale faces & black faces all around me. My nerves have suffered. -- Felt better today. Rev. W.H. Channing came & left \$20 for "Contraband" use.

November 26, 1862 So much small pox. I must be more cautious.⁵¹ Wrote an appeal to friends in Gt. Britain & Ireland. Jon^a Dennis called, also a committee from Friends in N.Y., Benj. Tatham⁵² & Wm. Cromwell. Rev. Warwick invited me to go to Camp of Paroled Prisoners tomorrow.

November 27, 1862 Thanksgiving most interesting one I ever celebrated. Cold, bright. Mr. W. was to preach, & several were invited & also to dine with Col. De K⁵³ & Miss (For account of

⁵⁰ Letter written by Wilbur to Anna Barnes with this date.

⁵¹ From the Alexandria Gazette, November 26, 1862, "One hundred and eighty five negroes—"contrabands"—have been buried in this place by the U.S. authorities since September 28."

⁵² Several months later, on January 17, 1863, Wilbur reports in a letter that Harriet Jacobs came to Alexandria as a matron, with a letter of introduction from Tatham. So perhaps this visit in November was a trip to see what actions the New York Friends could take.

⁵³ Lt. Colonel Gabriel De Korponay had commanded the 28th Pennsylvania regiment earlier in 1862: "Although the men generally like De Korponay, Geary [John W. Geary] considered him a drunkard and unfit to lead." (Source: *Last to Leave the Field: The Life and Letters of First Sergeant Ambrose Henry Hayward*, edited by Timothy J. Orr, University of Tennessee Press, pg. 66). In early July 1862, De Korponay was transferred to the Parole Camp in

this, see printed letter.)

November 28, 1862 Letters from Frances & S.A. Ferris⁵⁴. Went to Prince St. Hospital to get vaccinated. Dr. had no virus. I am not well – water so bad I can't drink it. Been obliged to drink tea after abstaining from it 20 yrs.

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November 29, 1862 Not well enough to go out – rested – A spy brought in – 1500 cavalry gone to front. Hardly a person is here to speak respectfully of the Gov't. No enthusiasm for Union. The Northerners have come to make money out of the War & care for nothing else. I hope Pres. Lincoln will be equal to the occasion – & send the right message to Cong. tomorrow or next Monday, rather.

November 30, 1862 Mild. Attended service at P^d camp.⁵⁵ Col. de K. “expected a good deal of guests,” but only 5 besides our party were present. Men did not all come at first to hear the Bible expounded from an Ammunition chest. The Col. scolded then asked their pardon & there was cheering. Col. “wishes he were a Cromwell – wants to be in the field & fight the rebels, wants to subdue them with fire & sword.” He “thinks our Country will be divided & we shall have an emperor.” – His “sister Mary” was in Camp & she does look some like Jennie Kimball. I have seen behind the scenes today. I heard what I do not like.

We were expected to dine there & the dinner was better than at Thanksgiving. Such a stir[?] – like any wk. day.

Then went to Convalescent Camp. Forlorn place. Everything dirty & neglected, & this used up the day.

7000 Paroled prisoners expected.—Col. de K. don't stay in camp nights. Officers don't like hard fare.

Alexandria. As an aside, De Korponay, who emigrated from Hungary in 1844, claimed to have introduced the polka to America (one of several claimants; see <http://philadancehistoryjournal.wordpress.com/tag/gabriel-de-korponay/>)

⁵⁴ Wilbur mentioned visiting with Miss S.A. Ferris, Bangall, NY, in earlier journals, and Ferris was also a contributor to the Rochester Ladies Anti Slavery Society (RLASS).

⁵⁵ The next day, Dec. 1, 1862, a letter was written by Col. W. Hoffman, Third Infantry, Commissary-General of Prisoners, to De Korponay, “Commanding Camp Banks, near Alexandria, Va.” about an exchange of paroled prisoners that also gives an idea of how the camps were organized: “Some days since I gave to your adjutant a scale of rations to be issued to the fragments of companies under your command, the savings to be converted into a fund for the benefit of the whole command. With this fund purchase all articles that will in any way promote the health and comfort of the sick...Farmer's boilers for cooking are much more convenient than camp-kettles and cause a greater savings of fuel. Introduce them as soon as you can. One of forty gallons will cook for 100 men. Two or three camp-kettles may be required in addition to small articles. A horse-power saw-mill for sawing wood for the stoves will be very useful and economical, and I wish you to purchase one when you have funds to spare for the purpose. The horse will be furnished by the Quartermaster's Department. Out of the fund pay extra pay to the clerks in your office, or to exceed 40 cents per day.” (War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 2, Vol. 5, Part I (Prisoners of War), pp. 6-7. Available at <http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/sources/recordView.cfm?Content=118/0006>)

December 3, 1862 Roses & chrysanthemums in bloom. Smallpox nearly everywhere.⁵⁶ Poor creatures! Whites hate “niggers” more than ever. Yesterday, Mr. Van Santvoord & Chester called. I saw Mrs. May, wife of Chaplain May, of 2nd Michigan. Joe can’t get pass to come to Alex. – I have sent him things – hope he will get them – Will go into winter quarters opposite Fredericksburg. Letters from home.

December 7, 1862 [*Transcribers note: Date jumps to 7th in the original*] Sunday. Snow, cold. Read Pres. Message, proposes Emancipation in the year 1900! – The poor man. Why can’t he see better? The hopes of millions are blasted by this message to Congress. I fear his Proclamation for Jan. 1, 1863, will in some way be made of no effect. Democrats seem ready to defy the Government.

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Last Friday, snowy & rainy. Went to W. in ambulance. Met large drove of cattle on Long Bridge going to Burnside’s Army. Dangerous for teams. Such pushing & crowding, but we got over safely – I went with Mr. Gladwin to Columbia Coll. Hosp⁵⁷. Saw Rev. Dr. Samson, proslavery divine! Went to Carver Hosp. & Stone Hosp. but could not find Arthur Ayer on the register— Acres of hospitals here!

Stormed so that I went to Mr. Lake’s for the night. Ambulance was sent back to Alex.--

Next day went to Capitol to see it as I had never done so thoroughly before. “The Dome & Statue, by rigid economy will cost only 900,000.” Saw an artillery train that was going towards River. There is a great stir. It must mean that Burnside’s Army is about to move on the enemy.

Went back to Alex. on boat. Met Capt. Wyman⁵⁸. He looked pleased & said, “Your letter to the President has reached me.” I was frightened & said, “I hope I did not offend.” He said “Oh no. Your requisition for Barracks has been granted.”⁵⁹ It had been laid before Sec. Stanton, who sent it to Gen. Slough, Military Gov. of Alex.-- & Gen. S. sent it to Capt. W. It had to go through

⁵⁶ On November 25, 1862. Wilbur wrote to Anna Barnes and told her, “One feature of the case I have not alluded to yet, but I will mention it now that thee may know under what disadvantages we labor at present. There have been 29 cases of small Pox taken to the pest house, & there are 3 or 4 col[ore]d persons taking care of them....”

⁵⁷ Columbia College (now George Washington University) was between 14th and 15th Streets, adjoining current day Florida Avenue NW.

⁵⁸ Captain John Wyman, Provost Marshall. He was removed in early February 1863 and Wilbur conjectured, in a letter to Sarah Wistar Cope (quoted in Harriet Jacobs papers), it was perhaps because he was too sympathetic to the conditions of African Americans. Yet, she also complained in her diary in January 1863 that “seems to think now that we are asking too much for the ‘Contrabands.’”

⁵⁹ For contraband housing. The Barracks were located near the Slave Pen and what would become L’Ouverture Hospital, a hospital for African American soldiers and civilians. Wilbur described them in October 1863 in her annual report to the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society (Twelfth Annual Report, pg. 12-13): “These consist of three buildings, each 150 feet in length, and designed to accommodate 500 persons. They were erected by Government during the winter and were not ready to be occupied until about the first of March. They are roughly built....The upper rooms are each furnished with berths; the lower rooms are each furnished with a stove, cupboard, table, and two benches. Here I supposed the most helpless and destitute of these refugees from slavery would find a shelter free of expense....But the authorities of Alexandria did not understand it so; the rooms were rented for \$4 and \$5 a month....”

all these hands.—

I saw 2 Mich. soldiers, Stannard & Palmer, who want to get away from the Conva^{et} Camp. They are well & yet are put there with thousands of others in that horrible place. I went to Dr. Jacobs on Cameron St. He says our soldiers are treated with injustice & neglect. He stays because he can help them. He will attend to these 2 cases. I almost cried for joy & did not mind the 2 long cold walks I took to bring this about. - Letters from home. Charlotte coming to W. soon.—The poor creatures in Pest House⁶⁰ have no wood. We shall be obliged to provide some.

December 9, 1862 River frozen, so that boats cannot run. We hear that 6 men were frozen to death in Conva^{et} Camp. Letter from Joe Van B. Is near F.-burg guarding a battery at one end of a Bridge. The rebels are 500 ft. from them at the other end. He can't get a pass.

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December 9, 1862 Got a room for our stores at 53 St. Asaph St. No mail north of Baltimore has come today. [?] Randolph from Philadelphia called & left \$1.

December 10, 1862 Letters from home. Ella is ill. Mr. Needham called with some goods for us. Letter from Rev. W.H. Channing. At the invitation of Col. de K., a party of ladies went on the Tug Clyde down River. Stopped at Fort W⁶¹. 8 mi. from Alex & 2 mi. from Mt. V. We did not land as we expected but had to content ourselves with looking at the House through a glass ½ mile away. Delightful trip.

Evening went to the parlor – I have no patience with men who spend hours over cards. I did not stay long but retired to my own room. – When I got back from trip I went to Mr. Seatons where I boarded first & then went for my “rations.” These I gave away.

Unpacked & distributed goods at No. 53.

December 11, 1862 Boxes from Phila. & from Home – good clothing⁶². Small pox spreading among whites. This P.M. I saw 3 citizens funerals & 3 soldiers funerals. Fighting at F'burg.

December 12, 1862 Friday, fine. Glad for the soldiers. Letter from home. Having trouble – 4 Contrabands died today. I cannot go among them much. Was vaccinated again.

In P.M. saw 14 omnibuses & 17 Ambulances going to take the sick from Hospitals to cars to go to Phila to make room here for the wounded from F'burg. So glad that so many can be sent North to be cared for. 3 Regiments went through today. A great stir here.

Went in Ambul. to Con. Camp or “Camp Misery.” Stopped at Slave Pen. The prison is a

⁶⁰ The Pest House was set up for small pox cases.

⁶¹ Perhaps Fort Washington.

⁶² Donations of clothes from the North and their distribution became an ongoing activity. Wilbur often records the clothing donors, and how much clothing she gives away or sells. As JW wrote to Anna Barnes on November 25, 1862. I think if you w[oul]d buy a quantity of those old fashioned coarse woolled shawls it w[oul]d be a good plan, & some of those knitted hoods that come cheap. Women need dresses very much, & chemises & petticoats, & we want blankets & quilts & pillows & pillow cases.” In her annual reports, she listed the number of barrels of clothing and donors.

wretched sight. Filthy, damp. Hard-looking men there – Went on & saw Palmer & Stannard. Have had no examination yet. Too bad! From brow of hill, a fine prospect but I could not enjoy it.

December 13, 1862 I have seen more misery today than one ought to see in a lifetime.

Letter from Joe. Promoted to a Lieutenancy. Went to see Capt. W. He says I can have put in the barracks cupboards, tables & benches. Fighting at F. Many killed & wounded.

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December 14, 1862 Sunday, a.m. Went to Paroled Camp with Mr. Warwick & Mrs. Winsor⁶³. Services in Lincoln Sq. Did not stay to dine.

Sumner & Wilson visited the Camp yesterday.

Then to Convalescent Camp. Saw Col. De Knap[?] & Gen. Slough. I got tickets for the 2 Mich. men. Now they hope to be discharged. The Officers agree with me that it is a dreadful place. Too bad to keep men there (20000). They will now discharge 60 a day. Worst cases first. I am more & more disgusted with things. I am sicker than ever of war. – Religious services in Dr. Smith's[?] tent. Then there was a funeral & we went with it to the cemetery. Our Amb^e forming part of the escort. The music haunted me for some time afterward. The man was Burrows from N.Y. At the grave "The Shining Shore" was sung. 3 volleys were fired over it & the soldiers turned away from the 18 open graves waiting for occupants. But not long do they wait, for another procession was just entering the cemetery. These are on the 7th, row of 100 each. – While this was going on, hundreds of men at the camp stood on the brow of the hill which overlooks the cemetery. – At depot, more cars filled with sick going north. What a day! How much misery I have seen since morning & all the while a battle raging at F'burg! And where is Sister Mary's husband? How anxious she must be. For she will get news sooner perhaps than we – Like summer[?]

December 16, 1862 Cold. Work does not go on well at barracks. Nobody oversees it. Went to Capt. W – he will go with me tomorrow to see about it. Returning I saw an Amb^e with 3 coffins of Contrabands. Then 2 soldiers funerals, then a citizens funeral.—Last night 500 sick men from Signals Corps passed through going North. We hear Burnside has re-crossed the Rappahannuk, our loss 10000, it is said

December 17, 1862 Terrible accounts from F'burg. Letters from home. [?—Tr. Note—*photocopy cut off*] embalming room. I think it is best to be prepared for emergencies.

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⁶³ In this same letter (November 25, 1862) to Barnes, Wilbur wrote about "a Mrs. Winsor from Cortland Co[unty, New York]. Her husband has been in Wolfe St[reet] Hos[pital] since May." She was trying to assist the contrabands while she waited for her husband's discharge. When she moved on to Falmouth, VA, where her husband was sent, Wilbur reported in a December 22, 1862, letter to Barnes that "I have missed her very much since she has been away."

December 18, 1862 Cold. Went with Capt. W. to see about the barracks. Then to Lyceum Hosp.⁶⁴ Chas. Kimball just came from F. 1500 wounded have been taken to W. Rumors of all kinds. When will it all end!

December 19, 1862 Went to clothing room. Saw men coming from boat. These were slightly wounded & able to walk to Hosp. 2 boat loads had arrived. At Bap. Ch. Hosp.⁶⁵ men were being taken from Amb^{es} & carried in. A dead one lay in the porch. I went to depot. Cars were filled with soldiers going to take the place of the dead and wounded who have been brought here from F.—I went to Washington St. Hosp. The first man I spoke was in 2nd. Mich (Joe's regiment). He said that was not in the fight. Then I was selfish enough to feel better. One ward I entered had 2 men, but in an hour every bed was filled. All day the Amb^{es} went to & fro with their ghastly loads. I went to the landing. Such a sight! The worst cases were being taken to King St. Hosp.⁶⁶ very near. They were tenderly laid on clean beds. One man said he "had not been in a house since last spring." I did not hear a groan, nor a complaint. Said they had been well cared for. I saw faces distorted with pain. All were dirty. But now they are made clean & are going in clean beds. I had not thought I wd. ever witness such a sight as I have seen today.

December 20, 1862 Cold. Went to see Dr. Spencer, Col. Tait, and Capt. Wyman to tell them Dr. Ripley does not attend his duties as doctor for the contrabands & he sh. be removed. 6 died yesterday. Went to Grace Ch. Hosp.,⁶⁷ found Jas. Mears, a pupil of mine in R—wounded in head by a piece of shell—One rebel there. Funerals all the while – Mr. Kimball of Scott House, where I board, is a negro-hating Democrat.—Rumors afloat great excitement.-- It is said Seward has resigned.

December 21, 1862 Went to Colored Ch. No prayers for freedmen nor slaves.—Saw Jas. Mears again, wrote letter for him to his sister Mary -- Col. T & Col. de K. dined with us.

At 3, I went out & saw that 53 St. Asaph St. was on fire on the roof. Soon there was a crowd, but the hose was rotten & the water frozen. Our stores were all removed & placed under guard. Double house – Secesh Quakers in other one, wh. was not burned. Col. de K took command, sent 20 men to

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December 21, 1862 con^{td} He sent 20 disorderly men to Slave Pen Prison. Got a room to put things for the night. What next?

⁶⁴ The Lyceum, at 201 S. Washington Street, was built in 1839 for lectures and other cultural events. It was taken over as a hospital during the War.

⁶⁵ Baptist Church Hospital, another building taken over for Union use, 212 S. Washington Street

⁶⁶ New Hallowell Hospital, at 215 N. Washington Street, was also known as Washington Street Hospital. It had been the home of Benjamin Hallowell, headmaster of a boarding school. King Street Hospital was in the 200 block of King Street.

⁶⁷ Grace Church Hospital, 207-209 S. Patrick Street. In 1862, it was used for white patients; in 1864, it was used for African American patients.

December 22, 1862⁶⁸ Hard day's work. Pro. Mar. Genl Tait will find us rooms. Sad state of things at barracks. I got a guard stationed there. Mr. Gladwin expects to be Super^{nt} of Contrabands.

December 23, 1862 Rev. Warwick was waylaid & beaten badly. Since our reverses at F.burg, the secesh are bold & defiant.

Capt. W has given us use of brick house, cor. Washington & Wolfe Sts. for our stores⁶⁹, &c. Small pox there now. I went to & fro until I was very tired. Chap. May has come to Alex. to see his family. Left Joe Van B. very well.

Vexed with myself for going to Circus this evening.

December 24, 1862 Went to Qr. Master to see about barracks. They will carry out my suggestions—Went to brick house. A woman with small pox taken out last night. Saw 2 on the street with the disease wanting a place to go to. Mr. G. told them to run & catch on to the Amb. that was going to the Pest House – I told them to go to a house near where a boy was sick with it & they did so. Hundreds were exposed to it at the fire last Sunday.

Evening helped trim 2 Christmas trees for Gen. Slough's boys!

Got 2 bbls. of meal & 1 of potatoes for the Contrabands Christmas—came from the North.

December 25, 1862 Christmas. Dense fog. Seems like 4th July. Post O. closed. Ladies have trimmed Hosps. with evergreens—

Went with the Kimballs & others to Parolee Camp to dine. Turkey good.—Choice wines—champagne, toasts, speeches. All very pleasant.—An hour or so after dinner we were invited to mess room, games &c. More wine, cakes, &c. Nearly sundown when we left. Fireworks in city. Greatest day in year in South, both for white & black.

Col. de K's wardrobe stolen from Marshall House. Streets not lighted – unsafe to go out nights. [?] place for deeds of darkness. Letter from Frances—Mary going home.

December 28, 1862 Went to ch. Mr. Needham from W. called. Several officers dined here. Mrs. Winser returned from Fburg. Have had brick house cleaned & whitewashed, ready for our stores. The north sends bountiful supplies. Went to barracks.

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December 29, 1862 Slept as soundly last night as if no attack of rebels was feared. A dash on our lines was expected. Commissary stores were put on boats & pushed out into River. Immense quantities stored here. Cattle were started for Long Bridge – Stewarts Cavalry took Burkes Station, seized telegraph. Read our dispatches. One saw we had large force at Alex. & this prevented them from coming nearer—Skirmishing at Centerville. Letters from home. Charlotte

⁶⁸ Letter written from JW to Anna Barnes begins on this date and continues over the next several as she adds to it.

⁶⁹ For an account of this house and its multiple uses, see "A House Divided Still Stands: The Contraband Hospital and Alexandria Freedmen's Aid Workers." JW also refers to the house in Dec. 22-24 letter to Barnes, referred to in the previous footnote.

coming soon. 2 more boxes.

December 30, 1862 Distributed clothing. Went to see ever people.

December 31, 1862 Cool. Went to barracks. 2 buildings nearly done & quite to my mind. Went to Grace Ch. to see Jas. Mears. Took letter to him from his sister. He seems better. Distributed clothing. 150 wood choppers taken by rebs. a few miles from city.⁷⁰ Cannot get reliable news. Dems. circulate deceiving reports. My soul is vexed every day. We seem to have made no progress for a year. Loyal people anxious.

New Year's Eve. Oh that 1863 might bring peace & freedom to the oppressed race. Will to-morrow bring liberty or not in the rebellious states? In spite of Pres Lincoln's proclamation, I fear the people will be cheated. We fear disturbance tomorrow. Some of our soldiers not well disposed to the Negroes & act as bad towards them as the secesh do. Poor creations, they are beset on every hand.

⁷⁰ These could have been men who cut woodlands for railroad ties, bridge trusses, and firewood. They often worked outside of protected Union lines. A similar capture was reported to have taken place on November 25, 1863. (Source: Debbie Robison, Northern Virginia History Notes, <http://www.novahistory.org/DevereuxSiding/DevereuxSiding.htm>)

1862 Pocket Diary, Beginning October 1, 1862



[Transcriber's note: As noted, Julia Wilbur also kept a Pocket Diary. There is duplication through the end of 1862 with the Journal Briefs above, and footnote/annotations related to already mentioned topics are in the previous section.]

Wednesday, October 1, 1862

Rainy.

Bad time for fair.

Mother came back this A.M. I have sewed nearly all day & am very tired. Does not agree with me to sew so steadily.

Thursday, October 2, 1862

Rainy.

Sewed all day on my [?]

Letter from Joe. He is at Upton Hill Va, few mi. from Falls Church. I shall try to see him if I go to Washington. Father is willing for Mary to come to stay this winter.

Friday, October 3, 1862

Rainy A.M. P.M. pleasant.

Sewed till I am very tired. Cyrus & Julia called. Cousin E. saw Freda at Fair in Geneseo, but did not speak to her. Oh! dear, if I cd. have had such a chance!

Saturday, October 4, 1862

Windy. Rush

This A.M. chores. This P.M. went to *[Transcriber's note: page corner was turned down on microfilm?]*. Hear that Freda has not been well. The memory does not grow much. She told [?] Aunt J.B. last fall "that her Grandfather & Aunt Mary came to see her but best the would not let them see her & G.F. gave her candy."

Sunday, October 5, 1862

Fine. Yesterday it was 144 wks since Freda was taken from us & what a load of sorrow I have borne since then. This A.M. Frances & Mary Julia came. Sis & I have been to Falls & looked over Herbarium & specimens &c. So glad to have them here.

Monday, October 6, 1862

Fine A.M. Went to Avon with Frances & Mary Julia who have gone home. Called at Mr. H's. Hard frost last night. Cold this morning. Ironed & did various things. Pro Slavery press ridicules President's Proclamation, but people generally rejoice.

Tuesday, October 7, 1862

Fine. Rush

Do not feel well. Housework this A.M. Wrote this P.M. Battle at Corinth. Federals victorious. "All quiet on the Potomac." Rebels south of Potomac. Politics are exciting now.

Wednesday, October 8, 1862

Fine. Hot. This A.M. called at Uncle J's with father. Letters from Mary & Mrs. Barnes. Stewart is very sick & it is not likely he is living now. Such a nice baby & I loved him so, too. Poor Mary, she is full of trouble. Have wrote to Mary & Ella & Frances & Joe—Expect to go to Washington.

Thursday, October 9, 1862

Rainy.

At noon father & mother started for Somerset to begin 8 or 10 days. Finished my gingham dress & did various chores. Democrats making desperate efforts for Seymour for Gov. The Woods, Rynders &c. endorse him.⁷¹

Friday, October 10, 1862

Cloudy. Rush

This A.M. did housework. This P.M. sewed &c. Lonely place here. Pres. has been to Frederick Md. & to the battlefields. Fighting south of Potomac, McClellan's order 163 to carry out. President's Proclamation. Good.

Saturday, October 11, 1862

Cloudy. Did chores. Sewed &c. Expected J.R.'s folks but they didn't come. Have seen nobody & heard no news. Have read Chas. Sumner's speeches in Boston, "The Policy of Emancipation."⁷² Good words for Freedom. 144 wks. since my darling was taken.

Sunday, October 12, 1862

Fine.

This A.M. did chores. Since then have written to Cousin Cornelia & Kate. Nobody been here. It is as still as need be. I have been entirely alone about half the time. Wrote Aunt Mary.

Monday, October 13, 1862

Cloudy. Washed, picked grapes &c. Went to Mr. B's. Read some. No War news. There is ominous silence & inaction. Singular. Will McClellan hesitate & wait until winter? Oh! dear.

Tuesday, October 14, 1862

Pleasant. Went to City & back on Car. Made several purchases. Called on Mrs. Barnes. Received final orders to go to Washington—C & children came. Bid them good bye for a long time probably. Mr. Griffin is to leave Thursday. Theodore Van W. goes this wk. to the seat of war.

⁷¹ From an October 29, 1862, short article in the New York Times: "There may be some who suppose that if Mr. SEYMOUR is elected, he will urge on the prosecution of the war, not only till Richmond is taken but the rebellion is quelled. Do they suppose they know SEYMOUR better than those who nominated him? Do they now know that the WOODS, Capt. RYNDERS, that BROOKS, VAN BOREN, and all of that stripe, would not support any man heartily if they thought he would thus push on the war...."

⁷² Charles Sumner, the senator for Massachusetts, was a vocal supporter of emancipation. At an October 6, 182 "war meeting in Boston" (possibly referred to by JW in this entry), it was reported by the New York Times that "Mr. SUMNER spoke about two hours, and was frequently applauded and subjected to occasional interruptions from his opponents."

Wednesday, October 15, 1862

Cloudy.

Did various chores & sewed. Letter from Ella. She is not as well as she has been. She is afraid Joseph will be drafted. No particular war news.

Thursday, October 16, 1862

Rainy.

This A.M. housework. This P.M. trimmed my black bonnet. Wrote to M. Letter from Mary. Baby is a little better. M. hopes to be ready to start next Monday for Middleport. I hope Frances is with her now.

Friday, October 17, 1862

Pleasant. Cool. Rush.

Did a sight of chores of various kinds. Mrs. B & children took tea here. Father & Mother came back from S. Had a good visit, found them well. Frances is gone to Mich. I am so glad. Theodore Van W. has gone to the war.

Saturday, October 18, 1862

Fine

Picked grapes & worked in garden &c. In P.M. went to burying ground & worked there an hour. Called at Mr. Winans. Went to Uncle Ephraim's to stay all night. Am very tired.

Sunday, October 19, 1862

Fine.

Came back from Uncle E's at 9. Have been arranging paper & writing &c. So many things to do to get ready. Intend to start next Wednesday.

Monday, October 20, 1862

Cool. Cloudy. At Home.

Did various things to get ready to go & am so tired tonight. I am getting nervous. Father is not well tonight.

Tuesday, October 21, 1862

Rainy, cool.

Packed trunks, put away things &c., &c. & have been so tired all day. Mrs. B. called. Letter from Joe, is at Edwards Ferry, Fear I shall not see him. Intend to start tomorrow.

Wednesday, October 22, 1862

Squally. Left Home at 9.

Called at Mr. W's, took train at 11. In Livonia could see across the lake to the house where my little darling lives. Fine scenery till darkness closed the view some distance from Elmira. Long stop at E. Soldiers there. Cars not nice. Many passengers to W. Tiresome night. Some fun however.

Thursday, October 23, 1862

Fine. At daylight in York. Md. Everything seemed changed since last night. Dark houses [?] everything. Soldiers guarding the road. In Baltimore at 10, staid till 5 with Mrs. Cameron at Ba[?]. Elegant city. Relay House &c. [?] mists in evening beautiful. Reached Washington at 9. Col. Doran very kind. Went to Willards.

Friday, October 24, 1862

Fine. Rested well last night in this strange city & strange house After breakfast went to seek my fortune, didn't find much. Went to Encampment of Contrabands, 20th[?] St. Such a sight I never dreamed of. Such misery & sick & dying! 2 or 3000 of them there. Oh! dear. Quakers from Phil. at Willards.

Saturday, October 25, 1862

Fine. Washington
Went to State Dept. & saw Mr. Baker. Went to Treasury Dept. and saw Mr. Hamlin, to Patent Office & saw Mr. Van Santvoord. Got a boarding plan. Went to headquarters & saw Gen Wadsworth. Went to Gen. Banks. Headquarters & got a letter to Brig. Gen. Slough at Alex. Went to FairHarewood Hospital.

Sunday, October 26, 1862

Pouring rain all day. Oh, the poor soldiers & the poor contrabands! I have finished letter to Mrs. Barnes, fixed up some packages for Joe & Lewis. Wrote to father. Would like to hear from them tonight. Seems as if I have been here a week.

Monday, October 27, 1862

Rainy morning, fine day.—Went to P.O. Mrs. C. called.—Went to Willards, Mrs. G. gone. Went to HeadQuarters, Saw Gen. Wadsworth. Got pass to Alexandria. Went to White House & Rooms of Sanitary Commission. Wrote 6 letters. Fighting near Harpers Ferry.

Tuesday, October 28, 1862

Fine. Wash^{tn}
Went to Alexandria with Mr. C. Visited Old School House Hospital, Slave Pen. Oh the poor Contrabands! Oh, the horrors of Slavery! Went to convalescent camp. Saw men of 2d Mich. C.F. Magnificent view from the Heights. Wash^t, Alex, River, Fairfax Sem.,⁷³ Encampments, Forts, &c.

Wednesday, October 29, 1862

Fine. Went to Gen. Wadsworth & to Sec. Stanton. Went in ambulance to Fort Ethan Allen over

⁷³ A hospital was set up at Fairfax Seminary, about 2 miles from Alexandria city. Reports were that this hospital was cleaner and with more plentiful food than others in Alexandria. (See, for example, superintendent Jane Woolsey's account published in 1868, *Hospital Days*.)

Chain Bridge. [?] Road. Saw James Root, Rob^t Scofield & Lewis W. on Heights. Splendid. Saw Fort Marcy & encampments. Fort E.A. mounts 25 large guns. Col. Doubleday com^d 4th N.Y. Heavy Artillery.

Thursday, October 30, 1862

Fine. Mrs. C. called. Went to War Dept. saw Sec. Stanton. Saw Gen. Dix. & Gen. Cluseret. Saw train of Artillery going North. Went to see Treasury Building & Wash^t Mon^t The Smithsonian Institute, saw rare curiosities. Went to Capitol. What magnificent structure. Must see it again.

Friday, October 31, 1862

Fine. Warm. Washington

Spent most of day at the Capitol. I have looked at it leisurely. Its magnificence overwhelms me. White marble pillars, porticos, Rotunda, dome, halls & chambers & statuary & paintings. All over 3 ½ acres, west to Gardens.

Saturday, November 1, 1862

Fine. Warm. Washington

At 11 A.M. went to Alexandria with Mr. C. Saw Capt. Wyman Provost Marshall & got orders from him. Dinner at Mr. Seatons. Met Mr. May, Chap. of 2d Mich & heard from Joe's in Poolesville, Md. Went to Convalescent Camp & saw Mich. men. Returned on 5 o'clock boat.

Sunday, November 2, 1862

Fine. Like summer. Letter from Joe. He is at Conrads Ferry. Well. Mary has ague & baby is poorly yet. I have been to Dr. Gurley's Church. Heard nothing a rebel could object to. He is considered disloyal, some soldiers think. But a secesh audience mostly liked.

Monday, November 3, 1862

[Transcriber's Note: Small piece missing on microfilmed copy]

Called at Mrs. Johnson's. Went to Alex. Saw Mr. May & family. Called at various places. [?] to stop Cor. St. Asaph & Wolfe Sts. Saw Paroled Prisoners & Soldiers from Con^{vt} Camp going N. Ret^d at 3. Went shopping. Satisfied tonight to do nothing.

Tuesday, November 4, 1862

Fine. Warm. Washington D.C.

Called on Mr. Van S. at Pat. O. with Mrs. Chester. Saw the curiosities & the hospital &c. Hundreds of sick & wounded men. Went to Caspari Hos.⁷⁴ Saw Dr. Hurd & went through the rooms. Passed the Cap. Prison. Evening wrote letters. Weigh 107 lbs.

Wednesday, November 5, 1862

Cloudy. Cool.----Left Washington at 10 A.M. baggage & all, intending to sojourn for the winter on the slave cursed soil of the Old Dominion. Taken board at Mr. Seaton's 69 cor. St. Asaph & Wolfe Sts. Like going into exile. Nothing like home, an old, dirty secesh town. Soldiers &

⁷⁴ Caspari's a hotel or boarding house at #11 A Street SE, near the Capitol, according to a list of Union hospitals at <http://www.pa-roots.com/pacw/hospitals/dchospitals.html>.

negroes predominate. Can't realize where I am.

Thursday, November 6, 1862

Cloudy. Cold. Alex

Went to see Pierce & Burge. Went with some Contrabands to a most wretched place. Oh! dear. Then went to the old Slave pen. Wretchedness again-sick soldiers brought here from Fairfax Sem. Nobody to receive them.

Friday, November 7, 1862

Snowed all day & cold. St. Asaph St.

What will these wretched evacuees do? I have been to the P.O. twice. Spent rest of day writing letters. I have felt so dispirited today to see the misery I cannot relieve. Alas, for them, the poorest of God's poor.

Saturday, November 8, 1862

Cloudy, cold. Snow nearly gone.

I have been to Fishtown & seen a lower depth of degradation than I had yet seen. What can we do? Nothing, unless they have shelters fit for human beings. Nothing comes of Sec. S's promises yet.—Cannot dwell altogether on my own discomforts.

Sunday, November 9, 1862

Fine.

Have not been out today. Cleaned myself as well as I cd & spent rest of the day in writing. Several new boarders here, one from near Buffalo. McClellan has been relieved of his command.

Monday, November 10, 1862

Fine. Warm. Alex

Burnside succeeds McClellan. Dreamed of seeing Frances & she told me Freda was dead. I was in great distress.

Have called at Mrs. May's & took a long walk. Wrote to S.A.F.⁷⁵ No letters yet.

Tuesday, November 11, 1862

Fine. Warm. Went to old S. House, dead man carried out. School there. No Letters.

Called on Martha Ayer, baby named "Abe Linkton." Went to Convalescent Camp with Mr. G. & Mr. D. 1000 just came from Harpers Ferry, poor fellows. Some of them so sick, have seen hard times.—Went to contraband meeting.

Wednesday, November 12, 1862

Cloudy. Warm.

Went to old S. House & hospital. 4 dead persons this morning. I came away with as much as I cd. bear. Note from Joe. Sent his things by Sutter. More sick Soldiers from H. Ferry arrived. Mr. Channing called when I was out. Wrote letters.

⁷⁵ S.A. Ferris, a friend and RLASS supporter.

Thursday, November 13, 1862

Lovely day. Warm

Letters from Frances & Mary & Mrs. Barnes. All well but baby. He gets better so slowly. Mrs. B. writes so encouragingly. Rochester ladies are in earnest. Called at Mrs. May's & Mrs. Kimball's.

Friday, November 14, 1862

Fine. Got pass & saw Gen. Slough. Went to Convalescent Camp with Mr. W., saw Mich., Min & 13th & 108th N.Y. Came back alone & called at Slave pen & commissary & to see some new contrabands. Mr. Griffin is in W.

Saturday, November 15, 1862

Fine. St. Asaph St.

Went to Old S. House & hospital. A dead boy in one & a dead woman in the other. She had 5 children when she came here & they are all dead. Went to another place.----Called at Mrs. K's who will take me to board.⁷⁶

Sunday, November 16, 1862

Cloudy. Cold. Went to Church where Washington used to worship & sat in his pew. A quaint old house. With Mr. & Mrs. W, went to burying ground. While there was one col^d funeral, one white funeral, & 2 soldiers funerals. Oh! what sad sights. Went to col^d meeting in eve.

Monday, November 17, 1862

Cloudy, rainy. Virginia Seaton died very suddenly this morning. Her beautiful corpse now lies in the room below. Visited Wolfe St. Hos. Friends Mtg. house filled with sick soldiers. With Mr. W & Mrs. W went to Fishtown & saw those wretched places again. Letter from Ella & Sis.

Tuesday, November 18, 1862

Cloudy. St. Asaph St.

Went out with Mrs. W. to the hospital & found some of the sick women. Much better. No letters. Wrote this P.M. Report says Stonewall Jackson is coming & that our army is retreating. Good deal of stir here today. Stores are being sent off.

Wednesday, November 19, 1862

Rainy. Alex.

Went out this A.M. to commissary [?] & talked with several col^d persons. Virginia Seaton's funeral this P.M. Went to Cemetery with them. The ways of people here are not like ours. But I am getting used to them.

Thursday, November 20, 1862

⁷⁶ As noted on November 17, 1862, in JW's Journal Briefs (previous section), she lived at Scott House, run by the Kimball family.

Rainy P.M. Duke St.

Left Mr. Seaton's this A.M. & find myself at Mrs. Kimball's, Cor. Duke & Columbus. All new again but I think it will be pleasant here. Our army going towards Richmond. How the Soldiers & contrabands will suffer in the rain.

Friday, November 21, 1862

Rainy. Alex.

Been to Slave Pen & went into the Slave Prison where Soldiers &c. are confined. Have been to every place where the Contrabands are. Mr. G & Mr. W are taking the numbers. Hope something will be done. Letter from Joe.

Saturday, November 22, 1862

Pleasant. Cool.

Went to W. with Mr. G. in an ambulance over Long Bridge. Dinner at Mr. Lake's. Went to see Mr. Griffin.—Long B. broken. Came back in evening by Georgetown & Aqueduct Bridge through Ft. Runyon. Dangerous ride & hard one too. Tired enough.

Sunday, November 23, 1862

Fine Cool. Alex.

Do not feel like going to church. Cleaned up & wrote some & went to P.O. Saw a soldier's funeral & a citizen's funeral. Such sad music. Mr. G. called.

Monday, November 24, 1862

Fine. Alex.

With Mr. W. & Mrs. W. Called at S. House & brickhouse & several others. Oh! dear. Called at 2 secesh houses to buy something for an old woman. Saw 2 funerals, a citizen's and a soldier's going side by side. Painful contrast. Letters from E. Wing, E Wilbur, C. Winans, A. Post & F. Douglass.

Tuesday, November 25, 1862

Fine. Cool

Last night I was very ill but feel better today. Have only been to P.O. Got papers &c. Mr. Channing called to leave money for Contrabands. Have written considerably.---

Wednesday, November 26, 1862

Cloudy.

Been to Mr. Seaton's, to the S. House & the Brickhouse. So much Small pox that I have to limit my calls. Comm. of Friends from N.Y. & J. Dennis called to learn about Contrabands. Mr. Warwick called.

Thursday, November 27, 1862

Fine. Alex.

Held Thanksgiving at Camp of Paroled Prisoners. Col. Korponay con^d [*convened?*] Dine with the officers & attended worship in camp for the first time in my life. A day to be remembered.

Enjoyed it much.

Friday, November 28, 1862

Fine morning. Alex.

Wrote some. Went out few times. Letters from Frances & S.A. Ferris. Baby does not get well yet. F. has a hard time. Got ever so many papers today. Do not feel very well. Water here is very bad.

Saturday, November 29, 1862

Mild. Cloudy. Have not been out. Written most all day. Drank cup of tea this evening for the first time in 20 yrs. Can't drink the water.—152 wks. since my darling was taken from me, my precious little one.

Sunday, November 30, 1862

Fine. Alex.

This A.M. went to Paroled Camp to attend service. Went in ambulance with Mr. W. Other Co. then. Took dinner with the officers & went to Com^y Dept.—Then went to Con^t camp, a forlorn looking place.

Monday, December 1, 1862

Fine. Mild.

Picked a pretty bouquet from the yd. Went out a few times. Wrote to Joe. Great deal of small pox here. Sad state of things for Contrabands & all the rest of us. Can't visit them much.

Tuesday, December 2, 1862

Fine.

Called at Mrs. S's &c. Went to Pro. Mar. office & got pass to W. Letter from Joe. Called on Mrs. May. Joe can't get pass to come here. Mr. Van S. & Mr. C. from W. called. Wrote to Democrat.

Wednesday, December 3, 1862

Cloudy

Been out several times to see sick, draw rations &c. Miss May called. Heard from Joe. He is well, is near Fredericksburg. Letters from Sarah Jane & Cousin Kate & Miss Howland.

Thursday, December 4 1862

Very fine.

Started for W. but did not get there. Letter from Anna Barnes. Wrote 3 letters. Took walk. Read part of President's Message. Am discouraged with the man. Emancipation 37 yrs! humbug!

Friday, December 5, 1862

Rainy & snowy.

Went with G. in ambulance to W. over Long B. Called at various places. Went to Columbia Coll. Hos. & Carver Hos. & Stone Hos. Could not find Arthur Ayon. Called at Dr. G. Samson's. Went to Mr. Lake's & staid the night.

Saturday, December 6, 1862

Bright. Cold.

Ground covd with snow. Went to Capitol. Made various calls & came back on boat. Saw Capt. Wyman. Called at Mrs. M's [*Transcriber's Note: Munson*] & at Hospital. Letters from Mother & Mary Julia. All well. C. [*Transcriber's Note: Charlotte*] is to be in W. today.---I am afraid she will not come here.

Sunday, December 7, 1862

Cold, blustering. Alexandria

Wrote letters, read some & visited some. Mr. G. called, some of their folks out of wood. They will suffer this weather. I hardly know what to do for them. C. does not come.

Monday, December 8, 1862

Bright, cold.

Been out several times. Got room ready for goods. Letters from Mary Julia & Joe. C. did not start Friday. Joe is near Fredericksburg & vexed that he can't get a pass to come to Alex.

Tuesday, December 9, 1862

Fine. Cold.

No mail from N. of Baltimore. Read President's Message. Wrote letters. Mr. Randolph of Phila. called. Took walk with Mrs. W. & Miss Hall. Called on J.F. Barkley from N.Y.

Wednesday, December 10, 1862

Fine. Mild. Alex.

Letter from Joseph & Ella. Quite well. Mr. Needham called with goods &c. Went with Col. DeK. & others on Tug Clyde to see Mt. Vernon but did not land. Stopped at Fort Washington. Delightful trip.

Thursday, December 11, 1862

Fine. Mild.

Unpacked goods & distributed some. 4 or 5 funerals passed here today---Letter from Home. Mrs. W. vaccinated me. No particular war news. Burnside does not "On to Richmond."

Friday, December 12, 1862

Very fine.

Called at Mrs. May's & at 53 St. Asaph. Letter from Frances. She is full of trouble. All pretty well.—Soldiers sent north from hospitals. 3 regts going South. Been to Slave Prison & Con. Camp. Seen misery enough for a lifetime.

Saturday, December 13, 1862

Fine, mild. Alex.

Letter from Joe. He has been promoted to a Lieutenancy. Been to see Capt. Wyman. Small pox increasing. Fighting at Fredericksburg, town shelled & burned. How many anxious hearts all

over the country.

Sunday, December 14, 1862

Very fine, warm. Went to Pa. camp & heard Mr. W. preach. Went to Con. Camp. Saw Col. Belknap & Gen. Slough. Got tickets for 2 [?] meeting in Dr. Smith's tent. Went to a Soldier's funeral. Oh! how solemn & sad. [?]/*[Transcriber's Note: last three words cut off at bottom of page]*

Monday, December 15, 1862

Fine. Warm.

Worked at 53 St. Asaph all A.M. Called on Mrs. May. Everyone is anxious who has friends in Burnside's army. There has been severe fighting there. The wounded have arrived here I am told. Small pox increases here.

Tuesday, December 16, 1862

Cold. Rain last night. Been to the barracks, so disappointed in them. Been to Capt. Wyman & various other places. Seen sad sights. What a place this is! Our army has recrossed the Rappahannock. Shall we be defeated? It looks discouraging.

Wednesday, December 17, 1862

Cloudy, cold.

Mrs. May called. No particular war news yet for us yet. This A.M. went to Dr. Holme's office. Saw 2 bodies – embalmed. Made several calls. Letter from B. Latham. Two boxes ready in N.Y.

Thursday, December 18, 1862

Fine. Cold. Alex.

Went to Quartermasters⁷⁷ & Barracks & C. & c. This P.M. went to Lyceum Hos.—Mrs. Winsor gone to the battlefield with Mr. Donans. Chas K just returned from Falmouth, he saw the battle.--Letter from E. Gunry[?] Mr. Chablon put in command.

Friday, December 19, 1862

Cloudy, cool. 2d Mich. Reg^l. not in fight but were in Fred^s. 1 or 2 killed. 700 wounded arrived in boats this morning. All day ambulances have been carrying these to the Hospitals. I have been to hospitals & to the landing. Not heard a groan or complaint from these brave fellows.

Saturday, December 20, 1862

⁷⁷ Brig.-Gen. J.G.C. Lee, who became quartermaster in 1863 through the end of the war, looked back in 1906 to describe “the great depot of Alexandria. This depot was at the head of deep water navigation on the Potomac, and the base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac. It employed some seventy to ninety clerks, one hundred superintendents and foremen, and about thirty-five hundred employees all told; chartered and controlled a large number of sea-going vessels of all classes; had many large shops of all kinds; vast store-houses, stables and corrals, immense coal, wood and lumber yards; and disbursed about a million and a quarter dollars monthly.” (“The Alexandria Quartermaster's Depot during the Civil War, in *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, Vol. XXXIX, July-August 1906).

Very cold.

Called on Dr. Spencer & Col. Tate & Capt. Wyman & at Grace Church Hospital. Saw James Means of Rochester, wounded in head & arm paralyzed. I am dark & dispirited today. Wrote to Sis & several others.

Sunday, December 21, 1862

Cold

Went to Col^d Bap. Ch., heard Mr. Warwick. Called at Grace Ch. Hos. to see James Means. Col. DeKoronay [*Korponay*] & Col. Tate dined here. Fire at 53 St. Asaph St. Saved all our goods but the house is ruined. Several poor families turned out in the cold.

Monday, December 22, 1862

Mild. Alex.

Hard day's work. Been to office of Pro. Mar. Gen. twice & to Pro. Marshall's & the barracks & to various other places. Can obtain no rooms yet, though Col. Tait is trying to find some. Mrs. Winsor does not return yet.

Tuesday, December 23, 1862

Warm.

Capt. Wyman called. Gives us a house on W. St. Small pox there. Been to Grace Ch. Hos & to barracks & to various places. Mr. May has come home. Joe is well. Foolish enough to go to circus this eve. -146 wks since I have seen my little darling.

Wednesday, December 24, 1862

Mild

Went to Quartermasters & to barracks & Mr. Clark says I may have my way about them. Small pox all over the city. Helped trim 2 Christmas trees for the Col. to give to Gen. Slough's children.

Thursday, December 25, 1862

Very mild. Christmas

Va. Like a regular Fourth of July.

Powder & rum in abundance. Oh, the drunken mess we have seen. Dined at Paroled Camp with Col. DeK & his officers. Had a pleasant day. Soldiers in hospitals all had Christmas dinner.

Friday, December 26, 1862

Mild.

Mrs. Winsor has returned from Falmouth⁷⁸. Dr. Bigelow vaccinated me today.⁷⁹ Called at Mr.

⁷⁸ Falmouth was occupied by Union forces in 1862 and 1863.

⁷⁹ Dr. John R. Bigelow, an Acting Assistant Surgeon from New York, helped set up a hospital to treat freedpeople with smallpox. (Source: African-American Civilians and Soldiers Treated at Claremont Smallpox Hospital, Fairfax County, Virginia, 1862-1865, p. 10). He was also tasked by Gen. Slough to set up a hospital for contrabands at 321 S. Washington Street and tried to get control of 323, where JW had set up a clothing room.

May's & a few other places. Letters from Joe & Miss Howland. Ever so many boxes have come for Contrabands.

Saturday, December 27, 1862

Cloudy.

Called at Chap. May & Wolfe St. Hos. & Pro Marshal's. Moved our goods into the new room. Mrs. K. went to barracks with me. They are doing it right now. Letters from Angelina & S.A. Ferris. 156 wks. since my darling was taken.

Sunday, December 28, 1862

Very fine. Alex.

Been to the Washington Church, not sure that I received any benefit. Col. DeK. & Col. White dined here. Mr. Needham called. Wrote to Joe. Fixed things to send by Chap. May.

Monday, December 29, 1862

Very fine. Great scare last night. The rebel cavalry made dash upon Fairfax & escaped. Stores here were removed & cattle driven off. We did not know till morning. Very busy at room & made calls. Letters from Mary Julia & Anna Barnes & from Home.

Tuesday, December 30, 1862

Rainy. Alex.

Distributed clothing to various persons. Called at Mr. Seaton's & Mr. May's, &c. Am very tired tonight.---

147 wks. since I have seen my darling Freda. Oh, that I cd. know how she is, & whether she is happy.

Wednesday, December 31, 1862

Cloudy. Cool.---Alexandria.

Went to Barracks, 2 buildings nearly done.

Went to Grace Ch. Hos. to see Jos. Mears. Went to Room & gave out clothing, &c. Hear that 150 Col^d wood choppers have been captured by rebels. We seem to have made no progress in the war since Dec. 31, 1861. Rebel sympathies are glorying in our reverses. Anxious time for friends of the Union & Govt. But God reigns & I think it will come out right. New Year's Eve. Will tomorrow bring the liberty that has been promised to the Slaves of rebels. I fear that in some way, they will be cheated out of it. I am not sure those in Alexandria are safe. The poor creatures are hopeful & anxious. Their future is so uncertain.

One year ago, I was at my family home. How I would like to be there now & see Father, & Mary & Minnie & Stewart.

Three years ago today & I live to write it, my darling Freda was taken from me. What an age of Wretchedness I have lived since then. But the active, busy life I am leading does not allow me to think much of the past. Perhaps this is best, for there is great work to do here & I am willing to do it as far as I can. I feel that I am working for an entire race & for all time to come.

1863 Pocket Diary



[Transcriber's Note: Diary is printed with month, day of week, date & year order. I have transposed the date next to the month to ease in searching by researchers interested in finding the entry for a specific date.

Following pre-printed on the diary]

DECEMBER, Twelfth Month---31 Days

Calendar that includes days of the month, days of the week, sun rises, sun sets, moon rises, and high water days.

[Following handwritten on blank page opposite Remembrancer title page]

Rev. G. W. Samson, D.D.
Pres. of Columbian Col.⁸⁰

Rev. P.D. Gurley D.D.
Pastor, N.Y. Av. Pres. Church

Rev. Byron Sunderland, D.D.
Pastor, 1st Pres. Ch. W.D.C.

Rev. Thos. Stockton D.D.
Chap. of House

38th Congress
Rev. Wm. H. Channing
Chaplain of House
Verily the world does move!

⁸⁰ Although not clear why JW wrote these names in her diary, they were all prominent, pro-Union church men. Columbian College was what is now George Washington University. Samson, pastor of E Street Baptist Church, was elected president in 1859. Carver Hospital was located on the Columbian campus (then near 14th and 15th streets) during the war. Gurley was Lincoln's minister. Sunderland served as chaplain of the U.S. Senate, in addition to his church. Stockton, in November 1863, gave the opening prayer at the dedication of Gettysburg cemetery. Channing was a Unitarian minister and Chaplain of the House in 1863 and 1864. He had written to JW in February 1862 about possibly going to Port Royal to teach, which her father had opposed.

[Transcriber's note: on page across from January, Thursday 1, 1863, underneath printed calendar]

208

199 weeks

since I have seen my Freda

It is several months since I have heard from her.

Oh dear!

January 1, 1863 Thursday

Alexandria, Va. Bright & cold.

We watched the Old Year out & welcomed The New Year in, hoping it will provide the year of Jubilee to the oppressed in our land.⁸¹ I rejoice with trembling fearing that in some way the Slave will be cheated in his hopes of freedom. Between 12 & 1 there was some firing & the sound of bugles and a band near us played beautifully. No disturbance to day. No one has been killed by the 'niggers' as I have heard & they show no disposition to kill anybody. How strange! I have distributed goods and called at Mr. May's. Not much business done here. P.O. closed.

January 2, 1863 Friday

Very fine. I have been to the room and distributed clothing to a great many needy ones.

It is better than I feared. The President's Proclamation of Jan 1st takes back nothing from his Proc. of Sept. 22nd, '62. God bless him for this! He calls it "a necessary war measure & believes it to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity." I fear for its success for the Pro-slavery Democrats will use many means to make the Proc. of no effect. I wish the N.Y. Herald could be suppressed. It is truly satanic.

January 3, 1863 Saturday

Washington, D.C.

Fine. Came over in the 9 o'clock boat. Called at Mr. Lake's, and at P.O. to see Mr. L. Called on Mr. Van S. at Patent O--& on Mrs. Dr. Breed.⁸² She is a very kind, pleasant lady. Went to National Hotel⁸³, and found that Charlotte and another Lady had been there. Waited awhile when Griffin & C. came from Alexandria having left Frances there. What will F. do then? I can't go back till tomorrow. All well at home. F. came very unexpectedly. Want to go to see Joseph. Gen. Butler, wife and daughter are here. Saw the Gen. in the parlor this evening. He was introduced to various persons. Oscar King called.

January 4, 1863 Sunday

⁸¹ This would be the day that the Emancipation Proclamation was to go into effect.

⁸² Gulielma and Daniel Breed, Quakers, were behind establishment of the National Home for Destitute Colored Women and Children, in the Burleith neighborhood of Washington. The National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children was incorporated by Congress on February 14, 1863 and the home opened (in a confiscated house of a Confederate sympathizer) soon after under Dr. Breed's direction (<http://gloverparkhistory.com/estates-and-farms/burleith/the-colored-home/>).

⁸³ National Hotel was at the corner of Pennsylvania Ave. and 6th Street

Fine. Griffin & C. went with me to Gen. Martindale's head quarters, to War Office to Willard but I can not get a pass to go to Falmouth⁸⁴.-----Left W. at 12, found Frances here & very lonesome. So nice to hear directly from home. This P.M. with Mrs. K's folks went to cemetery and out towards Fairfax Sem.⁸⁵ The Con. Camp is re-moved. Nice ride. Shower this evening. Called at Mr. May's and also at the School House when they were holding meeting. Cd. not stay long. F. thinks it is awful. Wonders how I can stay here.

January 5, 1863 Monday

Fine. Called at room and Pro. Mar. to get pass. Then with F. and Mrs. C., in ambulance started for Camp of 8th N.Y. Cav. We went out by Fairfax Sem. to Bailey's Cross Roads wh. is near Munson's Hill and Upton's Hill. The Mich. 2^d was encamped near here for months in '61. We got a shell sent by the rebels from M. Hill. Went by Arlington Mills & Hunter's Chap & near Ft. Albany. A devastated country. A long string of ambulances filled with sick soldiers. Forts & encampments. Went to Arlington House, pictures in Hall, Gen. Lee's Negroes, &c. Went to Camp of 8th Cav. C. there, took dinner. Saw them drill. Then took a most interesting ride.

January 6, 1863 Tuesday

Rainy P.M. Alexandria

Charlotte came this A.M. Goods from Rochester came. Worked at rooms awhile. Went to Wolfe St. Hos. C. & F. much interested. Went to Barracks & Slave Pen & Prison. Went in rain to Paroled Camp. Worked at goods, visited in Eve. I wish F. & C. could stay longer. Very quiet here now. Not as much sickness, I see but few funerals.

January 7, 1863 Wednesday

Fine cold. Went to School House. C. & F. wonder how I can endure it. It is a wretched place. Went to Marshall House and saw where Ellsworth was killed. Met Col. Tait⁸⁶, who told us of a Museum here. We found it. It contains many valuable & interesting relics & curiosities. I must go there again.

We went to Washington St. Hos., Prince St. Hos., Mansion House Hos., Grace Ch. Hos., and Bap. Ch. Hos. Went to Embalmers--. At 4 P.M. went to boat with C. who cd. stay no longer. This evening F. & I have been to Mrs. Munsell's. She has just come from Falmouth & has seen Joe, he is well. Mrs. M. thinks we can go.

January 8, 1863 Thursday,

Cloudy, Cold. Left Alex at 9. for W. went to National, cd. not find C. Went back to the boat Portsmouth for Aquia Ck.--left at 12. No fire in Ladies room & full of people. Fine P.M. river beautiful. Mr. McGaw[?] & wife. Saw Ft. Washington, Mt. Vernon, High Point, Indian Head, Free Stone, Cockpit Pt., and other places where the rebels had batteries. Coast survey stations all along. Dark before reaching Aquia. Train gone, People in a fix, very queer ways here in Va. Mrs.

⁸⁴ Falmouth was occupied by the Union at this time.

⁸⁵ Fairfax Seminary is about 2.5 miles from Alexandria city. It was used as a hospital during the War. For a first-person account by a nurse, see Jane Stuart Woolsey's *Hospital Days* (<http://archive.org/details/hospitaldays01wool>).

⁸⁶ Col. James A. Tait, from the 1st District of Columbia Infantry, was Provost Marshal General of Defenses South of the Potomac in September 1862.

Milne & several other ladies obliged to stay on boat, wd. not be here alone for all the world. Oh! Horrid.

January 9, 1863 Friday

Fine, cold. Awful night on the Potomac. Cd. not land in time for morning train. Waited at Aquia till noon. Trouble in getting pass to F. Passed through a desolated county. Miles through camps, huts & shelters of any kind. Reached F. Station at 2. Went to Gen. Summer's Headquarters, sent us in ambulance to 2nd Mich. $\frac{3}{4}$ off. Joe well. Went in Am. to River. Joe showed us where the bridges were laid, & where his division went, our pickets on one end of a broken bridge & rebel pickets on the other, within speaking distance. Can look over Fred^{bg} & saw buildings shattered. Remarkable and interesting sight. Took dinner in Mrs. Bonner's room.

January 10, 1863 Saturday

Cloudy, P.M. rainy. Last evening glorious sight. Camp fires all around us, music of bands & tattoo. We were near Gen. Burnside's Head Qrs. Slept in Liz room Mrs. May's—visited Joe in comfortable tent. He keeps it all nice. Joe came to Station with us. Left at 8. Wish we cd. stay another day. Sick men came on train. At Aquia, got pass on Wilson, Small[?] man died. What a shame! Mrs. Jolly with the corpse of her brother going to Detroit. Got to W. about 2 P.M. Went with F. & C to White House. Tea at National, supper at Mrs. Russels. Mr. Pierce & Maj. Falls called. Oh! Such people, such people! Is this a drunken nation?

January 11, 1863 Sunday

Cloudy. F. and I are very tired. Slept pretty well last night & had good breakfast. Mr. Lake called. F. & I went with him to Senate to hear Rev. Stockton & could not keep awake, neither F. Mr. G is to learn to leave tomorrow morning for Belle Plain.⁸⁷ Left F. and C. at 3 P.M. & walked to boat. Called at Mr. May's. He came from Falmouth this morning & is going back today. I am so, so tired, but I feel a hundred times paid for the trouble & inconvenience we had to submit to, I wd. not have missed seeing Joe & the Potomac Army & Fredericksburg on any account.

January 12, 1863 Monday

Cloudy. Went to rooms & picked up some things. Went to Barracks, & to Capt. W & to Mansion House Hos. & to Wharf. Portsmouth had left. Met Mr. Burge. So drunk, no satisfaction in talking with him. Went with Miss Wheelock⁸⁸ to Mr. Davy's⁸⁹ to get stores.

⁸⁷ Belle Plain is near current-day Quantico, used as supply base In 1864, Grant used it for a base of operations (per Harper's Weekly of June 1, 1864)

⁸⁸ Julia Wheelock came from Michigan as a volunteer for the Michigan Soldier's Relief Association; she came to Alexandria in September 1862 with a sister and sister-in-law when they learned her wounded brother Orville was hospitalized there, but he died and was buried in the Soldier's Cemetery two days before they arrived. In 1870, she published *Boys in White: Experiences of a Hospital Agent in and around Washington*, which includes her Alexandria experiences. (Married and name was Julia Wheelock Freeman after 1873; received a pension of \$12/month for her service in 1890; died in 1900—Source: Michigan Women's Hall of Fame—to which she was inducted in 2002).

⁸⁹ According to Harold Hurst, *Alexandria on the Potomac* (pg. 33), "In Alexandria, according to the 1860 census, at least forty-eight persons were designated as 'grocers'....The firm of Davy & Harmon, located at the corner of Prince

Letters from L. Strang,⁹⁰ Mrs. Coleman, Cousin Kate, G. Smith, Mr. Warwick, &c. Went to Mrs. May's.--- Mr. Gladwin does not come yet. I begin to think he will not come.

January 13, 1863 Tuesday

Pleasant. Went to room. Sorted and arranged the things & gave out considerable. Wrote to Joe & fixed up some things for him to send by Mr. May, who is going to Falmouth tomorrow. Called at Mr. M's. Mr. G. has returned. I am so tired to night. Have not got over the fatigue of going to the 'front'. This evening read the Herald. I always feel wicked after reading that paper. I wish it might be suppressed & its influence is so bad in the army.

January 14, 1863 Wednesday

Foggy. Went to room & worked awhile. Went to Grace Ch. Hos. and called on Mrs. Munsell. Mr. G called. Went to boat & succeeded in getting my sontag wh. I left there when I went to Aquia.

This evening Mary Means called. Also Mrs. H. Jacobs⁹¹ & another lady. Mrs. J sent here by the N.Y. Friends to be the matron here. Very well, I am glad she has come. She can attend to the sick so much better than I can. Small pox all over the city. Co. here to night & a Serenade by the band.

January 15, 1863 Thursday

Warm cloudy. Went to the rooms, & with Mr. G & Mrs. Jacobs went to the barracks. They are nearly finished. They are not as I wd. wish them, but I am thankful that they are as good as they are.

Called on Col. De. K remains quite sick. Mr. G called--

Election here to day for a Member of Congress, Mayor McKenzie will be elected probably. His loyalty is doubtful, & I don't understand how he is elected, strange doings in the land.

January 16, 1863 Friday

Cold. Windy. Squally. Went with Mr. G in ambulance to Washington. Called at Mr. Munson's, Mr. Needham's & Mr. L.

Went to Capitol at 12 & stayed 3 hours in the Senate chamber. Saw V. Pres Hamlin. Heard Sumner, Hale and others take part in a debate. Heard speech of Henderson of Mo. on Emancipation. He was addressing his border state brethren when I left. It was very interesting. Cold dark ride back. Our army is crossing the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg.

January 17, 1863 Saturday

and Royal Streets, flourished during the Federal occupation of the city between 1861 and 1865, probably because neither of the owners were tainted with any Souther connections...."

⁹⁰ Lydia Strang is listed as a Wheatland Quaker who donated \$10 "for aid for the colored refugees." (Petition held by Castellani Art Museum at Niagara University).

⁹¹ In January 15 letter to Anna Barnes, Wilbur writes "Last evening I was very surprised to see Harriet Jacobs. She came to me with a letter from Benjamin Tatham [a New York Quaker]....She is to keep a record of the names of all persons & a list of articles furnished to them to prevent fraud or mistakes....I don't know how this strikes thee but it struck me very unpleasantly." Wilbur goes on to say that she welcomes Jacobs (whom she had briefly met in Rochester, NY, in the 1840s in Rochester) but not the requirements imposed by the New York Friends.

Cold. Letters from Home, from Mrs. Carpenter and Mrs. L. Went to see Capt. W. but my seeing him was not satisfactory. He seems to think now that we are asking too much for the 'Contrabands.' Been to the rooms & to see Mrs. Winsor. I am disheartened tonight. I have been disappointed in some persons. The negro is insulted and wronged everywhere & by nearly everyone. --- Such a state of things exists in the army too & government seems to be asleep. The Pro Slavery Dems. are getting the advantage.

January 18, 1863 Sunday

Bright – cold.--Filled up new Diary to this date. Wrote in journal. Called on Mrs. Winsor & Miss Wheelock.--Spent evening in parlor, very pleasantly. Full of Company. Called on Col. De K. Hear there is fighting near Fredericksburg. Disturbance here today between soldiers & colored men.

Letter from Mrs. P. Davis.

Rumors of fighting near Fredericksburg.

January 19, 1863 Monday

Bright cold. With Mr. & Mrs. Thayer & Mrs. Marshall went to barracks & Slave pen & school House & School. Called at room. Went to King St. Hos. In P.M. went in ambulance to Ft. Ellsworth. Lieut. Spear showed us around. One 100 pounder parrot gun shoots 5 miles. 2 or 3 brass field pieces used in Mex. War. Saw them drill. Went round by Fairfax Sem. to Convalescent Camp, 3 or 4 mi. Moving sick into new barracks. 65 buildings, each hold 104 men. Very comfortable, acres of tents. A remarkable sight. Discharging & receiving all the while. Round by Ft. Albany home. Very pleasant ride.

January 20, 1863 Tuesday

Cloudy. Went to rooms, & to Express Office, &c. Good deal of stir in the city. People don't behave very well. Great many arrests lately. Reports of fighting near Fredericksburg yesterday & today. Hospitals being cleared to be ready to receive the wounded. Mrs. Jacobs called here. I have heard and seen so much today that has disturbed me that I have no heart to write a letter or do anything. -- Spent evening in parlor. Pleasant company. But officers talk so discouragingly.

January 21, 1863 Wednesday

Rainy, windy.

What will the poor soldiers do? Reports of fighting are not confirmed. Hear nothing in particular from Falmouth. Letter from Joe written the 16th, were ordered to move next morning. Have been to rooms, barrel from S.A. Ferris. Been to barracks & slave pen. Wrote letters & visited some. Dr. Bigelow of N.Y. has come, but I presume he will not stay. I hope he will not, I don't like him.⁹² Too important entirely. Oh! Such people! Such people!

⁹² Dr. Bigelow, according to a February 27, 1863, letter to Barnes "acts as if he meant to control the whole of us. I must tell you this of him: Claremont, wh. was Com. Forest mansion, 4 mi. from Alex. is our pest house now. It is defaced & half ruined by soldiers, we have had it 2 months. Been 140 cases of small pox there at once, a great many there now. Dr. B. says he means to have all the orphans taken out there & kept, & the same old woman & nurses that

January 22, 1863 Thursday

Rainy all day. Went to rooms several times. Went to Exchange Office, &c. Called at Marshall House to see Dr. B. who came with me to Scott House to see Emma. Mr. G has vexed me very much today. I try to possess my soul in patience. Other things try me too. Well, well, I must try to do right. Capt. W & the Col. dined here to day. No war news.

German Musician & German physician here this eve. Had some grand playing. Col. De K. is better.--

Gen. Porter is dismissed from service & McDowell sh. be.

January 23, 1863⁹³ Friday

[?] off. Letters from Frances & E. Wilbur. All well. Went to room & gave out a few things. Read Wendell P. [*Transcriber's Note: Phillips*] speech at Cooper Institute. Very fine. Wrote letters, &c. Report of fighting near Fredericksburg. Intend to go to Washington tomorrow. Dull & tired to night.

January 24, 1863 Saturday

Fine, warm. This A.M. went to Washington on Steam Tug Clyde. One of a party of 16. Col. De Korponay. M. Kimball & family. Mr. & Mrs. Thayer & Marion. Mrs. Patterson & Mrs. Van Rensselaer, Major R. & Lewis Wattles & myself. ---Visited Smithsonian Institute. Many interesting things. Attended Reception at White House. Shook hand with Abraham & Betsey.⁹⁴ Room so dark cd. not see them very well. Went through the Conservatory. Dined at Metropolitan Hotel. Return on Clyde, got back at dark. Pleasant company. Enjoyed the day very much. Discouraging news.

January 25, 1863 Sunday

Day fine, warm, delightful. Went over to the room. Mrs. J. getting discouraged. Saw Dr. Bigelow & Mr. G. I have written to Mary & W. Penn. House full of company now. War develops curious specimens of humanity. A strange combination of circumstances surround us in this rebellious city.

Yesterday it was 160 weeks since my little darling was taken from me. Yes, 3 wretched weary years have passed since then & she is now nearly 7 yrs. old. Could I see[?] her, or even hear from her!

January 26, 1863 Monday

Fine, warm. Mr. Edwin Thayer & wife left. Letter from Joe, he is vexed at the failure last week.

take care of the sick can take care of the Children. Would you think that such an idea could enter the head of a sane, Christian man, wh. he professes to be?"

⁹³ Letter written from Wilbur to Amy Kirby Post on this date.

⁹⁴ For an account of the receptions and other frequent gatherings in the Lincoln White House, see "Abraham Lincoln's White House" by Harold Holzer, White House History No 25, (http://www.whitehousehistory.org/whha_publications/publications_documents/whitehousehistory_25-holzer.pdf). However, not sure if she is referring to Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln, or another reference.

Mrs. Jacobs ill. Called to see her. Mr. Dennis here. Went to barracks & school house, worked at Room. Mr. Day called at noon. Pleasant Company in parlor for this evening. Capt. Wyman here & Banks is ordered to W. Butler to New Orleans, & Heintzelman to the front. Hear that Burnside has resigned & that Hooker is in Command.

January 27, 1863 Tuesday

Rainy all day. Been to barracks & to P. M. Office 3 times to see Mrs. Jacobs. To room 2 or 3 times. Emma's baby died this morning & was taken away to be buried before it was cold & the poor woman did not see it after it was laid out & does not know this evening that her baby is buried. I think it is an outrage. These people are treated as if they had no feelings, & that poor mother was almost beside herself when her baby died.

Received bandbox by Express.

January 28, 1863 Wednesday

Snowed all day. Very wet, went in ambulance to Quartermaster & to Room. Cleaned my room & did chores of various kinds. Days much too short for me.

I have been very angry this evening. What villains there are clothed in the garb of gentlemen & wearing Eagles & Stars⁹⁵ too.

January 29, 1863 Thursday

Light snow melting. Very sloppy. Called to see Mrs. Jacobs. Went to room & gave out 76 garments. Pretty hard day's work. ---Had a chance to free my mind in regard to treatment of our colored people in general & colored women in particular, & I am quite sure that the one I intended it for took it. I did not stop to count the cost nor calculate consequences.

January 30, 1863 Friday

Fine, warm, slushy. Went to barracks, nearly done. Went to room, &c. At 2 P.M. went to W. on boat. Oh! so muddy. Went to Dr. Breed's. Met Abby Hopper Gibbons, Mrs. Sedgewick. Miss Robinson & Miss E. Howland. Very pleasant ladies all. Capt. Ferree, Superintendent of C. called, also Dr. Webster. It does me good to see such people & to hear unionism & abolitionism talked freely & openly. It is refreshing.⁹⁶

January 31, 1863 Saturday

Very fine. Left Dr. Breed's this morning at 10 with the Dr. & Mrs. & Miss R & Miss H. & Mrs. W. for Alex. Walked to boat in wind. Called at our Rooms, then went with them to School

⁹⁵ Officers' insignia.

⁹⁶ James English Ferree, a Chaplain who enlisted with the 9th Illinois Infantry on July 26, 1861. He resigned on December 1, 1861, then received a commission in the Hospital Chaplains on July 14, 1862. He mustered out of the Hospital Chaplains Regiment, U.S. Volunteers on March 13, 1866 (American Civil War Soldiers database, viewed on Ancestry.com)

House, barracks & Slave Pen. Spent half an hour in the Prison. Some hard looking men & boys there. Rode around by Christ Church & then to the Landing & took leave of the company.

161 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me.

February 1, 1863 Sunday

Bright A.M., cloudy evening. Went with Mrs. Thayer & Mrs. Marshall to Col^d Baptist.⁹⁷ Oh, such a discussion I never heard before. This evening went with Mr. & Mrs. Thayer & Capt. Fitzpatrick to the School House. Heard Leland talk a little. Rest of time spent in singing, mostly native songs, genuine plantation music, wh. have never heard before.

February 2, 1863 Monday

Very fine. Went to W. on 9 A.M. boat. Called at Dr. Breed's at Stanton Hos. at Mr. Lake's & at Patent O. Met Mr. G. & Mrs. Dennis & Mrs. Latham. Went to Capitol at ½ past 12. Sat in House till 4 P.M. Mr. Stevens Bill for raising 150 negros regts. was up, & Wilson of Iowa made good speech, Followed by Cox & long speech by [*Transcriber's Note: Blank space in original*] to prevent Stevens. What nuisances! viz, Wickliffe, Crittenden, Vallandigham & that crew. Vexatious that I must leave at 4. Took boat at 5 & got back about dusk, pretty tired. Unsatisfactory day.

February 3, 1863 Tuesday

Very cold wintry day. Put on my hood & went to barracks & to Room & staid in cold till noon. This P.M., went to Grace Ch. Hos. Jos. Mears died a few days since & his remains were embalmed & sent home this morning. I was much surprised for I supposed he was nearly well. Have written to his sister. _____

Capt. Wyman has been removed. Oh! dear, what shall we do? I feel that the Colored folks have lost a friend.⁹⁸ This is Gen. Slough's doings I think.

February 4, 1863 Wednesday

Very cold. No fire in my room. Been to Room & to barracks & Slave pen & to the Prison twice. Took some clothes to some needy ones. What a place it is! B. Latham of N.Y. here today. House has passed bill to raise Negro Regiments. What will the soldiers do this freezing weather? The

⁹⁷ The Colored Baptist Church became an independent church in 1850, building a worship facility on Alfred Street. (Source: Alton Wallace, *I Once Was Young: History of Alfred Street Baptist Church, 1803-2003*, Littleton, MA: Tapestry Press, Inc., 2003).

⁹⁸ Wyman was replaced by Lt. Col. H.H. Wells between January 26, 1862, and February 2, 1863. Wells proves far less sympathetic to Wilbur. Bio note: Henry Wells was born and grew up in Rochester. Early in his career, he defended several white men who were charged with assisting slaves fleeing to Canada and supported emancipation in the 1850s as a member of the Michigan House of Representatives. In 1862, he assisted in recruiting the 26th Michigan Infantry, which was assigned to provost duty in Alexandria. (Source: Biographical Information, A Guide to the Henry H. Wells Executive Papers, 1868-1869, Library of Virginia; Civil War database at www.nps.gov). He served for two years (1868-1869) as Military Reconstruction governor of Virginia, then as U.S. Attorney for Eastern Virginia with his son Henry, Jr., as assistant; Grant appointed the two men to similar positions in the District of Columbia in 1875 and they resigned to form a law firm in 1878. Henry Wells, Sr. lived at 901 M St. NW; his son asked the prominent architects Cluss and Schulze to design a duplex for his family at 428-430 M St. NW.

poor contrabands have crowded around our room today, & we have given out considerable. Letter from S.A. Ferris, also a barrel of things from her.

February 5, 1863 Thursday

Cold. Stormy.

Went to Ex. Office & to Barkley. 2 boxes from Miss Howland. Gave out 52 garments. How the poor things suffer this cold weather. I wish Mr. G. was more considerate, & would consult their comfort more. Mr. James Redpath⁹⁹ called. How the soldiers must suffer. No particular war news. Various rumors. Letters from Julia Fanning, Alvira Hartwell¹⁰⁰, & L. Strang.

February 6, 1863 Friday

Rainy

Spent most of day at Room, gave out 50 garments. Letter from Farmington, N.Y. Friends have sent 4 bbls. ___ I am very tired to night. Have had head ache all day. Dr. B's assistant, Dr. Shaw¹⁰¹ & wife have come here to board.

Hope they have considered it well & hope they will make our mission needed & useful.

February 7, 1863 Saturday

Fine.

At room until 10 A.M. Distributed 39 pieces. Took walk with Mr. Thayer & Mrs. Marshall to office of Pro. Mar. & Ex. Office. Called at Grace Ch. Hos. Great deal of news, but nothing very important. Potomac Army to be divided several brigades have come north, Penn. Reserves & ___ Wish I could hear from home. 162 wks. since my little darling was taken away.

February 8, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Went to Colored Bap. Church with Mrs. Thayer. People straggled along in until meeting was out. This P.M. Capt Wyman called. He is now Assistant Provost Marshal General.

Spent part of evening in parlor. Mrs. Reeves called. Mrs. Van Rensselaer & Mrs. Patterson[?] & husbands have returned from Falmouth. Boarders changing all the while.

February 9, 1863 Monday

Very fine. Went to Washington on 9 A.M. boat. Called on Mrs. Breed & Mr. Van Santvoord.

⁹⁹ James Redpath was a British-born journalist. He wrote about an earlier trip to Alexandria in *James Redpath, Roving Editor: or, Talks with Slaves in Southern States*, which was funded by Gerrit Smith. (He wrote of his first impression when he walked onto the wharf: "our feet, ankle deep in mud, stood on the here miry, ill-paved, but sacred soil of the Old Dominion."—book digitized on Perseus, Tufts University, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2001.05.0060%3Achapter%3D6%3Apage%3D200>). He was a journalist and writer and later started the Boston Lyceum Bureau that represented Frederick Douglass among many others. He also was appointed a "General Agent" by Haitian president Nicolas Fabre Geffard to promote migration by freedmen to "Hayti." (Source: Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture/In Motion)

¹⁰⁰ Alvira Hartwell was her sister Frances' sister-in-law—i.e., the sister of Abner Hartwell.

¹⁰¹ Samuel Shaw from Palmer, Mass. For background on him, see *A House Divided Still Stands: The Contraband Hospital and Alexandria Freedmen's Aid Workers* (<http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/contrabandhospital.pdf>)

Went to Capitol. Sat an hour in the Senate. Passed Bill for Colored Orphan Asylum¹⁰². G. Davis of KY opposed the Bill also Browning of Ill, &c. Went into the House. Canal Bill lost. Such confusion I left in disgust. Got specimens. Letter from Frances. I am so tired to night. Emma & Becky have called to see me.

February 10, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Went to barracks & Quarter Masters, &c. Went to room & worked till 1 P.M. After dinner went to Convalescent Camp. Worst I ever saw. Went with Mrs. K., Mrs. Marshall & Dr. & Mrs. Shaw. 7103 enlisted men there & 32 officers.--- Many of them live in barracks now. Not half as many tents now. Col. McElvey in command. Mrs. Marshall's husband has come from Falmouth. Had spicy talk in parlor this evening on negro question, the war, &c.

February 11, 1863 Wednesday

Cloudy, rainy. Went to room with Mr. & Mrs. Marshall. Called at S. House. Mrs. M gone to her home in Milford. Sorry to have her go. She is a pleasant acquaintance & they are both genuine abolitionists. Worked at room nearly all day. Am very tired & do not feel well. Letter from Joe dated Sunday. Was to leave next morning for Fort Monroe, going farther off instead of going home to visit. I am sorry. Mary will feel bad. Miss Wheelock called. She came from Falmouth this morning. Joe well, had not left there yet.

February 12, 1863 Thursday

Windy. Warm. Spent the day at Room. Given out 130 pieces of clothing¹⁰³. Mrs. Jacobs sick, not been out. Dr. Shaw sick. Mr. G. away all day. Mr. W. has helped me some. Hard day's work. Wrote this evening. No time to read anything. Col De K. has returned, no war news.

February 13, 1863 Friday

Fine.

This A.M. went to room & regulated things. Went to barracks. All ready but stoves. Called to see Col. Wells the new Pro. Mar.¹⁰⁴ Called on Mrs. Jacobs who is ill. Wrote 3 letters. Have letter from Mary. All pretty well. She is discouraged about Joe's return. Mr. & Mrs. Thayer have got back from Falmouth. Called on new Pro. Mar., for 1st time to ask about having boxes directed to him.

February 14, 1863 Saturday

Fine. Cold.

Worked at rooms till noon. My stock of goods is getting low. Mrs. Jacobs is ill yet. Not able to go out. ---This P.M. cleaned myself thoroughly & now feel better. Spent evening in parlor.

¹⁰² The Senate Journal for that day reports passage of S. 505 "to incorporate the National Association for the Relief of Destitute, Colored Women and Children."

¹⁰³ Selling versus giving away clothing was a bit of an issue—both were done after early 1863. Wilbur reported in the Twelfth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society (pg. 17) that Harriet Jacobs "had instructions to pursue this course [charging for clothing], and I adopted the same...." She wrote that she had distributed 1,913 pieces of clothing since February 1, 1863 through later in 1863 when she wrote the report—1,247 given away and 666 pieces sold for \$405.65.

¹⁰⁴ Col. H.H. Wells took Capt. Wyman's place as Provost Marshal.

Letters from Mary & Mary J. Father has been sick. Mr. Griffin is sick.---
163 wks since Freda was taken from Grandpa's. Poor dear child!

February 15, 1863 Sunday

Rainy. Warm.

Headache all day. Only been out to P.O. Wrote to Mrs. Barnes. Visited in parlor, Mr. Bradley & Mr. Haren here. Mrs. Churchill[?] has left, Boarders changing all the while. Some it does not pay to get acquainted with. Great people! Great place! Curious facts are being developed not a hundred miles from here.

February 16, 1863 Monday

Very fine

Wrote to Frances. Got 3 barrels from Farmington N.Y. Unpacked & sorted them. Both Mrs. Kimball & Mrs. Thayer called on Mrs. Reeves. Went into several stores. Calicos from 25 to 75 per yd, Sheeting, 45 & 50 that used to be sold for, 12 ½ per yd.
No particular war news.

February 17, 1863 Tuesday

Snowed all day, very wet. Spent A.M. at room giving out clothing. Capt. Leach & Mr. Garfield called. This P.M. wrote to Mary. Letter from Joe. Mailed at Old Point Comfort. Their division is to stop at Newport News. It seems like taking the back track. Spent part of evening in parlor. It is 154 weeks since I have seen my little darling. If I could only know that she does not forget me!

February 18, 1863 Wednesday

Rainy all day. Oh! The poor Soldiers, what awful roads & what a freshet there will be. This A.M. unpacked 4 bbls. from Mass. Very nice things.

This P.M. called to see Col. Wells & talked over Contraband matters. He was very kind to pleasant & I like him very well, I hardly think he is an abolitionist. Still he may do well for these people & favor our plans. I will hope for the best.

Have written 3 letters.

February 19, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy. Misty.

Spent most of the day at Room. Gave out 160 garments. Mrs. Jacobs not able to go out yet. It is so wet! How very uncomfortable those poor people & the soldiers must be.

Read the papers.

The N.Y. World is not allowed to be sold in Falmouth. Good! New Pro. Mar. in W. Union successes in the west.

February 20, 1863¹⁰⁵ Friday

Fine. Colder. Been in every room on cor. of Washington & Wolfe Sts. & took the census. Queer

¹⁰⁵ This date coincides with part of a letter from JW to Amy Kirby Post, believed to be dated February 20, 1863.

developments; 115 persons live in the 2 houses. Went to School H, 5 families there & ever so many men without families.

Called on Mrs. Jacobs. She is better.

Mr. & Mrs. Thayer & Marion left to day. I shall miss them. Jennie[?] K. came back from Phila. Boarders nearly all gone away.

Mr. Kimball sick.

February 21, 1863 Saturday

Fine.

Went to room. Gave out 70 pieces. Went to barracks. School room & office finished. Went to house on cor. King & Columbus & took census. 101 colored & 19 whites in it. Dr. E. Church of 26th Mich. called. Old acquaintance. Mr. Lightfoot of Red Kill called, one of the chivalry[?]. Letters from Capt. W & Joe. He is at Newport News. Is well & was glad to leave Falmouth. Thinks the bone will have to be picked at the west. Is willing to go through with it, to the end.

February 22, 1863 Sunday

Snowed all day. Cold & windy. Tedious storm. Heard bells & saw a little cutter. Oh! the poor soldiers. Regulated & arranged trunks & papers & cleaned up generally.

Would like to know how they all do at home. Father & Mary & Minnie & Stewart—174 wks yesterday since my little darling was taken.

February 23, 1863 Monday [*Trans. Note: 23rd and 24th had been transposed & corrected by JW*]

Bright. Cold. Sloppy. A few sleighs are out & the jingling of bells has a wintry sound. Saw the Pro. Mar. this morning & he vexed me very much. Mr. G. vexed me too & we had quite a spat. They seem bent on giving these people no chance & then getting all they can from them.

Taken the census at 63 Cameron St. & in Pitt St.--Some small Pox. Been up to the barracks & moved some things & worked hard all day.

February 24, 1863 Tuesday

This is Monday's transactions. Tuesday's is on the preceding page. Cold. A foot of snow perhaps. Some sleighs out. Went to room, Becky, Emma, Jane & Harriet & Amanda made purchases. Wrote to Mrs. Earle.

The stoves have come & have all been set up. So the people will soon be moved into the barracks I suppose. Col. Tait the Pro. Mar. Gen. is under arrest for giving passes to secesh.¹⁰⁶ What next?

¹⁰⁶ In the October 17, 1863 issue of Harpers Weekly, it was reported that Tait "has been dismissed the service by order of the President. He was Provost Marshal General of the defenses south of Washington last winter, and was charged with neglect of duty and disobedience of orders, for which he was tried and honorably acquitted; but General HEINTZELMAN, commanding the department, disapproved the finding of the court, alleging that the evidence adduced showed that the charges were conclusively proved. The case was referred to the President, who ordered Colonel TAIT to be dismissed." Another report has that he allowed contraband goods to pass to the Confederacy (http://antietam.aotw.org/officers.php?officer_id=1035)

February 25, 1863 Wednesday

Bright. Snow melting. Streets very wet.

Letters from Angeline & S. A. Ferris. Somerset folks well, S.A.F. is coming to see me in a wk. or so. Miss Wheelock called. We called on Mrs. Reeves. This P.M. went through an alley near Henry St., & looked up several families of Contrabands. Some of them rent Secesh houses. Some need help. Met several free colored. Oh! How ignorant they are.

Saw Capt. Leach & wife.

February 26, 1863 Thursday

Rainy.

Been to room several times & given out a few things. Dr. Bigelow, Mr. Gladwin & myself had an audience with the Provost Marshall. He ignores wholly Capt. Wyman's orders. The Washington St. House is to be vacated tomorrow & Mr. G. is to superintend the removal to the Barracks.

6th Mich. Cav. went South this A.M. in the mud & sposh[?]. Conflicting news from Vicksburg. Report that Gen. Slough is arrested. Wonder for what?

February 27, 1863¹⁰⁷ Friday

Fine.

Went to room awhile. Letter from Mrs. Barnes.

Society approve of what I am doing, give me their confidence & encouragement.

This P.M. went up King St. on an Exploring Expedition. Mr. Grimmell went with me. Went to barracks & school. 75 scholars, but oh! Such a school! Mr. G. seems to think it well enough, called at Hos. & Embalmers.--

Begun to move families into Barracks.

'Aunt Mary' just from Falmouth. Spent the evening with me.

February 28, 1863 Saturday

Cloudy.

Went with Mrs. May to Pitt St. 'Mighty Mostes[?]' as Aunt Mary said. Wasn't she glad? Mrs. Grinnell¹⁰⁸ went with me to Room & School house. Wrote to Mrs. Barnes. Went to Office & room & barracks, am so tired, I need a few days rest.

Mr. G. called this evening. What a man! Mr. W. has refused to help him any more. I can't blame him.

Wrote to Cousin Kate & Cousin Cornelia.

March 1, 1863 Sunday

Mild March weather. Rain. Sun. Wind. Went to Chapel at Freedman's Home for the first time to meeting. Mr. Parker preached. Rev. Dr. Anderson Capt. Weston & Mr. Delong, Consul to Hayti

¹⁰⁷ Letter to Anna Barnes dated February 27, 1863. In it, she said "We hear also that Gen. Slough, Mil Gov of Alexa is arrested & his arrest has grown out of his removal of Capt. Wyman," but this could not be verified.

¹⁰⁸ The letter cited above also reports "there are several new boarders now, several ladies. Lieut. Grinnell has just brought his new, young wife from Akron, Ohio."

present.¹⁰⁹ We need to begin almost at the foundations of society in our treatment of these poor people.

Work rest of day.--- Read a little this evening. Intend to go to W. tomorrow. Congress will soon adjourn.

March 2, 1863 Monday

Fine.

Got a pass & went on 8 o'clock boat to W. Called at Dr. B's & Mrs. Lake's. Walked through mud & mire to Home for Contrabands. A sorry looking place. Could I stay there?

Miss H. & Miss S. do great work.

Went to Capitol; spent an hour or so in the Senate, but few members present. So warm & uncomfortable.

Went to the House, Heard the roll called so many times that I partly learned it. Took a nap in spite of the confusion. Came back at 5. Tired out. Almost sick.

March 3, 1863 Tuesday

Cloudy. Rain. Snow.

Went to room & worked awhile.

Wrote to Frances & Col. Wells.

And this is the 'sunny South'! The muddy South, rather.

Intend to go to W. tomorrow & see Congress adjourn. Wish Sally Ann was here now.

It is 156 wks. since I have seen my darling Freda. It is so long since I have heard from her.

March 4, 1863 Wednesday

Cold. Windy.

Went to W. on 10 o'clock boat.

Went to Capitol. Heard Bayard, Trumbull, Howard & Doolittle. Senate adjourned. President's Proclamation calling another session was read. Senate convened again. Wright of N.J., Reverdy Johnson Md. E.D. Morgan N.Y. Sumner Mass. Chandler Mich. Bowden Va. Took the oath. Sen. Foote Me. administered it.---A great many people there. I went into Pres. Room. Marble R., Supreme C.R., &c.

Called at Mr. Lake's, returned on 4 P.M. boat. Letters from Mrs. Marshall & Mrs. Earle.

March 5, 1863 Thursday

Bright. Very cold. Been at room most all day & given out considerable. Capt Page of 27th Me. called. He is an abolitionist.

Mr. Burdge has returned & puts on airs. Mr. G goes to Gen Slough & complains of Mr. B. Gen. S. tells him if he sees Mr. B. drunk again he will arrest him, & B. droops his wings.

Dr. Shaw & wife have left the Scott house.

Letters from Anna Barnes & Lydia Strang.

¹⁰⁹ James DeLong, as U.S. consul, was involved with attempt to set up a colony for African Americans in Hayti (Haiti).

March 6, 1863¹¹⁰ Friday

Cloudy, cold.

Wrote to C. Washed my collar. About 1 P.M., Joe came, took dinner & was here about an hour. Has a furlough for 5 days. Going to Avon & to Pine Run. Won't Mary be glad! Will be in Rochester tomorrow night probably. He is very well.

Letter from Frances, sends a very pretty collar. To move this week. Abner's mother is dead & has been to Avon.

Mrs. Jacobs called. We are so indignant that Dr. Bigelow should say that he means to send all the orphans to the Smallpox hospital in Claremont! Oh dear.

March 7, 1863 Saturday

Rainy. So muddy. With Mrs. Jacobs called on Gen. Slough who says Dr. Bigelow has nothing to do with the orphans & Mrs. J & I may carry out our plans. Gave out some goods. Box & bbl. from Rochester. Went to barracks to meet S Society, but it did not come. So rainy. Head aches badly.

Saw ever so many men & women from Dixie under guard going to the Provost Office. These refugees have got starved out probably.

March 8, 1863 Sunday

A.M. rainy. P.M. fine. Rested & wrote a little. Went with 2 Mrs. Worthens to Chapel at Freedman's Home. Dr. Bigelow spoke to the people. Mr. G has kept some of them there nearly all day. Oh, what a man he is. I think he does the people no good.

I saw 30 or 40 men & women from Dixie. Some are prisoners; others claim to be Union refugees. Hard looking set. They came within our lines to avoid starvation probably. Col^d folks going civilly from meeting this P.M. when some white rowdies abused a man shamefully.

March 9, 1863 Monday

Fine. Mud dries fast.

Went to Express Office. Then to room & worked till noon. After Dinner went to Pro. Marshall's with Mrs. J. I think the guard will be removed from front The Freedman's Home. Glad of it. I went to room, then to Home. My ear is pained, my soul is sick with what I hear & see there. Col. Wells there & I had some talk with him.

Refugees from Richmond 30 or 40 leaving the cars. I overtook & talked with 2 women. C^d get nothing to eat there cost so much. Calico \$2.50 a yd. Say they are not Confederates. Men not been in army, pass from British Consul.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ From the Alexandria Gazette, March 6, 1863: "A number of frame tenements have been built by order of U.S. authorities, at the upper end of Prince Street, for use of the "contrabands," whither a considerable number of the them recently scattered in different parts of the town, have migrated."

¹¹¹ In the National Archives, RG 393, Part I, Entry 5451 Papers Relating to Refugees and Prisoners, 1861-65, is a box filled with individual cases of "refugees"—many born in Europe or from the North who were living in the South for business or other reasons. They had to explain how they came to be living in the South and had to give an oath of allegiance to be allowed entry into Union territory.

March 10, 1863¹¹² Tuesday

Rainy. Snowy.

Called at Mrs. Munsell's & Mr. May's & City Hotel. Started to go to Mt. Vernon but cd. not get boat to go with. Worked nearly all day at room. Dispensed of 110 pieces. Sold to the amt. of \$25, an unusually busy day. I have spent 2 hrs. this eve in posting accounts, so the time goes. I am very tired to night, but must write to Mrs. Barnes. Night before last the rebs. came to Fairfax C.H. & took Gen. Stoughton & his guard & carried them off.¹¹³ They may come to Alex. next time. More refugees came in today.

March 11, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Left Alex. At 11A.M. on the Tug Monitor for Mt. Vernon with a party of 12. Landed in a small boat, so nice. House looks old & dingy. Went into E & W Parlor, Dining room & chamber where he¹¹⁴ died. Coat of arms on Chimney back. In D. Room Marble mantel carved in Italy, tables, Harpsichord, chairs, knapsack, &c. We lunched in E. parlor. Nice fire for us. Went into the garden & walked about the grounds to the Springhouse & The Tomb. Got relics &c, Delighted with the visit. Capt. Hurlbert, Miss Tracy & Miss Mackeim live there. The guide is Wm. Ford.—Stopped at Ft. Washington & examined it. Saw drum parade of the 15th Indiana. Got some mementoes. Got back to Alex. at dusk. Well pleased

March 12, 1863 Thursday

Cold. Squally.

Put away my Specimens from Mt. V & Ft. W.—A flower pot & some box, a shingle, a brick from the tomb, piece of knapsack, & floor of piazza & stones & cones, &c.¹¹⁵

Worked at room till noon. Mr. W's wife has arrived from N.Y.—

This A.M. with Mrs. Jacobs went into every room in the 3 houses near the R.R. & wharf, Distressed places, especially an Old Mill & Mr. G keeps saying "they are all pretty comfortable." Find several that sh. go into the new rooms, but I presume Mr. G. will object to it.

March 13, 1863 Friday

Cold. windy. cloudy.

Went to Pitt Street & visited several rooms. Miserable place, dark, damp & filthy rooms. Visited 2 families on Water St. Called at Mr. May's & Mrs. Marshall's, to P.O. 3 times, to Room 3 times, but have given out no goods. Mrs. Jacobs gone to W.—The Rochester Irish woman called

¹¹² Letter from Julia Wilbur to Anna Barnes dated March 10, 1863.

¹¹³ On March 9, 1863, Mosby "slipped through Union lines at the Fairfax Courthouse and captured Gen. Edwin Stoughton and 100 of his men. In June as Confederate troops were reported closing in on Alexandria, [General John] Slough reacted by compiling a list of citizens suspected of aiding the rebels." (Diane Riker, *This Long Agony: A Test of Civilian Loyalties in the Civil War*, *Alexandria Chronicle*, Spring 2011)

¹¹⁴ For an account of Mount Vernon during the Civil War, see <http://www.mountvernon.org/content/protecting-mount-vernon-during-civil-war-0>.

¹¹⁵ "Specimen" or "relic" collecting was done by soldiers and civilians alike; for example, according to Stephen Sylvia and Michael J. O'Donnell in *The Illustrated History of Civil War Relics* (pg. 9), "shortly after the Rebels withdrew to the Rapahannock River in March 1862, Northern civilians flocked to the deserted combat zones. A special Saturday excursion train was implemented for the purpose and Washington's livery stables enjoyed a lively business."

for help.

Wrote to Mrs. Strang & J. A. Palmer. We hear that Stonewall Jackson is within 24 hrs. march of Fairfax. Very well, I am so tired to night I cd. not run fast nor far.

March 14, 1863 Saturday

Very cold.

Nearly all day at room giving out clothes—& got very tired. My stock is much reduced, but a box is on the way from Wheatland.¹¹⁶ The widow's cause!

This evening went to chapel to meet the Ladies of the S. Society, but few there & these did not come till nearly 9 o'clock. Mr. G. is a nuisance & I can make nothing else of him. The school is a farce & the meetings will be if the thing is overdone. Letter from Cousin Kate, Uncle C. has been East, Cousin Sally A. Lape died in January.

March 15, 1863 Sunday

Very cold.

Have not been out. Mrs. J. called. Read a little. Cleaned up, labeled specimens, wrote some. Letter from S.A. Ferris. She is not coming at present, too bad.

This P.M. it has hailed & snowed. There has been thunder & lightning & this evening the thunder roars & the lightning flashes. Unusual for this season.---

My room has not been comfortable today. How many suffering people there must be in such a storm & the poor soldiers too!

March 16, 1863 Monday

Cold, snowy squalls.

Went to room twice & worked a bit. Wrote 2 letters. Called on Mrs. Worthen. Miserable weather. I am dispirited today & a little lonesome. I do not feel like writing. My room is not comfortably warm. The weather must be very cold. I have not seen a Thermometer on this side of the Potomac.

Tomorrow it will be 158 weeks since I have seen darling Freda. More than 3 yrs. Oh! dear. Will it always be so?

March 17, 1863 Tuesday

Cloudy

Box from Wheatland containing old clothing & bedding, gave out 60 pieces. Hard day's work. Last night city was thought to be in danger from Secesh, & had extra guard.---

This evening went to Chapel. Rev. Wm. Evans married 4 couples. They have lived together under the laws wh. Slavery sanctions. But we tell them that Religion, Morality & the laws of the

¹¹⁶ Wheatland, near Rochester, had a Quaker community that supported Wilbur's efforts. For example, in 1862, a petition in support of the effort was circulated and sent—it lists the names and donation amounts of about 50 supporters. (Source: Photo of petition provided by Charles Lenhart, from an exhibit on the Underground Railroad at Castellani Museum, Niagra University). Swarthmore College has Wheatland-related records: <http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/friends/NYYM/wheatpm2.xml>

land must be respected by Free people & they are such now. The floor settled & caused a panic & many of them rushed from the rooms, dashing out windows, &c. Many feared that the secesh or soldiers had attacked them.

March 18, 1863 Wednesday

Raining. Wrote letters & did chores. Tired this morning after the excitement of last evening. I feared nothing but fire. But I do not blame these people for they have every thing to fear from soldiers & secesh. Night before last danger was apprehended here from the Secesh. The rebel raids so near us have made the Secesh bold.

Went 2 P.M. my friend S.A.F. came from Dutchess Co. quite unexpectedly for I had given up looking for her. We have been to room & Kitty Verry's & Grosvenor House & W. St. Hospitals. Took long walk & are both very tired. Visited this evening but our room is uncomfortably cold.

March 19, 1863 Thursday

Very cold. Cloudy.

Fire last night & several cat fights. At 8 A.M. went to cemetery. Then to Slave Pen & Freedman's Home to room awhile. Then to Museum & had an interesting [*Transcriber's Note: sentence ends*]. Mrs. W. came this P.M. called on Mr. May & Wolfe St. Hospital. Accident on Rail road, 4 soldiers killed & several wounded. Went to room to warm & rest. Came home at 4, so tired. Sally Ann intends to leave tomorrow. I am going to W. with her & may stay till Sunday.

March 20, 1863 Friday

Snow & rain. Washington. Left Alex. at 10 with my friend S.A.F. Engaged board at Mr. Lake's. Went to Capitol & grounds & took a leisurely survey. Went into Library for first time, wh. is well worth seeing. Sally Ann enjoys & appreciates it all. Then went to Green House. After dinner called at Dr. Breed's. Saw Abby Hopper Gibbons, then Miss Horel[?] and others.

Evening at Mr. Lake's. Saw relics brought by Mr. Wells from battle fields. He gave S. Ann & myself each a bayonet brought from Antietam & an apricot stone from the tree that was hacked by Washington & which he could not lie about.—

March 21, 1863 Saturday

Snowy & rainy & cold.

At 9 A.M. went to Smithsonian & staid about 2 hours. Went into the library for the time. Very elegant & extensive. Then to Patent Office & saw the curiosities. Saw some prisoners from Richmond. Confined 17 mos. because they were Union men.

Went to the White House, saw little Tom Lincoln, green house &c, got back at 3, wet & muddy & tired, but satisfied that we had accomplished so much.

March 22, 1863 Sunday

Bright. Warm. Washington.

Mrs. Lake, Sally Ann & myself went to U. Church, Cor. 6th & D. St. Heard Mr. Channing from 66th Va.—I have heard him preach better. Very metaphysical, transcendental, not adapted to a common audience.

After dinner, went to Dr. B's & spent 2 hours very pleasantly. Abby Gibbons there & several other interesting people. Tired enough when we got back. Pleasant visit this evening.

March 23, 1863 Monday

Cloudy. Washington

Sally Ann left at 8 A.M. Mrs. L & I went to Depot with her. I have had a very good visit with her, but wish she cd. have staid a few days longer. Came to Alex. on 11A.M. boat. Margaret Burrell, col^d woman with me. _____

Find things at Scott House as usual only Mrs. Martell[?] went off this morning & left her husband.--- Chat with Mrs. Worthens. Went to barracks & slave pen. Then to room & saw Mrs. Jacobs & Mrs. Whipple. Letters from Mrs. Marshall & Mrs. Earle.

March 24, 1863¹¹⁷ Tuesday

Cloudy, rainy evening. Warmer. Have done no work at room to day. Wrote letters, &c. Emma was taken suddenly ill, but is better now, went for doctor---Saw a wild Indian. Miss May called. The Army has left Newport News & is now at Baltimore on its way west to join Rosencrans. I am sorry to have Joe go West. Mr. May went to his Regt. today, to Baltimore. I went to Pro. Marshall's this morning, & saw Capt W. too.

March 25, 1863 Wednesday

Bright. Warm.

Letters from Sis & [*Trans Note; possible erasure*] Mrs. Coleman.

Unpacked goods & gave out some. Cleaned the room some. Mr. G. tries our patience very much. This P.M. went with ladies to Wolfe St. Hos. Then worked at room again. Am very tired tonight.

March 26, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy. This A.M. worked at room. Mr. G has vexed me very much. I have had to beg admittance into the new rooms for some very destitute families! I have been to the Pro. Mar. He asserts "that these people are lazy & that they lie to me," & he thinks Mr. G. knows all about them & will do right. Mrs. J. & I visited the school, & to the Slave Pen & saw a horrid sight. The Shower bath in use. I saw a naked negro come out of it, & was told that women are stripped &

¹¹⁷ Date of letter from JW to Secretary of War Stanton, which launches a flurry of correspondence and investigations that do not satisfy her and her allies. This letter begins with talk about the barracks constructed for the contrabands, noting the number of widows and orphans as a consequence of smallpox and complaining that the current Provost Marshall Wells intends to charge \$1,700 rent "for these rude barracks....There is a want of system and order here that hinders the accomplishment of much good that might be otherwise done, and with all proper defense should say that efficient and capable supertintendent is needed here....Mr. Gladwin who wants to be Superintendent here has been active in various ways..But I am not alone in the opinion that he is altogether unfit of Superintendent of these people..." She then requests (without success), "Although a woman I would like an appointment with a fair salary attached to it, and I would expect to receive a salary. But if there is anything in this wish that would operate against the appointment of a good and efficient superintendent, I would not indulge it for a minute.... (Source: NARA, Letters received by the Secretary of War, Main Series, 1801-1870, M212, November 1862-April 1863 (V-Z), Roll 225, from Julia Wilbur to Sec. E.M. Stanton, March 24, 1863)

showered there!¹¹⁸ I never was more indignant, & gave these noble men who seem to enjoy it a piece of my mind. I may be arrested but I can't help it. May God forgive them.

March 27, 1863 Friday

Very fine. Like Spring.

Went to room awhile & to Slave Pen & to F's home. Wrote some. Letter from Mary. All pretty well. Joe's visit has done her a world of good. He has sold his property in Pine Run. Mary trusts his life will be spared another year & then his three years will be up, & he can buy a farm. Poor girl & I hope it will be so.

Walked away down King St. Called at secesh stores, bought blank book.

Secesh ladies arriving themselves & putting on airs.

March 28, 1863

Rained all day.

Went to Room early. Unpacked box from Rochester containing shawls & calico & shirting. New cases of suffering & destitution. I wish we had many more things for such. Mr. G. is so vexatious, so unfeeling!

Matilda Washington must come from Occoquan. Poor woman!

169 weeks since my little darling was taken from her friends at Grandpa's, from those who loved her so well. It is so long since I have heard from her!

March 29, 1863 Sunday

Bright, cold, windy.

Went to Slave Pen. Saw & talked with a woman who was put naked into that shower bath a wk. ago. "My ear is pained, my soul is sick" with these reports of wrong & outrage against the negro. I shall exert myself to have all women & children removed from the S. Pen & have women imprisoned somewhere else. Went to S. School, & to Mrs. Munsell's. Elisabeth & Sarah came. Letter from Miss Hall, well (Joe's visit did Mary a world of good.) I have just written to her.— Dreamed of Freda last night. The dear one.

March 30, 1863 Monday

Fine.—Alexandria.

Called at Mrs. Munsell's & went with her & her husband & Mrs. Close to Slave Pen. Went into the prison & saw some of the rooms & those where women are imprisoned, but we were not allowed to see the women. Had talk with Lieut. Boneclo, who looked daggers at me & asked my name. Returned to our room & very soon a Sergeant came with a note from the Pro. Mar. requesting me not to interfere with the Lieut. in the discharge of his duties. I have answered this

¹¹⁸ In an April 11, 1863, letter to General Slough from Provost Marshal Wells, Wells reports on his investigation instigated by "a letter dated Rochester March 31st 1863 addressed to the President of United States signed by Anna M.C. Barnes....On or about the 20th day of March 1863, a negro woman Catherine Ford, a drunken disorderly prostitute, one of the worst of her class, was arrested and tried before Capt. Clark, Provost Judge of Alexandria and sent to the Slave Pen and who was, for her insulting and abusive language, ordered to receive a 'shower bath'...." (Source: NARA, RG 393, Pt. 4, E 1526, Lts. Sent 1862-64 (Alex.))

note, & have been to the Home & to the Room & am very tired to night. Bale came from Wheatland.

March 31, 1863 Tuesday

Snow. Rain. Streets flooded.

Been out 3 times & got my feet wet twice. Been to the Home, so much water, cd. not get into some rooms. Mr. G seems determined to drive Mrs. J & I away from them & perhaps he will do so. He is the smallest specimen of a man that I ever dealt with.¹¹⁹

Alex. 4 P.M. very bright. Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. 29 years have we been motherless. My father is old & he will soon pass away, & then---well, I'll not anticipate trouble. 160 wks. since I have seen my little Freda. Oh dear. Letter from Joe at Louisville, KY.

April 1, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Windy. Cool.

Can endure Mr. G's course no longer. Procured Pass & went to W. on [?] A.M. boat. Called at Judiciary Sq. Hos. & saw Mr. Barnes took case from Mass. At Patent Office saw Mr. Van S. went with me to see Assist. Sec. of War. Went to Mr. Van S'. Wrote statement of affairs in Alex. wh. is to be sent to War Dept. to-morrow.¹²⁰

Mrs. Van S. has 4 little children. Seems some like Northern homes. Grand Union Meeting at Cap. last evening. Pres. & Cab. present.

Capt. W. on boat this morning. Oh, dear, I am losing confidence in every body.

April 2, 1863 Thursday

Fine & warm.

Not much sleep last night. Wrote till nearly 11 A.M. At 1 P.M. Mr. Van S. went to War Dept. with me & then to boat. Saw P.H. Watson, Assistant Sec. of War. I wonder what it will amount to?

Returned on 4 P.M. boat. Woman stopped having canteens of whiskey round her waist under her skirt.—Miss Howland & Miss Leaving have been here today, how unfortunate. Went to Room awhile. Called on Mrs. Worthen.

¹¹⁹ On this date, Anna Barnes wrote to President Lincoln "as the Secretary of the Ladies Anti Slavery Society which is sustaining as Agent Miss Julia A. Wilbur at Alexandria to do what may be done to civilize, and educate, the contrabands there." Barnes reports that Wilbur had told of seeing at the Slave Pen "not only colored men, but colored women are stripped and put in the Shower-Bath by our Unions Soliders....One other thing I would say. A Mr. Gladwin who is there and making strong efforts to obtain the position of Superintendent of Contrabands is a brutal man – smoother than butter to superiors, he is harder than iron to the defenseless." (Source: NARA, B-427 1863, Letters Received, R6 107 [L-23], as also noted in Berlin, et al., editors, *Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: Upper South*, Series I, Volume II, Footnote, pg. 286)

¹²⁰ Wilbur dates a letter to Assistant Secretary of War P.H. Watson on April 1. She explains her position in Alexandria, notes "at one time about 1300 [contrabands] received rations, but not nearly so many now." She complains that Provost Marshall Wells is requiring rent on the barracks, that Mr. Gladwin is preventing her and Harriet Jacobs from providing any assistance and requesting "a properly appointed person" serve as Superintendent, rather than Gladwin. An "abstract" written at the top of the letter notes that the letter was "referred to Brigadier General J.P. Slough, Military Governor for Alexandria for report," by order of the Secretary of War, April 9, 1863. Source: NARA, Julia Wilbur to Hon. P.H. Watson, 1 Apr. 1863, W-394 1863, Letters Received, RG 107 [L-23].

Skirmish at Dranesville.

April 3, 1863 Friday

Fine.

Went early to room & staid there most of the day. Mrs. J goes to Washington. Dr. Church called. Miss Wood from Gonaives, Hayti is here for a few days & wants a child to take back with her. We'll try to find an orphan for her. I have been to the Home with her, to the school &c. & Robinson's school too. Ballentine, & John Kerr of Scotland there. Capt. Wyman is ordered to report for duty as ass't to Col. Wells. Now we shall see what we shall see. This somehow gives me no pleasure.

April 4, 1863 Saturday

Cloudy, cold.

This morning Nettie Kimball was thrown from a horse & will probably not recover from the injuries she received. The skull is fractured & she has been unconscious ever since. Left the house about 8 gay & full of life on a circus horse. In one hour she was borne through the streets on a stretcher to her home.

I have been to our Room twice. Mrs. J. has got back. Sergt. Stauman & J.A. Palmer called. Poor fellows! They are at Con. Camp yet.

Snows this evening. Shall watch with Nettie tonight.

April 5, 1863 Sunday

Bright. Snow melting away.

Sat up all last night with Miss May J, Charlie K., & Sergt. Travis. Nettie is still unconscious. Drs. give no opinion. Had talk with Dr. B. & also with Col. DeK. who is going away next week & wishes to be reinstated in my good opinion. I regard his as the wreck of a naturally noble man. I am told his commission has been taken from him.

This A.M. I slept. This P.M. I have been with Nettie most of the time. Her case is doubtful yet. Mean to sit up till 12.

April 6, 1863 Monday

Bright. Cold.

Been to room most of the day.

So many want help of various kinds. They are wronged in every way.---Mr. G. is very hard with them. Mrs. Day & Mrs. Turner here from W.—Letter from Aunt Mary, enclosing a Rhinebeck V.---all well.

Nettie K. about the same, unconscious still.

Am to sit up with Miss Pagett & Miss May & Mr. Hazen & Mr. Travis & Charlie K. &c. &c. Strong reinforcement! Nettie will not die for want care.

April 7, 1863

[Transcriber's note: an issue with her diary pages, as noted. Original printed version went right to May 1. The following notes about the diary are written by JW.]

Rest of April omitted.

Bright. Turn to Memoranda.

Sat up all night. Another patient, Miss Pagett taken suddenly ill. Great excitement. A laughable affair. Secesh young lady [?] young man. Well! Well!

Nettie appears better, has spoken several times during the day.

This A.M. I slept & went to Barracks & to Pitt St. This P.M. slept. Mrs. Jacobs called.

Read Gen Butler's speech in N.Y. Very able & to the purpose. No shrinking, faces the music admirably.

Been making out report for Society.¹²¹ For rest of April, turn to Memoranda.

[Transcriber's Note: Diary changes to Pages that have "Memoranda" printed at the top and were at the end of the book, rather than a dated diary; and JW writes in the date herself, until noted below.]

¹²²The war is not ended, but great progress has been made, it is said. Indeed, great progress has been made in the education of the people. 50,000 Negro Soldiers & more wanted! The Em. Proc. is a fixed fact. No going back now. Bless Abraham Lincoln. What & where shall we be at the close of another year? Well it is that we do not know.

It is 4 years since my darling Freda was taken from me. The last day of 1859 was a terrible day for me. Oh the weary days & mos. that followed! Where & how is my darling tonight?

April 8, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Slept till 8. Called at P.O. & at Mr. May. Worked at room in A.M.—Wrote report for Society. Took until 11 p.m.—

April 9, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Worked at room & wrote to F. Letter from Frances. Nettie K. is improving. Mrs. K. has been in to see her for the 1st time. Mrs. Martell has been here. Visit with Mrs. Worthen.

Friday, 10 [April 10, 1863]

Fine. Worked at room & posted my books.

Sat up nearly all last night & feel miserably today. Nettie is improving. Read "Atlantic" last night.

Saturday, 11 [April 11, 1863]

¹²¹ The Annual Reports of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society are housed at the William Clements Library, University of Michigan. Starting in 1866, the cover refers to the organization as the "Rochester Anti-Slavery Society and Freedmen's Aid Society. In the years 1863 through 1868, JW had lengthy entries in the Annual Reports. In 1863, her report (pp. 7-20) begins "Being employed by this Society in October last to go to Washington and ascertain in what way it might assist the contrabands there, I went accordingly. But I had never dreamed of the want and wretchedness which I saw among those refugees from slavery." The 1863 report then describes housing, schools, illness, etc.

¹²² This was the first of the "memoranda" pages filled in at the back of the diary, and may have been written at the end of 1863. The April entries, dated, follow.

Fine. Warm. Sat up half the night. Slept till 10 A.M. Went to Room twice. Miss May called this A.M. Mrs. Worthen called this eve.¹²³

Sunday, 12 [April 12, 1863]

Fine. Warm. Went to W. Church with the Ms. Worthens. Richmond of Milwaukie preached, very entertaining & appropriate. Went to cemetery. Rainy.¹²⁴

Monday, 13 [April 13, 1863]

Fine. Called at Mrs. May's & Dogan's & Home & Billy's & Pierce's & at room. Army moving to the front. Bad news from Charleston.

Tuesday, 14 [April 14, 1863]

¹²³ Date of a letter to Gen. Slough from Provost Marshall H.H. Wells, following up on the letter that Anna Barnes had sent to President Lincoln about Wilbur's report that an African American woman was forced to undress and take a shower in front of Union soldiers at the Slave Pen (see earlier footnote). Wells reported, "on or about the 29th of March 1863, a negro woman, Catherine Ford, a drunken disorderly prostitute was arrested and tried by Capt. Clark, Provost Judge of Alexandria, and sent to the Slave Pen and who was for her insulting and abusive language ordered to receive a "shower bath"....He told Gen. Slough that he issued an order "that the shower-bath will not be ordered for women."

He praises Gladwin; as for Wilbur, he writes, "Miss Wilbur seems to labor under the belief that the chief object is to make life easy and obtain for them [contrabands] the largest possible grants from Govt. I am compelled to say that while respecting Miss Wilbur's goodness of heart, and brood benevolence, I regard her as an interfering and troublesome woman." (Source: NARA, Lt. Col. H.H. Wells to Brig. Gen'l. John P. Slough, 11 April 1863, filed with B-427 1863, Letters Received R6 107 [L-23]; also filed in NARA, RG 393, Pt. 4, E. 1526 Lts. Sent 1862-64 (Alex.).)

Wells was busy responding to Slough about the women. He also wrote a letter with some of the same language, but this one in response to Wilbur's letter of April 1, 1863, to Assistant Secretary of War Watson. In this letter, he says that Wilbur visited him right after he took office in February 1863: "At that interview, she expressed considerable interest in the subject of the control or influence which she was to have in the management of the colored people....." Subsequently, she followed up about the barracks and her use of two rooms for women and orphans (which he says she has left vacant): "I have from the first been aware that Miss Wilbur was bitterly opposed to Mr. Gladwin but I could find no cause for it except a desire on her part to have the entire control and management of the contrabands." (Source: Lt. Col. H.H. Wells to Brig. Genl. J.P. Slough, filed with W-394, 1863, Letters received, RG 107 [L-23], also reproduced in Ira Berlin, et al. editors, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, Series I, Volume II, Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: Upper South*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 284-286)

Meanwhile, perhaps knowing things were going in his favor, Gladwin wrote a letter to Provost Marshal Wells dated April 11, 1863, requesting his support as Superintendent, as he had been doing the duties since October 12, 1862. "I respectfully request that I be commissioned the same to date from the 12th of October A.D. 1862 and that I be allowed a salary of one hundred dollars per month from the same time....May I respectfully request that you approve these requests and forward them to Bring. Genl. J.P. Slough." Both Wells and Slough subsequently supported Gladwin's appointment. (Source: NARA, RG 393, Pt. 4, E. 1526 Lts. Sent 1862-64 (Alex). Note: These are letters bound in an oversized book, copied for record-keeping).

¹²⁴ Date of letter from Gen. Slough to the Secretary of War, transmitting Wells' report (see previous footnote). He wrote, "The first time my attention was called to the outrage complained was through this complaint....If the ladies referred to would have made known to me their cause of complaint, there would be no necessity on their part of troubling the President or War Department. It too often occurs that these ladies in their mistaken zeal act as if they were usurp the whole power of the Military Governor." Source: NARA, Endorsement from General John P. Slough to Wells' report, filed with W-394, 1863, Letters received, RG 107 [L-23],

Fine. At room & saw Col. Wells at office. He is highly offended with me. Heard Miss Wood lecture at chapel.

April, Wednesday 15 [*April 15, 1863*]

Rainy. Went to Home & Slave pen & talked with several men & women. A. Bell the teacher & Matilda J. Baltimore, &c.

Thursday, 16 [*April 16, 1863*]

Rainy. At room nearly all day. Wrote in evening. No news.

Friday 17 [*April 17, 1863*]

Windy. Went to R. Massey's with Amanda Coats to get her pay. Quite a colloquy with Secesh man & wife. They promised to pay. Mrs. May went with me. Bought Photographs.

Saturday 18 [*April 18, 1863*]

Fine. At room most all day. Letter from Ella. Report that the 142nd & 143rd N.Y. regiments have been sunk with the boat in the River.

Sunday 19 [*April 19, 1863*]

Fine. Warm. Went to our hospital twice. A woman died last night. I think from want of care. Went to Catholic Ch. this P.M. with Mrs. W. & Mrs. B. Letters from Mary & Mrs. W.

Monday 20 [*April 20, 1863*]

Rainy. 26th Mich. left at M. Back at hospital. Bad scenes. Corpse taken away this P.M. Such neglect! Alas, for those with a colored skin!

Tuesday 21 [*April 21, 1863*]

Cold. Cloudy. Room most all day. Went to secesh woman & got money for A.C. Lecture this evening at Wolfe St. Hos. by Chap. Bowman.

Wednesday 22 [*April 22, 1863*]

Very fine. Mrs. May called. Went to Home. Col. McKay & R. Dale Owen here. Went to Museum & Bruins Slave Pen¹²⁵.

April 23 Thursday [*April 23, 1863*]

Pouring rain. Went to W. with Jacobs. At W.s met R.D. Owen & Col. McKaye,¹²⁶ &c. Conferred

¹²⁵ Bruins Slave Pen was at 1707 Duke Street—from 1844 to 1861, it belonged to slave trader Joseph Bruin. Among the people he trafficked were Emily and Mary Edmundson, who had tried to escape on the ship Pearl. Bruin himself was imprisoned in Old Capitol Prison from 1861-1865. (Archaeology of the Bruin Slave Jail, prepared for Columbia Equity Trust by the Lewis Berger Group, Inc.).

¹²⁶ Robert Owen and James McKaye were two of the three members of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. In a report they submitted to Sec. of War Stanton shortly afterwards (June 30, 1863), they wrote, "Sufficient evidence is before the Commission that colored refugees in general place a high value both on education for their children and religious instruction for themselves. In Alexandria and in various other places it came to the

on Contraband affairs. Document from War Dept. with Report of Col. Wells.¹²⁷ Ride with Aristides a Greek.---

Friday 24 [April 24, 1863]

Rain all day. Went to hospital with chicken. Mrs. J. called. Talk with Betsey. Wrote, &c.

Saturday 25 [April 25, 1863]

Fine. Windy. Went out twice to P.O. room &c. Wrote "Betsey." Several calls. Letter from Mary. She is ill.

Sunday 26 [April 26, 1863]

Fine. Cool. Went to chapel. Called on Mrs. Whipple at hospital, &c. Seen various persons, but feel kind of lonesome. Oh, well!

Monday 27 [April 27, 1863]

Very fine. Went with Mrs. Jones to Home & room & hospital & wharf. Then with Mrs. Johnson to House & Slave Pen & 4 Schools & Hospital & Room. So tired. Miss Donelson & Mrs. Leighton also here.

Tuesday 28¹²⁸ [April 28, 1863]

Fine A.M., rain P.M. 40 new Contrabands arrived last night. Some found their kin. Such happy meetings! Put them in Home. Been to Slave Pen & Home twice.—Hooker has moved.

Wednesday 29 [April 29, 1863]

Fine. Warm. Rain in evening. Went to Home 3 times, to Room twice. Took shrubbery from S. House & set it out at Home. More people have come. Mr. G. drove 30 away last night from Home.

Thursday, 30 [April 30, 1863]

Warm, fine & rain in P.M. To Home, Mrs. May's, Emma's & walk to Hunting Creek, &c. &c.

knowledge of the Commission that one of the first acts of the negroes when they found themselves free was to establish schools at their own expense; and in every instance where schools and churches have been provided for them they have shown lively gratitude and the greatest eagerness to avail themselves of such opportunities of improvement." (Preliminary Commission Report, seen at <http://www.civilwarhome.com/prelimcommissionreport.htm>)

¹²⁷ According to a summary of this incident in Berlin et al., pg. 299, the response to Wilbur would have consisted of Wells report, with a note of transmittal.

¹²⁸ A letter from the Assistant Secretary of War (unsigned) to Anna Barnes with this date, mostly to transmit "the enclosed copy of the report of Lieutenant Colonel Wells, Provost Marshal of Alexandria, Virginia, with the accompanying endorsement of Brigadier General Slough, Military Governor of Alexandria, to whom the subject complained of in your letter was referred for official investigation and report." (Source: NARA, filed with B-427 1863 Letters Received, Rg 107 [L-23]—Berlin et al., *Wartime Genesis*, pp. 284-286, in note, says that the file includes "Draft Replies to Barnes and to Wilbur," along with copies of their original correspondence and official responses.)

[Transcriber's note: May 1 and May 2, 1863 share May 2 pre-printed page]

May 1, 1863

Fine warm. Very busy. To Home twice, to Room 2, to Hos. 2, to Mansion House Hos. with Mrs. Jones & Mr. B. To Mrs. Mays. Tired enough.—I hear the tattoo. It is 9 P.M. War news encouraging.

May 2, 1863

Very fine. Went to Home. Visit from John Hodge of Honduras¹²⁹ & Mrs. Henry Anderson of Jamaica, W.I. from London. Sent from C.F. Adams to Seward. Wish to get emigrants to Honduras.—Have been to Mt. Vernon with Mrs. Babbett, Miss May, Capt. Jones & wife in carriage. Very interesting ride & visit. Left Alex. at 3 & got back at 9 P.M. Moonlight. Some exciting incidents, not accidents. Enjoyed it much.

May 3, 1863 Sunday

Very Fine. Warmest day yet. Tired all day. Such a busy & exciting work & going to Mt. Vernon was the last straw on the camel's back. I have cleaned up & tried to rest, too lazy to write or read. This P.M. Mrs. Worthen called. Then Emma & Sarah. Then Miss May, then Becky. Burdge & Pierce have been arrested for selling commissary items. Contrabands have had short rations lately.-- Scott House has been supplied instead. Fighting at Warrenton junction. Maj. Mosby took 200 of our men. We took them back again & some rebels also. Killed 4 & wounded several.

May 4, 1863 Monday

A.M. Rainy. P.M. fine. Warm . Called on Mrs. Worthen & at Mrs. May's & at Room. Set out my Mt. Vernon plants. After dinner went to Home, then to Mrs. M's. She & Josie went with me to Mansion House Hos. & saw the 16 wounded rebs. that were brought in this morning from Warrenton. They took us for Secesh ladies, & we did not undeceive them. We talked with them, & one was so mad he cried. "If the Yankees had let him alone he wd. not have been in the army," has 13 children. Some are very hard looking men. Hooker has obtained a great Victory at Fredericksburg.

May 5, 1863 Tuesday

Foggy morning, bright noon, rainy eve. What a time for the army again. Went out early to make purchases for orphan's room & worked there till noon ___ Oh, so tired! The Mrs. Worthens called & Miss May & Mrs. Jones. ___ I have done nothing this P.M. trying to rest. Two more of the rebs died last night. Mr. May & others have been to see them. The news of last night is not all confirmed, but much has been accomplished no doubt. ___ Becky called, says

¹²⁹ John Hodge was a merchant and landowner with the British Honduras Company, and needed labor. According to Philip Magness and Sebastian Page, *Colonization after Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement* (University of Missouri Press, 2011, pg. 30), "Lincoln authorized Hodge to visit contraband camps Washington and Alexandria, Virginia 'to ascertain if the people were willing to emigrate to Honduras.'"

she is going away. Sarah Turner called & so the time is used up. Vallandingham arrested.¹³⁰
Good he has talked treason long enough.

May 6, 1863 Wednesday

Rainy. Cold.

Worked at Room all A.M. Letter from Sarah Jane & sister E.—They expect me home soon.

Want me to bring contrabands.¹³¹

This P.M. went to home awhile.

Don't feel like writing.

Mr. Graves called to tell some news that could not be kept over night. I thought I cd. not be surprised at anything, but I was when he told me that Mr. Gladwin is appointed

Superintendent!¹³² We shall see now. No further war news only several hundred prisoners have gone on to W. _____

May 7, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy. Cold.

Mrs.[?] Whipple & Mrs. Jacobs called & at Mr. G's request. I went with them to the wharf to find his niece, the wife of Capt. Roe of the Schooner Kate Thomas from New London, but she was out. Then wrote till dinner.

Then I was sent for to see the niece at Mr. Gladwin's room (he is ill). Then I went with Mrs. Roe & Mrs. Jones & Mrs. Henry to the Home.

Have been writing ever since reply to Col. W.'s report.

May 8, 1863 Friday

Cloudy, cold. Fire all day. Have not been out at all. Wrote most of the day, reply to Report!--

¹³⁰ Clement Vallingham, an Ohio Democrat and one of Lincoln's most vocal opponents, was arrested for violating General Order 38, issued by Gen. Burnside, commander of the Department of the Ohio: "The habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed in this department..."

¹³¹ Whether out of the belief that household service in the North would be a positive way to assist the former slaves or as a new source of household labor, there are various mentions in this diary and elsewhere of attempts to place African Americans as servants or other jobs in homes in the North. An article published in *The Spectator*, April 25, 1863 (no byline), "The Case of the Contrabands," quotes from one superintendent of contrabands in a pamphlet entitled "Facts Concerning the Freedmen": "Very few are willing to go North. I have several times tried to find house-servants willing to go, with the prospect of a permanent home and good wages, but always have a difficulty in finding those willing to go." (<http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/25th-april-1863/11/the-case-of-the-contrabands>). The pamphlet referred to, "'Facts Concerning the Freedmen: Their Capacity and Their Destiny'" can be viewed at <http://ia600400.us.archive.org/31/items/factsconcerningreef00eman/factsconcerningreef00eman.pdf>. It is a series of responses from superintendents of contrabands across the country to six questions posed by the Emancipation League about such topics as desire to go North, "capacity and desire to learn," and "any disposition towards revenge upon their masters." Washington is included but not Alexandria.

¹³² Gladwin was presumably finally satisfied from his letter to Provost Marshal Wells, in which he wrote, "I have as you are aware been employed as Superintendent of Contrabands in Alexandria since the 12th day of October 1862 by the permission and desire of Capt. John G. Wyman with the expectation that a more formal appointment would be given me...I have labored diligently with my hands and have also taught and preached to these poor people to the utmost of my ability, and have not received anything for my services. I respectfully request that I may now be commissioned the same to date from the 12th of October A.D. 1862 and that I be allowed a salary of one hundred dollars permonth from the same time..." (Source: NARA, RG 393, Pt. 4, E. 1526, Lts. Sent 1862-64 (Alex)).

Mrs. Jones has left to go to camp. I shall miss her.

Mrs. Jacobs called. She is nearly sick.—Ella May called with my bead collar. It is very pretty. Report that Hooker has retreated to this side of the Rappahannock & that our loss in the battle of Chancellorsville is 9000 killed & wounded & missing. President & Gen. Halleck have been to the 'front' to learn the state of things.

May 9, 1863 Saturday

Fine.

I went to the Room awhile & such a crowd there!

Went to the Hospital. Dr. B. was there. Oh! such a loathsome place. Those poor women are dying from neglect. I can hardly be civil to Dr. B for I think he is responsible for this state of things.¹³³ Mrs. May called with news from the rebels at Hos.—

Fixed my bonnet, &c. &c.

No particular war news.

175 weeks since my little darling was taken from me, 5 mo. since I have heard from her.

May 10, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Warm.

Went to hos.—called on Mrs. Whipple. Went with Mrs. May to Northern Methodist Church. Dry Sermon! Found myself nodding.

Wrote to Joe. Have not heard from him in 3 wks.

Visited with Miss Hazen.

Papers say Hooker has crossed the Rappahannock again. I think he knows what he is about & will do what he intends to do.

May 11, 1863 Monday

Warm. Went to P.O. & to new Hos. What a neglected place. Went to Home. So hot there. Met 2 col^d gentlemen from W.—Also Mr. Cook from W.

After dinner went to Fort Worth¹³⁴ with Mr. B. & Miss May & Ella M. to see Capt. Jones & wife.

Such a nice time & such a nice ride! The Fort is worth seeing with 25 guns, has 2 Whitworth guns from Eng.—Country pleasant, trees in blossom, many flowers. Such fine views from those hills to the River & Forts & camps, &c. Got back and fixed my black bonnet. Mrs. J. called. Riding party from W. here.

May 12, 1863 Tuesday

¹³³ In her letter to Asst. Sec. Watson (see footnote above), JW wrote "In Alexandria, there are two physicians appointed by the Government with a salary of 1200 each and quite lately a hospital has been established. Dr. Bigelow informs me that his contract does not oblige him to visit but once those contrabands who are outside the hospital and what further he does is for humanity's sake...."

¹³⁴ Fort Worth was about two miles west of the city of Alexandria, near Fairfax Seminary.

Fine. Very hot.—

Went early to room & staid awhile. Letter from Mrs. B. Box coming from R. Wrote to Mrs. B, went to P.O. & to Provost's Office & got pass for W. Mean to go there tomorrow.

This P.M. copied reply to report. After tea went to Barracks with Mr. B. So many people here, all outside enjoying the cool evening. All quiet & civil. No swearing, no quarrelling. They seemed happy & it was a sight worth going to see.

May 13, 1863 Wednesday

Hot A.M. Rain P.M.

8 o'clock went to Washington. Saw Mr. Van Santvoord. Called on Mrs. Slack[?]. Went to home for Contrabands. Looking into all, about 50 rooms. Some sick in nearly every room, in a filthy condition. Went into School & saw Mr. Shearer, &c. Dined with Mrs. Webster, Misses Howland & Scaring & Dr. W Pettybon & Capt. Ferree. Long & fast walk to Mr. Lake's after shower to boat at 6.—War Meeting in evening at B. Church. Col. Bingham & Thomas & Shelton & Hinton &c. present & addressed meeting. 104 men have enlisted.—Glorious & wonderful meeting in this rebellious city.—

May 14, 1863 Thursday

Cooler, cloudy.

Went to room. Mr. Graves wife & child came yesterday, also Dr. Shaw. Another woman in Hos. died last night. Such a place as it was there this morning. Been to Barracks to take a Boy there. Went to School & to Slave Pen with Dr. Shaw. Such a distress. C^d woman. Oh dear! Such neglect. Saw the gentleman that spoke last evening in Mr. G.'s room. 104 have enlisted. They wish to raise a colored regiment in Alex. Went to Commissary's & to the Hos. with Mrs. J. & Mrs. Henry. Lydia looks so peaceful & good, & the room is cleaned.

May 15, 1863

Fine. Cool.

I went to our hos. Lydia is not buried yet. One sick man there is much neglected.

Called on Mr. Robinson & at Mrs. May's.—Mrs. J. called.

Wrote till 3 P.M.

Went to Home to meet ladies of the S. Society but no one came. Went to cemetery¹³⁵ with Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. B & Mr. Jones & Mrs. Henry. All green & nice, but the potters field. Contrabands are packed away, oh, such a place! but they are nothing but niggers.

May 16, 1863

Fine. Cool. Windy. Went to Room 3 times, to Mansion House twice to see Dr. Page.¹³⁶ He does not intend to have anyone but his own family in Scott House. Called at Mrs. May's. Wrote awhile. Went to War Meeting at 'Home.'

¹³⁵ This would be Penny Hill used before the establishment of Freedmen's Cemetery in 1864.

¹³⁶ Mary Phinney von Olhhausen, who was a nurse at Mansion House, wrote in *Adventures of an Army Nurse in Two Wars* (pg. 68), "March 1863...Our new doctor in charge is Dr. Page. I don't know where he comes from. I saw him this morning for the first time; he is nice looking and gentlemanly...."

My Flag¹³⁷ was raised on a rustic pole & loudly cheered.

Very enthusiastic meeting.

Speakers Col. Bingham, Mr. Hinton, Shelton, & Thomas. Quite a crowd of men, women & children. Glorious sight for Va.

In evening went to wedding of Geo. Washington & Mary Tibbs, at Home. They were quite as awkward as Mr. G. who performed the ceremony.

May 17, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Like a June day at home.—Called to tell Mrs. M. that I could not go to Secesh meeting.

Wrote account of our War Meeting for Democrat.

Wrote to Frances.

Mr. K. says I need not leave here till Thursday. Tomorrow must hunt a boarding place. Came nearer being lonely this P.M. than I have done before since I left home.

186 weeks yesterday since my little darling was taken from my arms & from those that loved her so well. Oh dear.

May 18, 1863 Monday

Fine. Windy. Been to room 7 or 8 times. To Mrs. May's & to Mr. Ware's to find board. But the mayor "has got short of boarders." Unpacked Rochester box. Mr. & Mrs. Needham came from W. Mrs. N. dined with me. Went to Slave Pen & to jail & school & rooms. Dr. Hurd & Dora came. Very glad to see them. Went with them to Slave pen & school & Scott House & Wolfe St. Hos. & room & old S. House. They left at 5 P.M.—

Then I set out the plants that I got at Scott House this A.M. & am so tired that I know not what to do.—Mr. N. is engaged in raising a Negro Cav. Regt. Mr. W. is offered a command.

May 19, 1863 Tuesday

Very fine.

Spent most of day at room.

Sold nearly all of the contents of Rochester box.

Went to Mrs. May's and got passes for Fairfax Station & expect to go to Manassas tomorrow.

Take rations for 2 days, blankets, &c.—Mrs. Jacobs & Mr. G gone to W.—15 new people came in to day at noon in Home.—am very tired. After tea, went to Home. Must try to get rested for tomorrow's jaunt.

May 20, 1863 Wednesday

Fine, warm. Letter from Sis. C. thinks of going to Aquia Creek¹³⁸ to see Mr. Griffin, who is ill in

¹³⁷ At various times, Wilbur writes about sewing flags that she gives as gifts, or, as seen here, are used for rally purposes. Another example is in 1865, when a flag she made is hoisted when Reverend Gladwin is removed from his position as superintendent of contrabands.

¹³⁸ Aquia Creek flows into the Potomac, and, pre-war, served as the rail-to-steamboat connection between Richmond and Washington. The South occupied Aquia Landing in 1861 and 1862; the Union was there several times, including November 1862 to June 1863, before Gettysburg. Both sides would destroy the wharves and other facilities they built when they left; the other side would then rebuild and destroy, etc. (http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WM6WAG_Aquia_Landing)

Hos. At 11 A.M. left on cars with Mrs. May, Joze & Ella, Miss Wheelock, & Mr. Babbitt & Mr. Smith for Bull Run Battle Ground, if cd. get there. At Fairfax Station ambulance sent by Col. Tower of 1st Mich. Cav. Took us a mi. beyond Fairfax C.H.¹³⁹ where it is encamped. Fine place. Dinner. Then saw a drill & cav. charge. Very interesting. Went to camp of 6th Mich. Cav. Ladies called on us. We occupy Col. Tower's tent. He is very obliging. Miss W. & I are to sleep in Col. Stagg's tent. He is absent.

May 21, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Very hot.

Memorable day for me. Left camp at 8 A.M. in Ambulance with an escort of Cav. 30 mounted men, for a visit to Bull R. Had pass from Gen. Stakel to Centerville. Went first to battlefield of Chantilly, a place of deep interest. Then to Centerville. Tremendous earth works here, miles of them. Gen. Abercrombie cd. not give us pass to B.R. battlefield. Gen. Hays wd. have done it if he cd. Went to Blackburn's Ford, limits of our pickets where the 1st battle began & 2nd Mich. was engaged. Raised our flag on the broken bridge. Got relics. Stopped 2 or 3 times on way back. Very pleasant ride. All are delighted tired enough to go to rest.

May 22, 1863 Friday

Very hot.

Rested, then went to see the Regt. drill. Miss W. & Mr. B sent F.C.H. After dinner the rest of us left for F. Station, 6 mi. [?] escort of Cav. attending Gov. Blair into camp. Started without Mr. B. who overtook us at last & we reached Station in time to see train move off. Took walk. Called at a farm house, drink of buttermilk, &c. Got shell & bayonets. Met Lieut. Hall, com. of 27th Ma., took tea with him in his tent. Left F.S. at 6 P.M., 14 mi.—Got to Alex. about dusk. People thought we had been taken by rebels & really seemed glad & surprised that we had got back. Have taken a bath & feel rested. 2 telegrams from C.

May 23, 1863 Saturday

Very hot. Feel rather tired yet. Went to Home. Sent Jim & Tom Martin to N. London, Ct. 2 boys left. Went to room awhile. After dinner went to see Emma. Then for rations & to Mrs. May's. & to room, &c. Intend to stay here till Monday. No boarding place yet.

Suppose I must go to brick house.¹⁴⁰ Letters from Cousin Kate & from Frances. Mary & children are with F. M. has ague.—Cd. not meet C. in W. Supposed she has gone to Aquia Creek today.—

Vicksburg is evacuated by rebs. Gen. Grant is doing finely.

May 24, 1863 Sunday

Very hot. Went to room. Mrs. Jacobs there dressing her girls. She is leave here this P.M. at 3 for W. & tomorrow for N.Y.

Takes 8 from here & 6 more from W.—is to be gone 2 or 3 wks.

¹³⁹ Possibly, Fairfax Court House, which the Union occupied as a headquarters and lookout station beginning in spring 1862 (<http://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/library/branches/vr/courthouse/>)

¹⁴⁰ This is the house at 321-323 South Washington where JW had set up a clothing room in February 1863. As noted on May 17, she had to leave the Scott House, run by the Kimball family.

I have written most of the day, description of my jaunt.

Expect to move from this place tomorrow to brick house. 5 P.M. report that 10,000 reb. cav. were within our lines & near Alex.

7 P.M. report that 40,000 rebs are near us to attack the city tonight. Negroes & others are throwing up earth works west of the city.

May 25, 1863 Monday

Cool, cloudy. Slept as well aught I know as if there had been no rebels in the land.

Move things to Cor. Washington & Wolfe St. & left Scott House this P.M.—

Things so strange here, how can I stay! I am so tired & dispirited tonight.

Been to home.

Hear nothing more of the rebs.

May 26, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Slept very well last night considering the strange circumstances about me. Went to Emma's. Called on Mrs. May, also on Mrs. Worthen at Leslie House. Am to take my dinners at the L.H.

Charlotte & Mrs. Griffin & child came. Cd. not find me & went back to W. at 2.—Got pass & I went 4 P.M. & found her at Markham's in W. She has been to Aquia Creek to see Mr. Griffin. C. left for home at 6. I went to cars with her.—

I called at Mr. Lake's, then to Markhams to spend the night. Tired enough.

May 27, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Warmer.

Took breakfast. Called to Dr. B's, then to Contraband Camp & school &c. Back to Dr. B's to dinner. Then to 3 P.M. boat. So dusty in W. Met boat load of Contrabands. Called on Mrs. May. Rested awhile, & went to Mr. K's auction at Scott House.¹⁴¹ Mr. B. ill. Col. ill also.

Charly & Emma & Sarah home.--

May 28, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Have not been out much. Called at Mrs. K's. They are packing to leave. Mrs. K. gave me several books.

Called to see Mr. B who is quite ill with fever.

Went to Leslie House to dinner. Since then been writing account of excursion to Centerville.

Cars come in full of contrabands this evening. What will they do? Glad they come though. No particular war news. This is Election day¹⁴² & rebel raids have been apprehended. But no disturbances so far.

May 29, 1893 Friday

¹⁴¹ From reading this diary, it seems with Dr. Page and family taking over Scott House, the Kimballs, who ran a boarding house while Mr. Kimball worked for the Orange & Alexandria railroad, left, so perhaps they sold the goods they had acquired.

¹⁴² Election day for the Confederate House of Representatives.

Fine.

Wrote this A.M. Called at Mrs. May's. Miss W. just returned from Fairfax C.H. Heard there that Alex. was being evacuated by the Union people. Fears are still entertained of a rebel raid on this city & great precautions are used. Dangerfield's house has been searched today.—I have called at Mrs. K.'s -- & also to see Mr. B. who is quite ill yet. No letters from Joe yet. What does it mean?

May 30, 1863 Saturday

Hot, windy, dusty.

Went to "News Office" & worked in the Clothing Room. To Leslie House to dinner. Drew rations. Called at Scott H. to see Mr. B. He is better. Went to Slave Pen & Freedmen's Home.¹⁴³ See so much that is wrong that I cannot remedy that it makes me heart sick. I am so, so tired! Report that rebels have taken two trains of cars this P.M. 30 mi. west of Alex.! Well, well! Spent evening at Scott House, party of 25 or 30 there. I came away at 10. If out later there is danger of being arrested. High wind. No rain yet.

May 31, 1863 Sunday

Hot, dusty, high wind.

Looked over things in general & set things to rights. I fear that I have more arms, ammunition, books & relics than I can take home. I wish my most valuable things were in Washington. Making entrenchments in the city today to protect Commissary stores. Obligated the colored men to work. If the folks at home knew how it is here how uneasy they wd. be. I am alone in the house now & have been most of the day.

Yesterday it was 178 weeks since my little darling was taken from me. Oh, that I could know that she is, will be happy.

June 1, 1863 Monday

No rain yet. Hot. High wind.

Called at Scott House. Kimballs gone. Called at Mrs. May's. She is packing up her things to send them off. Report that rebels are fighting a few miles from here. All the alleys down in the city are being stockaded to protect stores. Been to home & around to see how city looks.

War meeting this eve at Col. B. Ch. Wd. like to go but can't go alone—"Twas Mosby's that fired into the train & burnt 10 cars last Saturday, 3 mi. from Warrenton. Gen. Stakel took his two guns & several prisoners. What artillery within our lines!

June 2, 1863

Fine. Cleaned my room & put things to rights generally.

Went to Freedman's Home. Such complaints of Mr. G. He is so hard!

¹⁴³ "The First Free Colored Mission Day School at the Freedmen's Home, corner of Prince and Royal Streets, was, according to one source, "the *first free contraband school* organized in Alexandria by whites and conducted by white teachers [italics in original]....[I]t was composed in part of the one organized in the autumn of 1862 by Leland Warring in the Lancaster school-house....The school was opened February 28, 1863, and the teachers were at first Miss M.C. Owen, Miss Mary A. Collier, Miss Elmira Keltie, and Rev. Mr. Owen, all white...." (Source: Special Report of the Commissioner of Education in the District of Columbia, 1871)

Went with Betty Thompson for rations. Went to Slave Pen. Sick in every room, so filthy. Went to dinner & to Mrs. May's. Letter from Joe and Ella. Well. Joe at Columbia Ky, at front, expecting Morgan's rebels. Wrote to Joe, attended to the people. Talked with Mr. Gladwin. What a small person! He cannot appreciate anything high or noble or just. He came pretty near being arrested today for taking away the commissary's men. He sometimes "runs for he is sent."

June 3, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Rained a little last night. Went to Home. Md. slavehunter there yesterday but did not get the man he was after. He refused to go. I hear some disgraceful things of the soldiers at the 'Home.'

Went to Slave Pen, &c.

Letters from Mary & Ruth Ann. M. anxious for me to come home. She is in S.

No particular war news. Rebs expected here every night, but they don't seem to come yet. Every precaution is taken to keep them away. I suppose the secesh here are ready to meet them & help them.

June 4, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Cool.

Served awhile. Went down King to Duke & Water Sts. to see the stockades. I think this is a queer sort of defense. Fine last night.

Served this P.M. Mrs. C. called.

Went to Home, so much to see to---Went with girl to Dr. Bigelow's & to Col. Sickel's. Long walk & I am so tired. But few of these people can be induced to go North.

If I had a home of my own I would like to take home with me some women & children & keep till I could get good places for them.

June 5, 1863 Friday

Cloudy. This morning went to houses on Water St. & 2 on Wharf, or rather places where families live. That part of the city is so filthy that I was glad to get away from it, it made me sick. I must go out again tomorrow. Found cellar full of water. I took long walk to see an officer about it. So tired, & have head ache too.

This evening, Mr. B. called. Last night some streets were barricaded by wagons chained together. There seems to be apprehensions of danger.

June 6, 1863 Saturday

Fine. Hot. At evening, fine shower.

It is 189 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from "Aunty" who loved her so well, & from her happy home at Grandpa's. Oh, dear!

Went to 2 Slave pens & the Home & did some work there. To dinner & called on Mrs. Henry.

At 4 P.M. went to funeral of Miss K. Jamison, Citizen[?] 2 brothers in reb. army.—

No particular war news. Gen. Slough's servant came to me for some clothes! Worked for Gen. S. more than a mo. & comes here to beg clothes!

Wish I cd. hear from home tonight & from my little darling, too.

June 7, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Cool.

Rested some & written some.

Three contrabands dead today & woman taken from Mrs. J.'s room with smallpox. I was in the room yesterday and saw her. Mr. G. does not know much about things.—

I do not know what he does now that he is Superin^{nt}.

Went to Home & staid awhile.

Abandoned rebel lands are to be taken & worked by Contrabands for the benefit of Government, not for the benefit of the negroes!

June 8, 1863 Monday

Fine. Very cool.

Went to the large building on the wharf & visited all the families. Some of them live in the smoke & dark. Some live quite comfortably now. Have sewed this P.M. & not been out. I have been rather lonesome today. Do not feel like reading or writing.

A rebel man in woman's clothes has been taken with a great number of letters on his person.—

No particular war news.

June 9, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Went to Home & Slave Pen & spent nearly all the A.M. visiting families.—

Young girls in Slave pen prison, a sad sight! I wish the authorities knew what is done there.

This P.M. an explosion of a magazine at Fort Lyon. 20 men killed & many wounded, dreadful affair. Secesh woman thinks "God is helping their side."

Becky here this evening, going to live in Washington. Charley & Emma here.

June 10, 1863 Wednesday

Very fine. Cleaned my rooms, wrote some & rested.

My ear is pained, my soul is sick with what I see & hear this day. Oh, dear! How long must the white man continue to oppress these people. Spent P.M. at Home, helping women with their sewing, &c. Two deaths there today.

Fresh indignation against Mr. G. He has turned off the water from the hydrant so that they can't get it. I know he begrudges them the air they breathe. 21 bodies from Ft. Lyon were buried this P.M. in the Soldier's burying ground.

June 11, 1863 Thursday

Fine.—Last night great commotion in this street. Wounded men brought from Beverly Ford in cars wh. stopped at this st. when they were put into ambulances & taken to the hospital. There were also 200 reb. prisoners marked post here. Such a noise & did not know till this morning what it meant.—Been to 2 or 3 hos. today. Find some of 8th N.Y. Cav. It was a bloody Cav. battle on Tuesday. Stuart was driven back & will not probably come into Alex. just yet.

Went to Home & did some wk. there. 29 persons in Qr.M's department refuse to take oath of allegiance & have been sent to the Capitol.

June 12, 1863 Friday

Very hot. Shower.—

Went to Home & took Jim to Robert Brockett's, 80 Washington St. Then to Mrs. May's to see Alice a slave girl who refuses to leave Mrs. Barnes. Oh! dear. Then to Mrs. Munsell's & had pleasant call. Then to dinner & called on Mrs. H. Katy called. Mr. B. also, who is about to leave Alex. & go into Express business in W.---30 persons in Commissary Dept. refused to take oath of All. & have been sent to Old Cap. President don't think much of the stockades! Mr. Graves called.

Tired tonight & a little lonesome. Have written to Wm. Penn.

June 13, 1863 Saturday

Fine A.M. Shower in P.M.

Went to Home at 9 & staid till 12. Helping women sew, &c. After I came from dinner, I rested awhile. Called on Mrs. Graves.

Hooker's army has moved towards Warrenton. Civilians & stores have been sent away from Aquia Ck.—

Secesh here are being required to take the oath.

It is possible that our army is about to fall back to Alex?

180 weeks since my little darling was taken from home & from 'Aunty.'

June 14, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Cooler.

Wrote most of the day. Went to dinner & about 5 P.M., went to Home. People are so indignant. Mr. G. has told them that all who do not pay rent tomorrow will be turned out of town or sent to Richmond or to Arlington Cornfields.

It is outrageous the way these folks are abused. Mrs. May called. 2nd Mich. was at Cairo on the 8th enroute to Vicksburg. A great many ambulances full of soldiers have gone out of town. Many empty ones seem going for sick or wounded. There is to be great more here soon to all appearances.

June 15, 1863 Monday

Very hot. Called on Mrs. Henry. Got pass at 9 & went to W. on 10 A.M. boat. 280 contrabands on same boat from Aquia. Hooker army is falling back to Alex. Lee has been reinforced & threatens Alex. Making raids into Md. & Pa. President's Proc. for 100000 militia.

Saw Judge Day & Judge Underwood. They tell me fighting was expected this wk. & the attention of the Gov. is directed entirely to the army.—Colored soldiers under Col. Birney from W. here & make great sensation in the streets. Secesh mad.

Sorry I did not see them. 50 here at War meeting this eve.—to go with recruits to Mason's Isl. in morning. Col. guards at meeting. Good speaking!

So tired tonight.

June 16, 1863 Tuesday

Hot. Went to Home. From there to Mr. Brockett's to see a woman who came & took one of my

bags yesterday. Concluded S let her. Mrs. E.J. Moulder took Henry to W.—Large bodies of Col. infantry came in today. Such a commotion. Cars pass every 5 mins. Soldiers & contrabands have come in a.m. Some just from the rebs. Reb. garrisons too So much excitement I can't work, so much noise too.—Mrs. Henry called. Took walk. Stragglers from Hookers Army on way to Con. Camp. Talked with them. Rebs in Md. But is thought Hooker knows what he is about. Still the folks at home don't know this.

June 17, 1863 Wednesday

Very hot. Went to Home.

Cars full of soldiers going to Pa. Talked with them.

Soldiers from Alex. hospitals & Fairfax Sem. here to take cars for Phila. & home. The Chancellorsville wounded, &c. Tell me interesting incidents of battle.

Went to dinner & saw Mrs. H. Letters from Mrs. Thayer & Frances, all well at home. Want me to come. Rebs 18 mi. from Harrisburg. Great excitement, calls for troops. Hooker's headqrs. at Fairfax C.H.

Have seen ever so many secesh prisoners in Union clothes. Sorry, hangdog look they all have.

June 18, 1863 Thursday

Hottest day yet. Shower in P.M.

Went Emma for rations.

Went to Slave Pen & with Amanda to visit Mrs. Crouch's school. At 17 [*Transcriber's Note: Blank space in original*] St.—About 30 scholars, nearly all freeborn, really a nice school. I think she is a Catholic.

Went to Home. So hot I cd. not stay there. Children dying rapidly. Too much crowded.

Hot walk to dinner.

Letters from Sister E. & G. Van B. & Mrs. Breed. Joe writes from Memphis on his way to Vicksburg.

Work in S.

Report that Richmond is taken by Gen. Dix.

June 19, 1863 Friday

Cooler. Cloudy.

Visited houses on wharf.

Letter from Sis.

Cleaned my room, sewed.

Walk with Mrs. Henry to see the new works at Hunting Ck. Bridge.

Report of fighting at Manassas Gap between Hooker and Lee.

I intend to go to W. tomorrow.

Mrs. Jacobs does not come yet.—

June 20, 1863 Saturday

Cloudy, cool.

Went to W. on 8 A.M. boat.

Called on Judge Day.

Then on Wm. Markham.

C & Mr. Griffin left Washington last evening. C. had been here a week & I had not known it.

Mr. G. has furlough for 60 days.

Went to see Mrs. Breed. In P.M. Dr. B. went with me to Georgetown to “Colored Home.” Fine house & 100 acres of land has been given by Government for an asylum for aged & orphans¹⁴⁴.

Owner in rebel army. Nemesis is around yet. Stanton deserves much credit. He has befriended these people.

June 21, 1863 Sunday

Cloudy.—Have had pleasant visit with Mrs. B.—

Left W. at 10 A.M.

The hills on the Va. Side of River is whitened with tents.

No particular news.

Mrs. Jacobs came back yesterday

Do not feel like writing or reading nor going out.

Rumors of fighting at Bull Run.

It is thought rebels are trying to get to Washington by the Md. side.

June 22, 1863 Monday

Fine.—Letters from Cousin Kate & Anna Barnes. Mrs. B. says ‘They will wish me to return & fight it out. Well, I mean to do so. Went to Home & saw various things. To dinner & to Water St. & to new Provost Marshal to get a boy away from woman. Did not succeed. He decided that a stranger had as much right to the boy as the Aunt that had always cared for and been a mother to him. The old story; the rights that white men are bound to respect! Went to Home again & had sewing school for little girls.—

So tired, so tired. Nobody to redress the wrongs of these people.

150 secesh prisoners came in on cars. They were gray backs.¹⁴⁵

June 23, 1863 Tuesday

Fine.

Went to Home & Slave Pen. Then to dinner. Saw Mrs. Jones—Have been so tired all day.

Ammunition & rocks to send home by express.

Packed trunks, too.

Wrote 3 letters.—

No war news.

¹⁴⁴ In addition to this home for orphans—where Wilbur and Jacobs would accompany children from Alexandria—they attempted to “obtain homes” for them in the North. See Quotes from —The Harriet Jacobs Family Papers, Jean Fagin Yellin, Editor The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2008 Volume Two Part Seven – August 1862-October 1863, Alexandria: The Heart of the Struggle Part Eight – October 1863-April 1865, Alexandria: Building Freedom, pg. 2.

¹⁴⁵ In addition to referring to Confederate soldiers, this was also Union slang for lice, which was a continual scourge on both sides. (Gary Miller, *Insects in the Civil War*, <http://entomology.montana.edu/historybug/civilwar2/lousy.htm>)

June 24, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Went for Ambulance to Qmaster's. Then to Provost's office for pass to Georgetown for myself & 5 children. Then to see Mrs. H & to Water St., &c.

In P.M. went to Home to girls sewing school, &c.

Obtained from Randall Ward a piece of shell wh. exploded at Ft. Lyons & it struck him in burying ground.

In evening to Meeting (War) at Ch., 10 recruits. Not much speaking.

June 25, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy. Went in A.M. with Mrs. Henry & Mrs. Jacobs to take 4 boys to Colored Home in Georgetown & had dinner there.

Went to Masons Island where Colored Regt. is quartered, to festival, &c.

Summer residence of Sen. Mason's brother.

Then to Arlington House, garden, graves of Custis & wife.

Talked with Lee's former Slaves, gathered flowers, &c.

Then to Contraband Camp on flats & had interesting visit.

Back to Alex. about 6. Maj. Silvay rode back with us & called. Thinks he can furnish us with fixings for our rooms.

City very quiet. Rebs in Pa., &c.—Prisoners came today.

June 26, 1863 Friday

Rainy. Went to House & to Slave Pen. To news office & Leslie House, &c. To Home & Slave Pen again. Yesterday P.M. Col. workers came in large numbers, & stores also. Union Mills & Fairfax Station are to be burnt.

Report that Lee's army is in Pa. & that the rebs are advancing upon Washington!

Secesh prisoners brought in today.

Mr. G. says most of the women & children here are to go to Arlington now. Oh! What a panic it will make.

June 27, 1863 Saturday

Cloudy. 182 wks. since Freda left me.

Went to Home. Found several persons there who came from Fairfax C.H. yesterday. All the troops left there. Made other calls & worked some. Mr. B. called.---Went to Home again. Never saw Duke St. so lively. Hundreds of men at work on stockades.

Rebs said to be 7 mi. from here. Can't hear any reliable news, only a raid is expected every night. Gen. Lee is said to be near Harrisburg.

I wish my trunk was away from here.—

Letter from Cousin Eliza Stall.

June 28, 1863 Sunday

Fine, cool. Went for Pass to W. Letter from Sis.

Packed trunks & worked all day. So tired. Wrote letters. Towards eve, Mrs. J. & Mrs. Graves & I went to Home & Slave Pen. Two boys just made escape from Accountink, from rebs. Put them in

my room.

Making defensive work near Slave Pen. Guards say the rebs are very near & are expected in tonight. Their regiment is packed in a rifle [?] now. This sounds like it. Firing of rebs has been heard this P.M. We shall see!

June 29, 1863 Monday

How. Shower. Went to Ex. Off. with box for Avon & Trunk for W. Wt. 80 obs., 2, 50 & T. 100 lbs., 75. We fear that we can't get away either by rail or by boat. Packing up & getting ready to go. Rebs. are very near here & within a few mi. of W. too.

1st R.I. Cav. left here this P.M. Col^d. Co. doing duty here.

Gen. Slough says rebels can't come into this city. "Why, don't you see any stockades?" & the "we are in is as safe as any."

Lee is shelling Harrisburg. Secesh to take oath or leave by next Tuesday for D[?]

June 30, 1863 Tuesday

Hot. Cloudy. Didn't go to W., finished packing truck. Can't get passage on boat tomorrow from Geo^{tn}. Mrs. H & I am quite disappointed. Must until Saturday or go by rail. Went to Christ Church & got ivy. Been to families on Pitt St.—Then to see Miss Wheelock who left F. C.H. on Thursday last a [?]/*Transcriber's Note: Ink blot over word* before the rebs. came there. 300 negroes taken by reb. cav. last night 3 mi. fro here, too bad. Hooker is superceded by Gen. Meade.

Mrs. Munsell & Mrs. Bingham called & spent an hour or so. I took walk with Mrs. Graves.

July 1, 1863 Wednesday

Sultry, cloudy, sunny-

Went to W. on 9 A.M. boat, but few persons on it—but few on boat that came in.

Went to Capitol, Dome not finished yet. Then to see Mr. B. at room of Arctic Ex. Co. Then to Mr. Lake's & saw John's new wife & lunched on wedding cake.

Then to Dr. Breed's & took dinner.

Met Mr. Mason of Accotink, &c.

Returned with Mrs. Jacobs at 4 P.M. Driven from a car & tried another & succeeded in riding to Landing. Pleasant trip. 2000 secesh are to leave on Monday. I intend to leave on Saturday.--- 1000 white & col. men sent from Alex. to Baltimore to work. Fighting expected now.

July 2, 1863 Thursday

Hot. Went to Slave Pen & House & said good bye to many of them. Sorry to leave them, but how much better off they are than they were last fall. Not many sick at present. Fort near Slave Pen most done.

This P.M. so tired was obliged to give up & rest. Short walk this eve with Mrs. J. This A.M., saw col^d soldier struck by white one.

Gen. Meade has beaten the rebs at Gettysburg. Things look encouraging.

Effort being made to revoke order for sending secesh off.¹⁴⁶

July 3, 1863 Friday

Very hot. This A.M. with Mrs. J. visited nearly all the families in Fishtown. Some of the rooms look more comfortable, others are as filthy as ever. Went to Grantsville, a new place, built up by the contrabands. Nice clean rooms, a school too!

Expect to leave Alex. tomorrow morning. This P.M. packed up & sent trunk to Leslie house to go from there with Mrs. Henry.

Encouraging war news.

But quiet comparatively here.

Some fireworks this evening. To be celebration tomorrow. Chandler the Orator. Wonder what Secesh will do?

July 4, 1863 Saturday

Fine. Very hot. At 9 left Alex. with Mrs. Henry & Freddy on Tug A.A. Wotius for GeoT. to take steamer for N.Y. Saw colored troops on Masons Is. Left G. at 12 M. on Empire. Capt. Hunter, 20 cab. Pass^s & 19 steerage. Small state rooms. Hot, noisy, miserable accommodations. Fired cannon & started. Shores fine.

Goodbye to Alex. for awhile, perhaps forever.---

Mt. Vernon, Fort Wⁿ, Freeston, Shipping Pt., Cockpit Pt., Mathias Pt., Aquia Ck., &c. Towards night, signs of storm. Took in all the sails. Doleful prospects for sleep & other nuisances.

Passengers not remarkably prepossessing. Well!

July 5, 1863 Sunday

Very fine. Slept well last night.

Rose at 6 at Mouth of Rappahannock, then water green as an emerald. Day delightful. At 11 were 16 mi. from Fortress Monroe. Cd. see Flag on Fort, the masts of shipping at Hampton & the Seminary. Saw Pigs Pt., Sewell's Pt., the Light Ship, beach, &c. Cape Henry on right at C. Charles on left & then we were on the bosom of the old Ocean for the first time in my life.

I had seen to pay tribute to Old Neptune & so did Freddy but Mrs. Henry was exempt.

Capt. [?] very kind. But oh, dear, I cd. not hold my head up. A pleasure trip!

July 6, 1863 Monday

Cloudy all day, cooler.

Lay in my berth all day & looked out upon the green restless ocean. Oh so sick!

Those that went cd. see on the other side the N. Jersey Shore, Long Branch, &c. I've made slow progress, true it added to my experience of the ills that the flesh is heir to, but it was too much like a lost day. Cast anchor on account of fog (in evening) near Sandy Hook.—

July 7, 1863 Tuesday

Foggy morning, bright P.M. Very hot.

Lay at anchor all night. Feel quite well. Saw Eng. Steamer & the Roanoke, a 3 turretted

¹⁴⁶ For an account of the effort to deport Confederate-loyal residents and the last-minute reprieve, see Diane Riker, This Long Agony: A Test of Divided Loyalties in an Occupied City, *Alexandria Chronicle*, Spring 2011.

ironclad.—passed Staten Isl & Ft. Lafayette & Richmond. At Quarantine, news boat came. Hear that Lee has been routed.

Shores very beautiful.

Breakfast coffee & sea biscuit.

Landed at Wall St. at 9 A.M. Went to Girard House. Cleaned up a little. Went to Standard Office to see Wm. Cromwell. Then to Central Park. Oh! how beautiful. Walked till I was tired out.— Vicksburg has surrendered! Sure, no mistake & here I am alone in N.Y.!

July 8, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Left N.Y. at 7 0/4 A.M.

Stopped at Tubby Hook, 206th S. to see Cousin Eliza Stall. 10 minutes from center of city. Queer place. Saw the new husband, too. Dinner & then Cousin E. went with me to Poughkeepsie.

Stopped at Peekskill 3 hrs. Very tedious. Read Herald & the particulars of fight at Gettysburg.

Lee driven back.

Reached P. at 7. Stopped at Gregory House for the night.

Cousin Abby & husband gone to Columbia Springs.

So hot.—rainy evening.

July 9, 1863 Thursday

So hot last night. The mosquitoes almost devoured us.

Cloudy, very sultry.

Let P. at 8 in Stage for Stanfordville. Country so pleasant.

Reached Aunt Mary's at 11.

Ruth Ann & Sally Ann there. All well.—Cleaned myself & felt better. Called at Ruth Ann's school.

Letter from Frances. She has been to Avon & Rush.

Mary is quite unwell & in haste for me to come. The rest well.—

So quiet here. No signs of war. Sally Ann staid all night.

July 10, 1863 Friday

Cloudy. Hot.

Went home with Sally Ann. Nice ride. Libbie Wilbur rode with us.—Sally Ann's sister Mrs. Booth was with her. Pleasant woman.

In P.M. went to Cousin Jephtha W's. R. Story & wife there.—

Country never looked so hilly before, but the crops look fine & everything is pleasant.

Delightful time to ride about, but I do not feel very well & am in a hurry to get home.

July 11, 1863 Saturday

Very hot. Left Milan about 9, & Sally Ann went with me to Uncle Reuben's in Taghkanic 13 mi.

Oh, the interminable hills but horses do not mind them. Found them very well & S. went back about 4. I am so tired & dull, miserable that I do not feel like visiting.

Hope I shall feel better. Called at Uncle Reuben's. Seems so strange & quiet here.

184 wks. since Freda was taken from me. The dear little one!

July 12, 1863 Sunday

Cloudy.—Slept some & rested some, but feel miserably. Hope I shall not get down sick before I get home. This P.M. at Uncle Reuben's & took tea there.

No news. So still. Things seem sort of paralyzed.

July 13, 1863 Monday

Rained all day.

At Aunt Sally's. I cleaned up some. Worked on my Flag & read "Linda."

Cousin Reuben Sutherland & wife here this P.M.

No news yet, but all are interested in the war. How I would like to know how Joe is. I hope Mary hears from him oftener than I do. How anxious she must be.

July 14, 1863 Tuesday

Cloudy, rainy.

This A.M. slept, sewed some, but feel miserably. Can't enjoy anything. Do not feel like visiting.

Aunt Susan & Cornelia here.

Bad time for hay making & harvesting!

July 15, 1863 Wednesday

Cloudy, hot.

Uncle Reuben went with me to Uncle Hiram's. Called at Claverack Institute¹⁴⁷ & saw Stephen Van Wagoner who was to start for home that day.

Nice ride to Uncle H's. All pretty well. Cousin Halsted here.

First news in 4 days! Riots in New York resisting draft. Buildings plundered & burned, people beaten & killed. Rioters mostly Irish. Military sent for from Albany, Buffalo, &c.

July 16, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy. What will farmers do? I feel miserably yet. Sewed a little & read papers.

Colored Orphan Asylum in N.Y. was burnt by the mob. No negro is safe, they are hunted & killed. Then a cry "down with rich men!" & homes were plundered & burnt. Behold, the result of Copperhead teaching! Wood & Rynders & Brooks & the Herald & the World oppose the War & denounce the Government & encourage resistance to the laws & the sooner the people see the results of such principles the better for the country. Gov. Seymour is too much of a Copperhead himself to do any good.

July 17, 1863 Friday

Cloudy & rainy. Left Uncle H's at 8. He took me to Hudson. Went to Rhinebeck on cars. Sally Ann met me at Station. Called on Wm. Cowles, pleasant ride over the hills to Milan. Country has improved very much.—

Read "Mt. Vernon & its Associations" by Lossing.

Train came through from N.Y. today. Quiet has been restored & the city cars & omnibuses run

¹⁴⁷ This institution was in Columbia County, southeast of Albany, so this gives another sense of where Wilbur was visiting at this time.

again.

Port Hudson is taken by Grant.

Lee has escaped across the Potomac, but he has been annoyed very much.

July 18, 1863 Saturday

Pleasant.

Sally Ann went with me to Uncle Henry's. Took dinner & looked over the dilapidated premises. How can folks live so? I felt like crying for the scenes of long ago come visibly back & the years since my youth have known much sorrow.

At 3 P.M. my dear kind friend went to her home & Aunt Mary Ann went with me to Stanfordsville. Nice ride. Letter from Cousin E. Stall. She has heard from Avon. Sister Mary is quite unwell & Henry's wife has been thrown from a wagon & badly hurt.

July 19, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Hot.

Felt so miserably did not go to church. Wrote some & towards night went to B[?] with Uncle Z. Do not feel like visiting at all.

Intend to start for home on Tuesday.

Read that order to send secesh from Alex. was countermanded. Too bad.---Forts at Charleston nearly all taken. A great deal has been done during the past week.

July 20, 1863 Monday

Fine. Very hot. At Aunt M's, from Uncle Z's this morning. Have felt very shiftless all day. So stupid & tired & have disdain. Have written some.

Ruth Ann & Mrs. Knapp here this P.M. but I did not feel like visiting.

No way to go to Poughkeepsie till Wednesday.

Riots are expected in P. & other cities on my route. I may be hindered long.

Drafting begins today.

July 21, 1863 Tuesday

2 P.M. Rained since morning. Terrible storm of wind, never knew a blow to last so long.

Packed my trunk, hope to get away tomorrow. Have written some. Feel better. Elizabeth is all ready. Ruth Ann here this P.M. I have felt much better today.

July 22, 1863 Wednesday

A.M. At 9, I bid Aunt Mary goodbye & with Cousin E. left in stage for Poughkeepsie. The wind yesterday blew down trees & corn & grain are flat. 4 hrs. Going to P. Slow crack! Train to Albany at 1 ½ P.M. At Hudson Cousin B. Halsted & wife [?] on to H.—Streams high. The noise on this road is enough to make one deaf.

Reached Albany at 4. Stopped at Delavan House & left at 6 P.M. for Rochester, being pleasant until dark & then it was very tiresome.

July 23, 1863 Thursday

Hot. Tedious ride last night. Reached Rochester at 4 A.M. Went to Charlotte's before they were

up. All pretty well.—

Mary J. & Neddy have grown considerably.—Called to see Uncle Darius. Did shopping. Rode street car for 1st time. Left at 6 P.M. for Avon. Things look natural, but very quiet it all is.—
Went in Express to Avon & then with Jimmy Hillman most home. Father grows feeble. Minnie & Stewart have improved. Mary is better. Ella is here from Detroit.

July 24, 1863 Friday

Very hot. Have not felt much like work. Been to Avon for trunks. I have unpacked them & now there is so much that I want to do.—I have no courage to work in garden or yard. When I am away they have no care & it makes me sad to see them as they are with overgrown with weeds & untrimmed.—It is hard to see my home going to ruin as it is. “What is Home without a Mother?”
Oh! dear, how I miss her now, although nearly 29 yrs. have passed since she went from us. A dear, kind mother!

July 25, 1863 Saturday

Hot. Shower in P.M.

Dr. Tarntor[?] called this A.M. I have done various chores, been busy but have not accomplished much.

Wrote to Mrs. Jacobs & Emma.—

I begin to feel better & hope I shall be able to do all the work I wish to.

No war news.

July 26, 1863 Sunday

Cloudy.

Sister Mary & Cousin Elizabeth went to meeting. I have labeled specimens, &c. &c.

Uncle Jephtha & Aunt Caty & Jephtha C. have been here. It has been a busy day for Sunday.

No papers or letters.

July 27, 1863 Monday

Fine. Windy.

Very busy today. Washed & wrote letter to Alex. Daily News.—

Jacob A. here to tea.

Ella gone home with him.

No papers today.

Mary has letter from Joe. He was near Jackson, Miss. on the 13th inst. Been slightly wounded in a skirmish.

Very hot & a most miserable place, hopes the 9th Corps will leave that place soon. A battle in progress at Jackson when he wrote.

July 28, 1863 Tuesday

Fine.

Ironed this A.M. & went to Uncle J's this P.M. with Mary & the children & Cousin Elizabeth.

Did not feel like visiting. Have had headache all day.

Read the papers.

Our troops have been repulsed at Ft. Wagner near Charleston. 54th Col^d. Regt. fought bravely. Morgan & his guerrillas have been captured in Ohio.

177 wks. since I have seen Freda.

July 29, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Hot.

Cleaned up some of the rooms. Sewed rest of the day.

Letter from Mrs. Breed asking me to take on the place of Matron in the Colored Home in Georgetown.¹⁴⁸ I am not capable of filling such a place. I wish I was. Wants me to come at double quick. I cannot leave yet. I wish there was nothing to hinder my going. How can I give up my Alex. friends?! I hope I shall do that wh. is for the best.

July 30, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Hot A.M. Showers in P.M.

Wrote to Angeline & Frances & Mrs. Breed. Sewed the rest of the day. Do not feel very smart. No war news. If I cd. only hear from Alex. Strange that I get no letter from Mrs. Jacobs. How I would like to see Emma & Becky & Matilda & Lucinda & Betsey & Betty Thompson &c. &c.

[Transcriber's note: July 31 and August 1, 1863, are missing from microfilmed version]

August 2, 1863 Sunday

Very hot, the hottest day yet. Do not feel like doing anything. Wrote most of the day. No one went to Church. If it is any hotter in Alex., how can they live there, especially in the barracks?

August 3, 1863 Monday

Not so hot, bright.

Spent A.M. in making out Report to Society.

Sewed in P.M. Feel some better today.

At night Cousin Phebe C. & Elizabeth W. came. I have visited this evening.

Ella came back this evening.

August 4, 1863 Tuesday

Hot.

I visited this A.M. but this P.M. I have not felt like work, but sewed some. At half past 3 P.M. Mary went to the Rush station with Cousins P & E.

I feel miserably.

It is 178 weeks since I have seen my darling Freda & I have no hopes of seeing her at present.

¹⁴⁸ In a long description fo the Colored Orphans' Home in Special Report of the Commissioner of Education on the Condition (pg. 236), it is noted that "The Home is governed by a matron, who is subject to the direction of an executive committee, from whom she holds her office."

August 5, 1863 Wednesday

Oh! So hot!

I have been sick all day, sat up but little.

Mary & Ella have gone to Avon to see Dr. Jenks. I hope I can get something to make me feel better. I have so much to do.

Another letter from Mrs. Breed. They urge me to come be Matron of the Colored Home. It tires me & makes me nervous to think of it.

Uncle Noah has been here, after Elizabeth & has just missed her.

August 6, 1863 Thursday

Cooler. Feel much better.

National Thanksgiving¹⁴⁹

July has been a harvest month of victories.

Lee's defeat & retreat	Loss 40,000
Vicksburg	32,000
Port Hudson	6,000
Bragg's retreat	4,000
Morgan's captured force	5,000
Holmes defeat at Helena	2,000
Biffles Miss. Guerrillas	1,000
Guerillas in Tenn.	1,000
Prisoners before on hand	9,000
Total rebel losses for summer	100,000

No war news. Think army has gone into summer quarters. Have written letters & labeled specimens.

August 7, 1863 Friday

Fine. Cooler.

Ironed a little. Do not feel like work.

Wrote to Joe & Mrs. May

Rev. E. Noll & wife called. No papers & no news from the war.

Drafting for this Co. was finished in Rochester Wednesday. No disturbance there.

Several from our neighborhood are taken.

Mary has letter from Joe. He is well, coming to Kentucky soon. Letter from Mrs. Jacobs at last.

Trouble with Mr. Gladwin. Oh! These poor people!

August 8, 1863¹⁵⁰ Saturday

¹⁴⁹ While Thanksgivings had been celebrated at the instigation in particular of Sarah Hale, Lincoln proclaimed a Thanksgiving in August (for the proclamation, see <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=69897>) and again as the last Thursday of November.

¹⁵⁰ Letter written from Julia Wilbur to Anna Barnes dated August 8, 1863, while she is in East Avon at her family's home.

Showers. Sultry. My Birth Day & I hardly bestow a thought upon it. They come so often lately. I have neither time nor motivation to moralize, only I am quite sensible I am past my prime.—One year ago, I was in Pine Run, Mich.

Have written letters today. Did not sleep much last night. Mrs. J's letter kept me awake. Oh! That Mr. G. cd be removed. He has no mercy for these people. Letter from Frances. She is coming.

178 wks. since Freda was taken from us. Shall I try to see her? Oh dear!

August 9, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Hot.

Frances came last night about 9 o'clock.

I have not done much today. Arranged papers, &c.

Feel much better. Did not sleep much last night. Cannot keep Alex. out of my mind. I wish I could hear from there again.

No particular news from the army.

Theodore is drafted & David Wing & Isaac & Wm. Babcock.---

August 10, 1863 Monday

Fine. Windy.

Washed & ironed. Mary helped me trim the shrubbery in the yard. I have no courage to try to make things look any better for the probability is this will not be a home for our family much longer.

Oh! how I miss our dear mother.

August 11, 1863 Tuesday

Very hot.

In P.M. heavy thunder & shower.

Mary Thompson here to tea. Frances & Ella gone to Mr. Bigelow's. Mrs. B. came home with him.

I have not felt like visiting this P.M.

If I could only see Freda! It is 179 weeks since I have seen her & now to be so near her & it is very hard not to see her.

August 12, 1863 Wednesday

Cooler.

Ella & Frances have been to Uncle J's & Aunt E's. I have sewed all day.

Letters from Mrs. Jacobs & Mrs. Graves. Mr. Gladwin is acting like a crazy man.

The contrabands are getting their pay from government.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Formerly enslaved and free African Americans worked for the U.S. Military or on the docks for the Office of Commissary Subsistence. As the number grew, the government instituted a \$5/week reduction in the wages of free blacks to be applied to support of the "contrabands." Stevedores appealed to Colonel George Bell, commanding officer of Commissary Subsistence, noting "We...the free people of Alexandria that have been in your employment every since it was established...humbley [sic] appeal...for the addition of those five dollars that has been curtailed from our wages... we free born men...has always had our selves and families to look out for do not see why

I want to go back but how can I when things are in such a state at home?

August 13, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Cooler

Sewed nearly all day.

Letter yesterday from Mrs. Graves from Palmer Depot, Conn. Mrs. Dailey here this P.M.

Euphemia left here this evening, has sewed 3 days.

Mary is not well this P.M. nor Ella.

I feel miserably. My mind has been sadly disturbed too. Oh dear. Letter from Phebe Wing. She intends to go back with me to Washington.

August 14, 1863 Friday

Fine.

Cleaned front chamber & sewed some, but do not feel like work, have headache. This P.M.

Frances & Ella & Mary have gone to the burying ground & I am looking after Minnie & Stewart.

Evening, They have come back & had a good visit at Mr. Winans.

August 15, 1863 Saturday

Hot. Cloudy.

This A.M. Ella & I went to Avon. Called at Mr. Dann's, Mr. Batchelor's & Mr. Wiands.

Took dinner at Mr. Hartwell's.

Feel so disappointed lately. Some of my nearest friends are not happy. Mrs. Bigelow called this P.M.

This evening Alfred & Angeline came. All well in Somerset.

August 16, 1863 Sunday

Rainy A.M. Fine P.M.

No going to church. Visited today.

Angeline, Julia, Frances, Ella, & Mary. If Elizabeth could be here now, then all the sisters would be together.

The dear sister missing.¹⁵² Such meetings are sad, a mournful satisfaction. It may be long before so many of us meet again.

August 17, 1863 Monday

Fine. Cool.

we...should pay a tax for them...while the Contrabands has all the attention from every private source[.] the government...provides house...and fuell [sic]for there wives and children and for the men themselves when out of employ[ment]... We think it hard that we should contribute to them who has all the attention[.]...we could just...get along when you gave us \$25, but... as high as, it is very hard to get along at all[sic] [signed] your obedient servants." Col. Bell handed off the appeal to Sec. Stanton, who denied it. (Source: Voices from the Past, <http://alexandriava.gov/historic/fortward/default.aspx?id=40044#1863>). At various times during the War, Bell was in charge of the Alexandria Subsistence Depot (Source: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/America/United_States/Army/USMA/Cullums_Register/1592*.html)

¹⁵² Her sister Sarah, mother of Freda, who died in 1858.

Frances left this morning. Alfred took her to Rush. Sorry to have her go. She is feeling badly. This P.M. I went with Alfred & Angeline to W. Avon to Burying Ground. Our lot has been entirely neglected since I have been away.

Went to Uncle Jephtha's to tea.

Alfred & Angeline are to leave in the morning & I am to go to Rochester.

August 18, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Cool.

Left home at 7 A.M. with Alfred & Angeline, who left me at the Scottsville Station. Reached R. at 10 ½ A.M. All well at Cs, but Sis did some shopping, so tiresome. Went to Irondequoit with Benjamin. Aunt E. is very well. How pleasant the country is.

It is 180 weeks since I have seen my little darling.

Phebe Cornell will go back to Alex. with me probably to see what she can do.

August 19, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Irondequoit. Visited with Aunt E. & wrote to Mrs. Breed & Mrs. Marshall. In P.M. Soldier's Aid Society met there. I think these ladies will fill a box for the Contrabands.—

F. Douglass has been to Washington, has had an interview with the President & Sec. of War. They have authorized him to go with Ad. Gen. Thomas to the Southwest to recruit negro regiments. He has visited his old home in Baltimore & had a very interesting time.

The world moves.

August 20, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy, rainy P.M. Came back to city, did shopping. Bought at Walmsley's \$25 worth of bonnets & hats for contrabands.

In P.M. met ladies of society at S. Cornell's & had interesting meeting. They wish me to return to Alex. & labor on.

They feel so indignant that a man like Mr. G. is tolerated in city.

Mr. Griffin has been promoted to a Lieutenancy & is to return the 5th of Sept.

August 21, 1863 Friday

Cloudy.

Spent day in shopping mostly. Called on Amy Post & on Anna Barnes.

Last night I spent with Mrs. C. She is nearly heartbroken in losing Gerty. This evening at C's. Present Mrs. Coleman, B. Fish & Sarah Fish & Giles & Kate Stebbins & Mrs. Curtis. I am so tired tonight. I intend to go home tomorrow & I have not visited half the people I wd. like to see. Neddy is wholly taken up with a pony & with his chickens.

August 22, 1863 Saturday

Fine. Hot.

Staid at C's last night. Also Mrs. Coleman. Left R. at 8 with Neddy & Charley S. Had pleasant ride & got home about 11. Neddy is quite a good driver. All pretty well with him.

M. has letter from Joe, he is in Ky. & has ague, too bad. Ella has gone as far as Henrietta with

them.

Company here yesterday that I wished to see.

I have head ache today. It will take me some time to get rested.

August 23, 1863

Fine. Cool.

Arranged my plants which took me nearly all day.

Cousin Jephtha called, also Cousin Cyrus & wife & baby.

Ella is away. Letter from Dr. Shaw. He is distressed at the way things go on in Alex. Mr. G. behaves outrageously towards those poor people.¹⁵³

I would like to be there all the while.

August 24, 1863 Monday

Very hot.

In A.M. made buttonholes on Alpaca dress. In P.M. worked on Report.

I have so much to do. I am getting nervous, I am worried & tired.

Letter from Mrs. B. with Photograph. Says Charlie & Emma are in W. & doing well. Ella came back this P.M.

August 25, 1863 Tuesday

Heavy rain last night. Cool today.

I have worked nearly all day at Report. It makes me nervous & I have headache.

Wrote to Frances & Charlotte.

Thrashers here.

It is 181 weeks since I have seen my little darling & I have no hopes of seeing her at present.—

August 26, 1863

Fine. In A.M. wrote Report. In P.M. sewed a little. Father & Mother went to Avon. Charles Strang wife Lydia & daughter Rachel have been here this P.M. & took tea. Had a pleasant time

¹⁵³ It is not clear whether JW knew this or not, but Shaw, as assistant surgeon, wrote in June to Dr. J.R. Bigelow, "Surgeon in Charge of Contrabands," acknowledging "you may think I am stepping aside from my legitimate duties" and complained about Gladwin's "tyranny" in treatment of contrabands and of charging high rents for sub-standard conditions. In October 1863, the Freedmen's Relief Association "from personal observations and testimony of the physicians in charge" filed a formal charge against Gladwin to the War Department. According to a note (pg. 299) in *Wartime Genesis*, Capt. W. Mcl. Gwynne, General Slough's aide-de-camp, investigated and found the claims exaggerated, if not untrue: "They [the surgeons] had all been candidates for superintendent, he believed and [t]wo women, Mrs. Harriet Jacobs (colored) and Miss Julia Wilbur (white) have also been meddling . . ." Charges were dropped, and Slough, in sending the report back, endorsed it noting that he "commended the policy inaugurated by Mr. Gladwin of as soon as possible making them [contrabands] self-dependent, rather than that policy which intermeddling, would-be philanthropists would inaugurate, of depending on the government." (Samuel Shaw to Dr. J.R. Bigelow, 14 June 1863, Shaw's June 14 letter and other parts of the correspondence/case are filed at NARA, G-42 1863, Letters Received, ser. 360, Colored Troops Division, RG 94 [B-29] and transcribed, pp. 299-300 in *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867*, Series I, Volume II, *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor in the Upper South*, I. Berlin et al., editors).

with them although they were strangers, [?] of Alex. & its people until I am tired. Their people sent me nice boxes last winter & are much interested in these Refugees. Mrs. Bigelow called.

Letter from S.A. Ferris.

August 27, 1863 Thursday

Cool. Went with Ella & Mary & Stewart to Aunt Harriet's to dinner. Called at Nancy L's, A. A. Elisa's[?], Mr. Wiands & left Ella at Leland's.

Called at Mrs. Morehouse's & at Aunt Eliza's & took tea. Called at Ira Green's, &c. This was a begging expedition for Contrabands. I got 9 bonnets one bed quilt & various things of less importance. I hope to fill a box to send to Alex. but it is tiresome work. Ella was home when we got back.

August 28, 1863 Friday

Cloudy. Cool. Like fall.

Wrote nearly all day & am very tired. Report not finished yet.—

Letter from A.E. Barker of Mendon¹⁵⁴ who wishes to teach among the Contrabands & hopes I can aid her in so doing.

Line from Mr. Griffin. He intends to go back to his regiment next week.

No particular war news, so do not even know where the Grand Army of the Potomac is.

August 29, 1863 Saturday

Cold, cloudy, rain last night.

Wrote all day & finished report to society. Oh! dear, the time is passing rapidly & I am far from being ready to go back to Alex.

Mary has letter from Joe. He writes from Nicholasville, Ky & they were about to move.

It is 191 weeks since Freda was taken from us. The dear child.

August 30, 1863 Sunday

Cloudy. Cold.

Have fire in stoves. A blue day. Father & Mother have been to meeting. I have written some but I feel dispirited & uncomfortable.

Mary thinks she must go back to Michigan this fall & perhaps it will be best. She is so uncomfortable here. We miss our dear good mother.

August 31, 1863 Monday

Fine, warm.

No chance to wash. Sewed most of the day to get ready for dressmaker tomorrow.—

The last day of summer, the time is passing rapidly.

How am I to get ready?

September 1, 1863 Tuesday

¹⁵⁴ Listed in the 1860 census as Ann E. Barker, then age 21, living with her family in Mendon with \$12,500 value of real estate and \$2,078 value of personal estate, the highest of those living nearby as recorded in the census.

Fine.
Felt like work.
Euphonia came this morning to sew a few days.
Father & Mother been to W. Avon & brought me 6 letters. No particular war news.

It is 182 weeks since I have seen my darling Freda.

September 2, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Warm.

Sewed all day.

This P.M. Maria B. & Mrs. Boswell here to tea.

Letters from Angeline & Frances & C. Post & Mrs. Marshall & Cousin Elizabeth & Joe Van. Joe is well, is at Nikolasville, but expects to move. Mrs. M. is at W. [?] & sends her picture.

Angeline & Frances got home safely. F. wants to go to Alex.

These came yesterday.

Letter from Mrs. Breed. Disappointed that I do not come to take charge of Colored Home.

September 3, 1863 Thursday

Rainy all day. Cool. Sat by fire with door shut. It seems like fall. Finished Alpaca cape & it is very pretty. Made Mosambique Cape.—

Headache all day & tired of sewing.

We were very glad this evening to see William Penn come in. He is very well & all well at home. This is his first visit since he went to Mich. to live in 1859.—He has two children, Florence & LeRoy, F. 4 yrs. & LeRoy 3 months.

September 4, 1863 Friday

Very fine.

Sewed till 3 P.M. Then Aunt Harriet & Cousin Landon & Hattie & Mrs. Wiand came & I had a good time with them

Mary Ames[?] called. Euphemia left this evening.

No paper this week. No news in particular. Mary has letter from Joe. He wants her to come to Ky. but she cannot go conveniently. I wish she could go & see how he lives & get some idea of camp life.

September 5, 1863 Saturday

Fine A.M. Cloudy P.M. Washed this A.M. Ironed this P.M. & wrote some. Am very tired. Wm. Penn has gone to Avon.

Came back this evening.

It is 192 weeks since Freda dear was taken from us.

September 6, 1863 Sunday

Fine morning. Cloudy P.M. Quite warm.

Father & Mother went to church, but no way for the rest of us to go.

I have finished copying Report & am ready to go to Rochester tomorrow.

I wish Mary could go to church oftener. It is so unpleasant here that I do not blame her for wanting to go back to Michigan.

September 7, 1863 Monday

Cloudy A.M. Fine P.M., warm. Did not go to city as I intended. Could not have a horse to go to Station.

Went to Harvey B's & engaged a horse for tomorrow morning. Ella has concluded to go with me & go on to Somerset.

This P.M. did chores.

September 8, 1863 Tuesday

Cloudy.

Left home at 8. William Penn took Ella & I to Rush. At Rochester about 10. Called at C's store, all well. Mr. Griffin has gone back to the army.

Called to see P. Cornell. We have agreed to start for W. on the 21st. inst.

I went to Dyers, then to S. Cornell's & took dinner. Then to Miss Porter's¹⁵⁵. E & I went to John R's in the rain & took tea there. Went to C's for the night.

September 9, 1863 Wednesday

Fine

Spent nearly all day in shopping, bought trunks for Ella & Mary, &c. &c. Got books at Dewey's for Contrabands.

Elma left on 530 train to go to Holley & Frances came at 5 to stay until tomorrow.

F & I went to C's for the night. Very tired.

Mary Julia¹⁵⁶ is at the Catholic School. Comes home Saturday & stays till Monday morning.

September 10, 1863 Thursday

Fine, warmer.

Called on Mrs. Coleman. F. Douglass has not gone South yet, has no commission yet.

Did chores all day. Wm. Penn came at 10 & Frances left at 11 A.M. After dinner went with C & Wm. Penn to see Mary Julia. She cries & wants to come away, has to attend mass & other religious exercises. Glad she don't like it. C. says she will take her away.

Wm. Penn left at 5 30. I went to Mr. Angle's.

September 11, 1863 Friday

Cloudy, warm.

Came from Mr. A's at 8. Called on Anna B. & Mrs. Porter. Sent off 2 boxes by Express to Alex. Wt. 100.

¹⁵⁵ Possibly Maria Porter, the treasurer of the RLASS.

¹⁵⁶ Mary Julia was JW's niece. Later, JW recorded that she got married and spent some time in 1865 Washington and Georgetown with her husband, although purpose not recorded.

Left Rochester at 11 A.M. Went to Mr. Winans & took dinner. With Mrs. W, to the burying ground.

Mary & Minnie came for me. Stopped at Mrs. Dann's & got parcel. Have taken severe cold & am almost sick.

We are in possession of all of Morris Island & Cumberland Gap & Chattanooga.

September 12, 1863 Saturday

Cloudy, cool.

Almost sick.

Have done but little. I have so much to do now to get ready for the 21st.

Letter from Joe. He is at Crab Orchard, Ky. Letter from Mrs. Jacobs, very hot there. Mr. G. has acted like a crazy man, he has gone north sick for 20 days.¹⁵⁷ Another Doctor there, & there are queer works.

Wonder what Phebe will think of Alex.!

I hate to go & leave Mary & the children.

September 13, 1863 Sunday

Fine.

Wrote a little & rested. At home with Mary & Minnie & Stewart. Father & Mother gone to Church.

Cousin Jephtha W. called. He would like to go to Washington, wd. like to get business there or in Alex.

A great many persons are willing to go & are the elephant if they can have their expenses paid or do just business enough in the meantime to pay them.

September 14, 1863 Monday

Fine. Hot.

Washed in A.M.

Sewed &c.

Went to H. Bigelow & to Mr. Dailey's—a long hot walk. Am very tired.

I have so much to do this week.

No war news.

September 15, 1863 Tuesday

Very fine. Hot.

Glad I am not in Alex. now.

E. Dailey sewed for me, made mohair cape. Dresses all done now.

I have sewed and done various chores.

It is 184 weeks since I have seen my little darling. I'd hope to hear from her before I left home.

¹⁵⁷ He is recorded as needing several medical leaves. A request for an extended medical leave in 1864 are at NARA (Union Provost Marshal's File of one-name papers re: citizens, M345, Gim-Gn, Roll #105)—on August 5, 1864, he requested a 20-day medical leave, then, with a doctor's certification ("Edgar, Surgeon, New York City") requested extensions on September 2 and September 30, 1864.

September 16, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Very hot.

Cleaned clothes press, ironed, sewed, &c. &c.

So many things to do, & I am so tired.

The time is passing rapidly away.

Next Monday I intend to start for Alexandria & the time will soon be here. Oh, dear.

September 17, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Very hot.

Looked over things & arranged things to leave. Washed & ironed a little. Sewed, &c. &c.

Esq[?] Thomas & wife here to dinner.—

Expected Mrs. Root & Mrs. Winans but they have not come.

Our troops are succeeding at Charleston. Have taken Ft. Moultrie.

September 18, 1863 Friday

Rainy. Cool.

Packed box for Alex. Sewed in P.M. & did chores.

So much to think of & arrange before I leave.

It will be so lonely here for Mary. Nobody tries to make it pleasant for her. She has seldom a chance to go to church.

Joe was going to Tenn. The last we heard of him, probably to join Rosecrans[?]

September 19, 1863 Saturday

Cold. Bright.

This A.M. with Mary & children went to Avon. Called at Mr. Dam's & Mr. Batind's & Uncle Ephraim's.

This P.M. finished packing box.

Mrs. Dailey & girls called. I am tired & dispirited. Line from Frances, she is in city.

194 weeks since Freda was taken from Grandpa's & from Aunt's, from so many that loved her so dearly. Dec. 31st 1859 was a sad day for me.

September 20, 1863

Cool. Pleasant. Frost last night.

Today must finish packing up & do up the last chores.

Several months may elapse before I see my home again. My Father is old & feeble & liable to sudden illness—sad changes may await us but I do not mean to anticipate trouble. I shall try to do my duty & leave the rest to God. It would be pleasant to stay with my own folks, but it does not seem for the best.

September 21, 1863 Monday

Rainy. Left home at 9 A.M. Father & Mother went to cars with me. Called at Mr. Winans. With Cousin Phebe C. left Avon at noon. Changed cars at Corning & at Elmira & at Williamsport.

Towards night it cleared off, moonlight. At 9 we are at N.Y. & at 12 at Harrisburg. Tiresome ride, cars full. Could not sleep much.

Sorry to leave father & Mary & children but do not feel so bad about leaving as I did last fall.

September 22, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Beautiful sunrise. Reached Baltimore at 7 A.M. Saw but few soldiers & but few colored folks.

Omnibus to Washington Depot, miserable place. Left for W. at 8 in car. Reached W. at 10, city so dusty. Went to Markham's Hotel.

Went to President's House & Dr. Breed's & to Convalescent Camp. Tea at Dr. B's, saw President & his escort. We were very tired.

Have Matron for Colored Home, so Phebe will not stay long.

September 23, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Cool.—

At 9, went to Pro. Marshal's office for passes. Then to Capitol & spent an hour or so. Then to see Emma. Called at Mr. Lake's & Judiciary Sq. Hospital. Did shopping. Left Markham's at 2 ½ P.M. P's first impression of W. is favorable. Pleasant trip & at 4 ½ P.M. we were in Alex. once more at my room on Cor. Washington & Wolfe. Found only Mrs. J. & Dr. G. & Mr. W.—seems natural to be here. Tea with Mrs. J.

September 24, 1863 Thursday

Fine. Warmer.

Went to Freedmen's Home & Slave Pen. People glad to see me. Shook hands till my arm ached.

Dined with Mrs. J. Went for rations & to see Mrs. Churchill.

Went to Mansion House Hospital. Phebe much interested.

Very tired tonight.

Buildings going up in various parts of city, mostly by contrabands. They have sprung up as if by magic.

Went for passes to go to Arlington, &c.

September 25, 1863 Friday

Cloudy.

Called at Wm. Stabler's with Phebe who was very coolly received. They are secesh Quakers.

Had shelves put in Clothing Room &c.

Moonlight evening, pleasant walk. Called at Mrs. Dogan's.

Bought picture of Alex.

Have not felt well today. Am so tired tonight. Very dry & dusty here. Mosquitoes trouble me.

September 26, 1863 Saturday

Bright. Windy. Went to QuarterM's but could not get an ambulance to go to A. Went to Home & to get rations for boy. Then to Wharf & old Mill &c. Phebe wonders very much at what she sees.

In P.M. went to see Christ Church & sat in W's pew. Then to Grantville, the new contraband

village.¹⁵⁸ About 100 houses, & the people are doing well.

A great deal of Cavalry has come in from Culpepper as they are going to reinforce Lee.—

September 27, 1863 Sunday

Very fine. Warm. Went in Ambulance with Phebe & Mrs. Jacobs to Contraband Camp at Springdale, then to Arlington House. Saw some of the col^d people there. Then to Camp Todd where the contrabands are.¹⁵⁹ Then to Convalescent Camp & got back to Alex. about 5 P.M. An interesting day. P. has been delighted.

It has been a glorious ride. Saw exchanged prisoners and conscripts.

September 28, 1863 Monday

Fine, warm, dry.

Very busy day.

Went to Express Office & various places, attended to getting wood & the bonnets &c.—Phebe & I went for passes to Pro. Marshall. Saw Army wagons rushing through the city to overtake two batteries that had gone on, 11th & 12th Corps are going west, including cavalry. Oh! The dust & noise. Phebe & I went with a soldier's funeral to the cemetery & west to the Contraband burying ground too.—136th N.Y. came today.

September 29, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Warm.

Went with Phebe to W. on 8 A.M. boat. Very foggy morning. Went to depot, then to Georgetown to Col^d Home. Saw Miss Mann. Miss Jackson of Phila. is coming Thursday to be matron.

Went to Dr. Breed's, took dinner & went to Patent Office. Then to Depot & left. Phebe to go to Baltimore & I came back on 5 P.M. boat. So dirty & dusty in W. that there was no pleasure in going about. Alone this evening.

September 30, 1863 Wednesday

Fine, warm foggy morning. Rose early.

Cleaned room above & below. Box came from Avon. Unpacked & arranged things. A very busy day. I am very tired tonight. Been out only once.

Mrs. Churchill here fixing bonnets.

See no papers & hear no news.

October 1, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy, warm foggy morning. Been to see about furniture.

Worked in house nearly all day.

Blockade of Alex. is raised but the city is as quiet & orderly as can be expected & the

¹⁵⁸ Grantville was located at and around Pitt and Oronoco Streets. The Jacobs Free School operated there.

¹⁵⁹ Lt. Col. Elias Greene proposed the establishment of Camp Springdale on the Lee property and Camp Todd near Fort Albany, on what is now known as the Arlington Ridge neighborhood. (Source: http://dclawyeronthecivilwar.blogspot.com/2013/06/contraband-camps-established-in_13.html)

streets are being cleaned too. Buildings are going up and things are lively.
Mr. G's career is being investigated. Wonder what will come of it?

October 2, 1863¹⁶⁰ Friday

Rainy, warm.

Went to Home & did some work there. Rest of the day worked at bonnets & looked over & arranged things. Hardly got settled yet.

Wm. Cromwell & Henry Dickinson of N.Y. called.¹⁶¹

What planning & scheming & selfishness there is among the people employed to look after the Contrabands in A! Oh dear, I cannot compete with such spirits.

October 3, 1863 Saturday

Very fine. Storm yesterday did some damage in W. I have had very busy day. Cleaned room before breakfast & did several chores. Then went to Fairfax St. S. & called to see several families. After dinner called on Mrs. Reeves, seems good to see a white face that I know. Went with Mrs. J. to find pictures & then home & I am very tired tonight. Read paper. Battle of Chickamauga, Tenn. was a very severe one, hardly know which came out best.

October 4, 1863 Sunday

Fine. Warm.

Charlie & Emma called, & I went to Pro. Mar.'s office with them for pass. Then went to Col^d church, but it was not open. Called on Mrs. Cupid & Mrs. Bryant. Went to Home. Lucinda's girl died last night. Called to see some of the people & then went to meeting & heard some plantation singing. When I came away they were having a good time. Streets very lively. Ever so many funerals.

October 5, 1863 Monday

Fine. Cool.

Went to Express Office, worked awhile.

Mr. Needham called.

Went with 2 ladies to Home & out on King St. ever so many new houses built by colored folks. 20 more persons came in from Culpepper this P.M., brought things with them. Meade's army at Culpepper.

October 6, 1863 Tuesday

Fine.

Went to Queen St. Hos. to find place for girl. Fitted 2 dresses for Lucy Lawson. Went to Ex. Office, &c.

Mrs. Babcock called. Medical Inspector been here today. The sick are to have better food after this.

Mr. Whipple has an appointment from Gov. to go to Norfolk & look after confiscated property there. I am very tired tonight. I must not walk so much.

¹⁶⁰ Letter written from JW to Anna Barnes dated October 2, 1863

¹⁶¹ New York Friends, as listed in *Friends of the City of New York in the Nineteenth Century* by William H.S. Wood.

October 7, 1863 Wednesday

Fine.

Had my washing done in the house, did ironing myself.—So much running up & down stairs that I am almost tired out.

Went with girl to find place.

Mrs. Churchill here today.—

Dr. Shaw & Mrs. Graves have returned.

Letter from Mary Julia. She is in the Catholic School yet.

Phebe got home last Saturday.

October 8, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy, rained last night.

This morning went with Mrs. J. for pictures & to the Ex. Office.

This P.M. called at Betsey's. Agreed to go to W. on Monday with a girl & child.

This P.M. took long walk to Mr. Silvey's[?], 165 Fairfax St. & to stores to see about getting furniture. No encouragement.

October 9, 1863 Friday

Very fine.

Went to 68 Prince St. Then to Home. Lucinda has my room full of women & children. Went to Mr. Brockett's to inquire about Matilda W. who was brought to hos. yesterday. Getting lame.

This P.M. staid in room & wrote letters.

Had letter from Mary, all well, but oh! she is lonely & it is not pleasant there for her. Oh! dear. Wounded & sick soldiers brought in on cars last night from the front.

October 10, 1863 Saturday

Cloudy. Capt. Ferree & Dr. Loines & wife have been here. I went with them to the Home & to the Slave Pen. Great improvement in the latter place under Lieut. Donn., 1st Dist. Regt. Then to the Soldier's Rest. After dinner went with them to Christ Ch. & to Grantville.

After this went with Mrs. Babcock & her friend to the Museum. I had an interesting visit. A busy day for me & I am very tired. I must not walk so much.

October 11, 1863 Sunday

Fine, cool.

Went to Christ Church & went to sleep during the delivery of a dull dry sermon by Rev. Thos. Drumm. I heard no allusion made to the war & there were no prayers for the success of our armies.

Been to Home. Great stir at the depot. Engines with steam up, unloading horses & men. Horses were mounted quickly & away they went. It is said Meade is falling back. 4 regiments have been taken by rebs & they are burning the railroad.

October 12, 1863 Monday

Fine, cool.

My work has been mostly in the house doing chores & I feel quite rested.
Mrs. J. has been to W. Sent Sophy Hodges away to R. Isl. this morning with Mrs. Babcock.—
Have heard no news today. Would like to know more of Meade's Army.
Cavalry regts. must be encamped near us for I hear bugles night & morning.
The rebs. may catch us yet for the forts do not seem to be of much use.

October 13, 1863 Tuesday

Fine, warm. Walked ever so much. Went for Lamp &c. Went with Mrs. J. Bought pictures of Davis, Lee, Beauregard, 'Stonewall,' Fremont, Tomb at Mt. Ver., "All Quiet on the Potomac," Sudley's Ford, & Stone Church at Centerville & Slave Pen.

Went to Home, great many colored folks came in this morning from Culpepper.

Rebs took possession of C. Sunday. Stores are being brought here for safety. Great many trains came in today. Meade is falling back. There has been fighting near C.

Called on Mrs. Churchill.

October 14, 1863 Wednesday

Cloudy, warm.

Letters from Cousin P. Cornell & Miss Josie May. Mr. May's family is in Kalamazoo. Cousin P. is in good spirits. Got home safely & is busy at work for Contrabands.

Sewed some today.

At 4 went to Depot but no colored folks there.

Mrs. Jacobs left at noon for Portsmouth Va. to take boxes to the Col^d Reg. there & then she is going to N.Y.

I expect to be more lonesome than ever.---

Meade has changed his line & foiled attempt to flank him.

October 15, 1863 Thursday

Cloudy. Warm.

This A.M. cleaned room below & sewed. This P.M. sewed & sent to the Home & the depot to see if any col^d folks came in. None came yesterday & until 8 in eve firing was heard, but I did not hear it. There has been fighting near Manassas. Ever so many rebel soldiers were brought in this P.M.

Letter from Frances, all pretty well.

October 16, 1863 Friday

Rainy, warm.

Spent most of A.M. at the Home. Listened to the recital of more of Mr. Gladwin's tyrannical acts.—How long must these people suffer? Came back in rain. This P.M. sewed some & wrote some. Mrs. C. called.

No news from Meade. No arrivals of Contrabands.

Wrote to Frances & Cornelia & Mrs. Marshall.

Feel a little lonesome.

October 17, 1863 Saturday

Very fine & warm.

Went to Home & met little girls to sew & made some calls.—In P.M. went out, called on Mrs. Fletcher. Mrs. Munsell has gone North. Read accounts of movement of an army from Friday last till yesterday. Lee has not succeeded in flanking Meade. Our conscripts fought bravely. Our cavalry did themselves much credit.
Mr. Graves continues very ill. – I feel depressed in spirits & lonely tonight.

October 18, 1863 Sunday

Bright & very warm.

Cleaned up room & put things to rights generally.

Went to P.O. & waited a long time. Went to see the sick women in hospital. They need nourishment but Dr. B. will not have it got for them.

In P.M., Sam May of Mass. called. Wife &c. with him. Looked ever so long before finding me, & then was time to leave wh. we both regretted. Went to Home Chapel, heard a funeral discourse from Leland, original & unique. Mr. Graves very low.

October 19, 1863 Monday

Fine.

Found places for Mary Whiting & Florida Johnson. Went to Home. No news there. Have been to see Mr. Graves 2 or 3 times. It was thought this morning that he would not live through the day. He is delirious most of the time.

I could not work today. I am so sad, lonesome, homesick perhaps. The weather is oppressive. It seems unhealthy. I wish it was cold & frosty. Have tried to write but do not feel like doing anything well.

October 20, 1863 Tuesday

Very fine. Warm.

Dr. Graves died at 5 o'clk. this morning. He was resigned & happy & died without a struggle. He has conversed freely about his affairs & about dying. He was delirious most of the time for several days. His body lies in the room where he died & is to go in the morning by Ex. to Palmer, Mass. Dr. Sharon & Mrs. Graves left at 4 this P.M. Poor woman. She has lost a kind & affectionate husband. I went to boat with them in ambulance & walked back.

I shall miss them more than any others who have been associated with me. I shall be very lonely.

October 21, 1863 Wednesday

Fine. Warm.

Mrs. C. here to work this A.M. I have worked a little & wrote a letter to the Democrat.

Letters from Sister M. & Mrs. Tracy.

Mary had just heard that Joe was safe but he has ague. Had been 17 days without a letter & had felt very anxious. He has been promoted to a First Lieutenancy & commands an Ambulance Corps.

Mary is very uncomfortable where she is & perhaps it will be best for her to go to Mich. Oh! dear, it sh. not be so.

October 22, 1863 Thursday

Fine, cooler.

Letter from Cousin P.C. She is working for us here.

Have written to Joe & to Angeline. This morning went to Mrs. Stevens[?], then to Mr. Brockett's & to Grantville. Called at School kept by Mr. Lyles & Mrs. Griffin, interesting woman.

Been to Home. Found a girl & a boy staying with Lucinda, boy about 10 in man's Cav. coat & pants. Just come from regt. 16th Pa. & as bright as need be. Want to go to his father & mother in Geo. Town. Lee is skedaddling towards Richmond, Meade in pursuit.

October 23, 1863 Friday

Cloudy.

Went to Hayti wh. is a long walk.¹⁶²—Read news, nothing important.—This P.M. went to find Matilda. Met Mrs. Arnold. Went to Soldier's Rest. Fine place, nearly finished. About 100 conscripts resting there till tomorrow, from N.Y. mostly.¹⁶³

Went into school at Home. Met Boston lady who has come to be a missionary among the Contrabands.

Went to 68 Prince St. & now am almost tired out.

October 24, 1863 Saturday

Rainy all day.

Been to P. Office & to my meals & that is all I have been out. Wrote, read papers, & did chores.

This after [?—*blanked space in original*] called. She wants to teach & will sustain herself. I have tried to give her a little insight into things here.

Gen. Meade passed through here today. No war news in particular.

It is 199 wks. since Freda was taken from us. Mary heard from her a few wks. since but nothing satisfactory.

October 25, 1863

¹⁶² Neighborhood in the 400 block of South Royal Street inhabited around 1810 onwards.

¹⁶³ A letter from John H. Mathews to his brother Watson, dated May 2, 1864, from Soldier's Rest (online as part of the Asheville Oral History Project, <http://ashevilleoralhistoryproject.com/2012/10/30/soldiers-rest/>) describes Alexandria from the vantage point of someone stopping through on duty Soldier's Rest: "In one of Mother's late letters she as good as wished me to get a picture taken to send home, and I have done so. It is my picture with beard and all. I got it taken in Alexandria, and it is one of the oldest towns I have ever been in. The population is nearly two negroes to one white person. If you had seen a negro waiter and driver escorting a lady into a carriage the other day when there were a few drops of rain falling, it would have made you wonder. They were dressed in broad cloth, silk hat, and gloves. I hear tell were getting \$40 per month for this work. It would have suited my notion much better if I had seen some crippled soldier doing this type of work. Negroes get to such places in Washington and Alexandria as soldiers can't that have lost their health and limbs to support the government. There was a regiment of black troops came in here just yesterday from Illinois—they seemed to march to the tap of a drum as well as any men could who have not drilled longer then they have done." In a letter dated May 28, 1864, he writes, "The wounded have commenced to come in today, as this place is being turned into a hospital and it will accommodate about 1,500 patients. We don't know whether we will stay, but I guess that we are liked as well as any Company that has been here, and think if a guard is kept here that it will be Company "B...I'm here doing one day of duty out of five or six, and I put about two thirds of my time into reading and the other into sleep. I am a clerk—or so the boys call me."

Bright. Quite cool.

Letters from Mrs. Jacobs & Mrs. Gibbard. Mrs. J. writes from Fortress Monroe, has had an elegant time & seen many interesting things.

Mrs. G. wants me to send her a girl to Burdett. Mr. G. is to be here in a wk or two. Been to Bap. Ch., heard Father Evans.

Calvary Regt. passed here today. Prisoners taken through to Washington. Several Co's drilled in the street.—Meade's Headqrs are at Warrenton. Pickets 2 mi. beyond.

October 26, 1863 Monday

Bright, cold.

Went out early, got pictures for Mrs. Jacobs & letter from a stranger in Mass. Mrs. M---ll is evidently up to some mischief.

Wrote & worked some & went to Home & listened to recital of Lucinda's escape from secesh, &c.

Have had a great many interruptions today. Wish the Rochester boxes wd. come. People need things so badly.

October 27, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Cold.

Attended to Washing. Copied letter to Democrat & did various things. Great many calls & interruptions. Only been out to P.O.

Lee's army has recrossed the Rappahannock & there has been more fighting.

It is 190 weeks since I have seen my darling Freda, since she was so rudely torn from my presence. Oh! does she think of Aunty yet?

October 28, 1863 Wednesday

Fine, Cold.

Went to Grantville to see sick woman.

Ironed in my own room & repaired various things. Ever so many calls. Letter from Anna Barnes. Box not sent yet, nor report printed.¹⁶⁴ I am vexed & disappointed. I have told so many that I expect a box every day that I am ashamed to see them anymore. People are supplying themselves with winter clothes. Can wait no longer. No particular war news.

October 29, 1863 Thursday

Very fine, warmer.

Cleaned my room & worked till 10. Went to Pro. Mar's & to Mrs. Dogan—Letter from Mrs. Marshall & Mrs. [?—*blanked out in original*]

¹⁶⁴ The Twelfth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society includes a Treasurer's Report dated Oct. 28, 1863, as well as a 15-page report from Wilbur recapping the previous year. Some of her comments and observations, as they refer to specific people or places, are included in previous footnotes. The expenses of the Society (\$1,425.44 in total) include \$560 to "Contrabands at Alexandria and Kansas" and \$177.73 to "Agent in Alexandria." The reports are located in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

Judge Day & wife here. Mrs. D. dinner with me. Cousin Helen[?] & her new husband here. Went to Home & Slave Pen & Wolfe St. Hospital & Contraband Hos. for the sake of the contrast. Mr. D. & Helen much interested. Mrs. [*Transcriber's Note: no name provided*] called again. She is going to teach in Grantville when the new S. House is done. I intend to go to W. tomorrow.

October 30, 1863 Friday

Cloudy. Looked so much like storm did not go to W.

Went to Home & to 68 Prince St.

Letter from Phebe.

Went to see old Nancy Carroll who must be taken to Hos. Oh! what wretchedness. A slave all her life till 4 mo. ago & now must die in a hospital. I am sick of this. Sick of the wrongs & outrages with which the earth is filled. I hate slavery tonight with a hatred more intense than ever.

October 31, 1863 Saturday

Rain A.M. Fine P.M.

Went to Market & got mutton to make broth for sick in Hospital. Read the papers. Miss Collier¹⁶⁵ called. In P.M. went to Home & met little girls to sew.

200 weeks since my little darling was taken from us. No letters from Frances or Mary in a long time. Wish I could hear from Joe Van B.

November 1, 1863 Sunday

Bright. Cool.

Went to Colored Methodist Church. White preacher. Large society.

I am lonely today. This evening too.----

Fighting at Chattanooga. Hooker whips the rebs.

Gen. Gilmore has opened fire on Charleston.

Lookout Mountain taken. No news from Meade. I think he will be a failure.

Dr. P. tells me the Hospital folks all have had a good dinner today.

November 2, 1863 Monday

Very fine. Hard frost last night. Went for stove grate. Went with Elisa Griggs to St. P Ch. Hos. to get her pay for last winter's work. Employed by Burdge & I presume she will get nothing.

¹⁶⁵ Probably Mary A. Collier, from Massachusetts, sent south by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society for "freedmen educational work," according to Baptist Home Missions in North America, 1832-1882, pg. 610. (http://books.google.com/books?id=0dBJAAAAMAAJ&dq=may&a.&collier&american&baptist&home&missionary&society&source=gbs_navlinks_s). In the RLASS Annual Report for 1867, JW reported "Miss Collier, from Chelsea, Mass., a faithful and devoted Missionary among the Freedpeople, died in December [1866]. She went to Alexandria in the fall of 1863, one year after I went there; and she was the second white woman who went there to labor among Contrabands. She died at her post, literally from overwork. The poor miss her very much...."

Went to Home & staid awhile. Have trimmed bonnets & sewed some.
Mrs. Churchill called when I was out going to [?]
No letters. I am anxious to hear from home. No war news.

November 3, 1863 Tuesday

Fine. Warm as summer.

Went for old Nancy Carroll & brought her to hospital.

Miss Hancock came from W., also Dr. Moore & wife Rachel, Phila. Friends. Went to Home & Slave Pen twice & to Soldier's Rest. Collision with Mr. G.

"Recognition of Church" at Home. Gentlemen came from W. to attend meeting. Dinner at Home, prepared by Mr. G. & others for visitors. A great deal has occurred to vex me today. Went to Man. House Hos. with Miss H. Talked with wounded rebel, 2nd S. Carolina Regt.

November 4, 1863 Wednesday

Very fine.—Went to Home. At 9 A.M. went with Miss Cornelia Hancock to W. Met Miss Mann on Wharf going to Alex. I went to Dr. Breed's & took dinner. Dr. Moore & wife there & this closing interview was more satisfactory than the former. Took long walk to Emma. Boat left at 5 ½ & took sloop in tow. Dark when I got to Alex.

Glorious news from N.Y., Republican Victory.

Letter from Mrs. Jacobs. More fighting at *[blank in original]*. Wounded brought in this evening.

November 5, 1863 Thursday

Windy, warm.

Letter from Mrs. Barnes. Sent box Monday.

Wrote to Mrs. B. & Mrs. Jacobs. Unpleasant in the streets. Called on Mrs. Reeves. Sewed some. Persons kept calling, hoping the boxes have come.

Went through our hospital. There has been no fire in the upper room yet. One man says "if it was only warm enough for him to get up & have his limbs rubbed, he wd. feel better. He tried it, took cold "has[?] misery across here again."

November 6, 1863 Friday

Bright, warm. High wind.

With Miss Collier went to Pitt St. & saw several families. Then to Grantville & visited several families. Wind blowing a gale. More houses being built.

Letter from Mrs. J., coming next wk. Will bring teachers if they are wanted. Dr. B. thinks we don't want any more at present.

Removed the dust from clothes & person & sewed awhile.

Good news from the West & S. West.

November 7, 1863 Saturday

High wind. Very unpleasant to be in the street.---Went to market to get something for sick.

Trunk came from Rochester. Sorted over things a little. At 2 P.M. went to Home & met little girls to sew, had pleasant time.

Read news for Leland.

No letters from home or from Frances yet. Nor from Joe Van B.—Fear he does not get mine. —Letter from S.A.F.

201 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from us, from those who loved her so much. Oh dear & all this while she is forgetting us.

November 8, 1863 Sunday

Windy, unpleasant.

Have only been out to my meals. Have seen hardly anybody today.

Trunk from R. filled mainly with fancy things. I have taken a list & sorted them all & this has used some of the day. Have written some.

Grows cold.

Fighting in progress at Bealton on Rappahannock.

Rebel prisoners brought in this P.M. evening, taken Saturday at or near Rappahannock. They are mostly Louisiana Tigers.

November 9, 1863 Monday

Quite cold.

Went out to learn prices of shawls, cloaks, & calicoes.

Great many calls for things. So cold the people want warm clothing.

Last night 1850 rebel prisoners went through on the cars to Washington.

Lieut. Col. Lem Towers,¹⁶⁶ Pro. Mar., has been suspended by Capt. Groynn. This is the fifth Pro. Mar. since I have been here.

No letters from home yet. Why don't they write?

November 10, 1863

Bright. Very cold.

I have been out twice & was glad to come in again. How the poor people must suffer. They look so shivery. I have no bedding & but little bedding to give them. One room of our Hos. is without fire yet. It surely is cruel.

Our loss in battle on Saturday, 400 in killed, wounded, & missing. It is thought Lee's army is retreating to Richmond. Meade surprised Lee & took 2 brigades, 11 cannon, &c. & ever so many officers.

192 wks. since I have seen Freda.

November 11, 1863

¹⁶⁶ Lemuel Towers (Pension file dated Jan. 6, 1892, service listed as 4 Battln. D.C. Mil., Lt. Col. D.C. Inf.). The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865, lists the following officers for the District of Alexandria on May 31, 1863: "Brig. Gen. J.P. Slough, 1st District of Columbia Lieut. Col. Lemuel Towers; 23d Main, Col. William Wirt Virgin; 153d New York, Col. Edwin P. Davis; 3d Pennsylvania Reserves, Maj. William Briner; 4th Pennsylvania Reserves, Lieut. Col. R.H. Woolworth; 7th Pennsylvania Reserves, Col. H.C. Bolinger; 8th Pennsylvania Reservers, Col. S.M. Baily; Pennsylvania Battery (H), Capt. William Borrows; Camps Convalescent and Paroled Prisoners, Lieut. Col. Samuel McKelvy; Camp Distribution, Capt. J.J. Upham." A footnote notes "The Second Brigade Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, Col. Horatio G. Sickel commanding"

Cold, windy. This morning went to wharf for wood, \$6.25 a cd. Then with Miss Collier went to wharf. Went all through old furnace & old mill. First has 11 rooms, all pay rent. Old mill has been partitioned by the people themselves & every room pays rent from 2 to 5 dols., amounts to about \$20 a mo. for worthless place. Even the attic is used, open, no chimney, cold & smoky, but a woman pays \$5 a mo. to U.S. Government. One man 73 has had 24 chil, pays rent. Another has fits, cannot work much, pays rent. Went through our Hos. one room has no fire yet, 5 men in it.

November 12, 1863 Thursday
Fine. Warmer. (1st Wisc. Battery)

With Miss C. went out towards Hunting Ck. Bridge. Then to Fort Rodgers on Jones Point. The officer of the day showed us around. We went into the mess room, tents, magazine, &c. Saw the gun that has lately been brought, wt. nearly 50,000 lbs. carrying ball weighing 440 lbs. Went all through long house near wharf. 18 or 20 rooms. Rents for over \$30 a mo., some rooms no windows nor chimney. —It is too bad, I think the Government, as well as the contrabands, is imposed upon. “My soul is sick with every day’s report.”¹⁶⁷ Then long walk to Royal St. & Maj. Silvey’s.

November 13, 1863 Friday
Very fine. Warm.

Went to No. 11 King St. Saw Maj. S. but can get no furniture. Shall give it up now. Went to Home & to Mr. Ax’s School & to Slave Pen prison. Left some books & tracts. Went to Office of San. Com. & got a few things for the sick in our Con. Hos.—How they are neglected! Went around to see old Fanny Robinson. Numerous calls for clothing. Letter from Phebe. Has sent her box. Our army occupies Culpepper Court House.

November 14, 1863 Saturday
Fine day, rainy eve., warm.
Cleaned my room.

In P.M. went to Home. Met with the girls to sew. Very pleasant. Box came from Phebe. Wish there were more people as prompt and energetic as she. No news from the seat of war. Have exchanged but few words with white people today.

Letter from Frances. Abner has sold farms & F. does not know what they will do next.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ This is from the poem “On Slavery” by English poet William Cowper (1731-1800), who had fought against the slave trade in England.

¹⁶⁸ Abner Hartwell was JW’s brother-in-law, husband of sister Frances. In the 1850 census, he is listed in Rush, New York, as age 39, a farmer with real estate valued at \$6,000, with Thomas Hartwell, age 64, Samantha Hartwell, age 58, Elvira Hartwell, age 28, and presumably two employees, Isabell Clark, age 20 (born in Ireland, as listed in the Census) and Michael Murphy, age 30, laborer. They are listed directly above the Wilbur family (including Julia, age 34 at the time), so presumably nearby. In the 1860 census, they are in Avon, New York, real estate estimated at \$2,000. By 1870 [still to be confirmed], Abner was living in Paw Paw, Michigan, remarried, wife listed as Lucy Hartwell, age 36, with Frank and Fred Rawson, both aged 11, also in the household. Frances was living in Washington, DC, with JW.

I wish she could come here & work with me. She would like it.
202 weeks since Freda dear was taken from us.

November 15, 1863 Sunday

Heavy rain last night or this morning. Cleared off about 10.

Have only been out to my meals. Have enjoyed the day very much, fewer interruptions than on other days.

Have taken inventory of Phebe's Box. Very good things, all useful & much needed.

Benjamin & Eliza send apples & ginger snaps for my use. P. is going to get up another box. She is an efficient woman & a true friend to these people. May she be blessed in her labor of love.—

Arranged things & wrote some.

November 16, 1863 Monday

Fine.

Went to find woman for Mrs. Anson[?] & to P.O.—Busy in the Clothing room nearly all day, great many called. Visited all the sick women in the hospital. Susannah Dent left today (from Md.). I have tried to make her understand that she is a free woman & she must act for & take care of herself.

Prospect of a change in the Hospital. Hope it will be for the better.

No war news today.

November 17, 1863 Tuesday

Fine.

Went to buy trunk for Ann Jones.

Then with Miss C. to Home. Gave shawl to Maria Brown that Phebe sent to her. She said, "she had prayed the Lord to send her a shawl."

Called at School to see Fanny.

Then to Soldier's Rest. Saw the 5th N.Y. Hawkins Zouaves drilling. 75 of the Invalid Corps do guard duty there. The place will be very beautiful when finished.

No war news.

Spent part of the day in clothing room.

Called on Mrs. Reeves.

November 18, 1863 Wednesday

Fine.

With Miss C. Went to 'Newtown' & visited several very interesting families. Young girl Anna Bell Davis¹⁶⁹ has a school. Martha Brown has boarding house. Walter Myers pays \$7 a mo. for 1 small room & so on.

Dr. & Mrs. Shaw called. She is going back to Mass. tomorrow. Emma Newman from W. called. Tried to answer Mrs. Earle's letter but have had constant interruptions. She is to send a box.—A Hospital for C's is to be built & a change is being effected in Medical Dept.

¹⁶⁹ Anna Bell Davis had been a slave. With Leannah Powell, she established the Newtown School in 1863 on Cameron Street (Source: Special Report of the Commissioner of Education in the District of Columbia, 1871)

November 19, 1863 Thursday

Fine, warm.

With Miss C. & Mrs. Bigelow went to Newtown, visited ever so many families. Some very interesting people, some of them I knew, others entire strangers. I have seen & heard enough today to think of a week.

Called at Mr. Arnold's. He was brought up with Gen. Scott, is 29 yrs. & 3 wks, younger than Gen. S. Knows Davis, Beauregard, McClellan.

We went through Govt. Bakery.¹⁷⁰ Use 100 bbls flour a day, make 48,000 loaves.

Mr. G. has turned Lucinda out of my room at Home & cleared out Mrs. J's[?] room too. Letters from Mary & Mary Julia.

November 20, 1863¹⁷¹ Friday

Fine. Warm. Need no fire. This morning went to Home. My room full of Marylanders came last night.

Adjoining room full of Mrs. J's old women's furniture. My things seem to be nowhere.

This P.M. had letter from Act. A. Gen. saying my letter had been referred to Mr. Gladwin. This is adding insult to injury. But I do not think Gen. S. has seen my letter nor this of the adjutant.

Mrs. J. & daughter came this P.M. I am glad they have come.

November 21, 1863 Saturday

Rained all day.

I have only been out to my meals. Have written a little & worked less.—

Mrs. J. has been to see Gen. Slough who sent for Mr. Gladwin. Mr. G. talked & contradicted himself & Gen. S. threatened him with the Slave Pen & was very sharp with him. Told Mr. G. I was not to be turned out of this room. But Miss W. can have no room at the barracks.—Mrs. J. can have room there & rooms in this house. Mr. G. looks quite crestfallen since & Mrs. J. is in high glee. I have no place for my sewing school now.

November 22, 1863 Sunday

Fine, cooler.

Went to meeting at Home. Louisa went with me. Mr. Robinson preached & Leland led the singing & prayed. Letter from Mrs. Winans.

This P.M. wrote letters.

This evening with Mrs. J. & Louisa went to meeting at the Barracks. Robinson preached the vengeance of God & Parker followed in the same strain & Mr. Gladwin told of his Block I. church¹⁷² & asked for money as they do every Sunday, got \$340, want \$1000. One convert who

¹⁷⁰ This may have been the Hill Bakery, Princess and Fayette Streets. Bbls—or barrels, containing 3.24 bushels of flour each.

¹⁷¹ Letter from JW to Anna Barnes dated November 20, 1863

¹⁷² Block Island, Rhode Island. In *A History of Block Island from its discovery in 1514 to the present time 1876* by Samuel T. Livermore, in detailing churches on the island: Pg. 209: "The fourth house of worship on Block Island was erected by the Free- Will Baptists, on the West Side, in the year 1853, and was burned in 1863. The fifth house of worship was the one at present occupied by the said First Baptist church, and was dedicated on the 25th of

told his experience. It was ludicrous.

November 23, 1863 Monday

Pleasant, cool, with Miss C. went to Newtown. Named one baby—heard & seen that wh. makes my heart ache. Talked with Mrs. Arnold's mother, 73 yrs. old, been free 9 mo. 4 daughters & their children sold away from her.—Called on “aunt When I came,” a religious monomaniac.--- This P.M. went to Mary Chase's school, Colored. 40 scholars.¹⁷³ Went to Home & brought away some of things, work, &c.

Went into Mr. Ax's school. It has improved very much since he has been in it.—Evening went Home to wedding of Dinah Berry's daughter & partook of the cake & persimmon beer. Came back in rain.

November 24, 1863

Rainy.

This A.M. repaired various things. And went to see Bell Perry. This woman has hard getting along. Pity the sorrows of the poor Slaves. Oh, when will this wickedness cease!

This P.M. made a bonnet.

It is 194 weeks since I have seen my little darling.

Meade has crossed the Rapidan with 10 days rations after Lee—expecting stirring news. Great activity in Tenn. Strange I do not hear from Joe.

November 25, 1863 Wednesday

Box from Rochester.

Cloudy. Rainy evening.

Went with Miss C. & Louisa to Fishtown & into every house we cd. find. Some old distressed places pay high rents to Gov. People fix them up themselves too. Some of the old houses have been torn away & I am glad of it.

Went to the cluster of cabins near the Quartermaster & named it Sunnerville.¹⁷⁴ Named baby

August, 1857. Its erection was chiefly due to the Rev. Mr. Gladwin's untiring devotion to the enterprise, encouraged by the liberality of Mr. John G. Sheffield and other active citizens, who set an example of Christian sacrifice which the rising generation will do well to imitate. To some who still speak tenderly of Mr. Gladwin, who has gone to his reward, and who labored for the present house against much bitter and blind opposition, his success seems almost superhuman.”

(Pg. 257): Eev.[sic] Albert Gladwin, during the summer of 1856, then a licentiate, served the church faithfully, and distinguished his labors by raising funds to build the present house of worship. In September of said year Rev. Dr. Jackson, and Rev. S. Adlam, of Newport, visited and counseled the church. The new house was formally delivered to the church by Mr. Gladwin, at a meeting held Dec. 31, 1857, at which time a vote of thanks was given to Mr. Gladwin for his services, together with \$244.99 of unpaid subscriptions "as a remuneration for his services in collecting funds for the purpose of building and furnishing this house, and also as building committee to get the same built and furnished, and for his services with us as a minister of the gospel."

¹⁷³ Miss Mary Chase was an African American teacher who operated Columbia Street School near Wolfe Street from 1861 to 1866, averaged 25 students. (Source: Special Report of the Commissioner of Education in the District of Columbia, Washington Printing Office of 1871).

¹⁷⁴ The Quartermaster was at the corner of Prince and Lee Streets, so presumably this area of houses was there as well.

Victoria.

Went to Grantsville. Called on Mr. Grant & a few others. In P.M. went to Newtown to see sick woman & give her food. Went to Home & Mr. Ax's school. Went to find aunt Fanny Robinson & give her something for Thanksgiving. Oh, so tired. Had washing done. Settled with Lucinda.

November 26, 1863 Thursday

Perfect day. Ironed this morning. Then went to M.E. Church. Heard Gov. Pierpont, Gen. Briggs, Capt. S.F. Beach Esq. & *[Transcriber's Note: left blank]*

Collection taken up to aid Union prisoners in Richmond.

Took my Thanksgiving dinner with Mr. Augur's family at Washington House.

Last Thanksgiving I was in Parolee camp.

Unpacked Rochester box. Then went to laying of cornerstone of Bethel Church by Col Masons, followed by a panegyric, Masonry by Rev. Robinson.—Mr. Downing of N.Y. spoke 2 or 3000 people present. Grand time.

November 27, 1863 Friday

Bright. Cold.

Cleaned room & did chores. Worked in clothing room. Wrote a letter. Letters from Ann Haines & Mrs. Earle. Both have sent barrels of clothing.

Letter from my old friend Mrs. Tracy.—

No war news.

November 28, 1863 Saturday

Rainy. Have only been to my meals & P.O. Letters from Phebe & Mr. Cox.—Papers from S.A. Ferris.—

Made velvet bonnet & attended in clothing room.

Went to see them all in Hospital. 2 men buried yesterday, one had been beaten to death. 2 upper rooms no fire. In one room is a boy from Conn., he ran away & came here with a regiment. Is well enough to get up but had no clothes. Mrs. J. & I gave him some & told him to go down where there is a fire. Wants to go back to his mother. Has enough of the army.

November 29, 1863 Sunday

Cold, blue day.

Have only been out to my meals. Been reading, writing & trying to rest.

I feel lonely & disheartened. Must the wrong ever triumph?

Great victories in Tenn. over the rebs. Missionary Ridge & Lookout Mt. taken with prisoners, guns, &c.

Meade moved on Thursday & there has been fighting on the Rapidan but the particulars are not known. The rain of Saturday was bad for them.

November 30, 1863

Very cold, bright.

This A.M. went for wood, oil, &c. & with Miss C. went to Newtown & made calls. One woman

had last stick on fire & cd. get no more till night. Saw a young woman who has been beaten & burnt till she is scarred from head to foot.

This P.M. with Louisa & Virginia went to Water St. & to nearly every room in old furnace & Long house & old mill. Nearly all full of smoke. Those without windows so dark that we cd. hardly see the inmates, some very open & cold, & into every one of these houses Mr. G. goes for rent. Went into School.

December 1, 1863

Bright, very cold.

This morning went to Hayti. Two women & families should draw rations but no use asking Mr. G.—Went to Ex. O. & to Commissary & Pro. Marshal. Saw Capt. Gwynn for first time about rations for Lucy Madden. He referred me to Mr. G. to whom I went & then to Newtown at last succeeded in getting an order for rations.—

People at Barracks out of wood. Mr. G. praying & singing in the meeting & folks outside freezing & starving. Event to Depot to see about bbls. from Buffalo.

Worked in clothing room, have not been in my room half an hour today. Am very tired.

December 2, 1863

Fine, mild. Did not go out this morning. This P.M. went with Miss C. & Mrs. J. to Slave Pen. Two thirds of prisoners are Zouaves. A gay scene for the place. Warm & comfortable. Left books for the poor fellows. In women's prison were only 3, & those I knew, Contrabands in for 10 da., one for selling liquor¹⁷⁵ & 2 girls for nothing bad as I cd. learn. Mr. Gladwin put them there!

Went to Soldiers Rest & left books. So pleasant & nice there.—This evening went to Barracks to hear Rev. Hunnicutt of Fredericksburg.¹⁷⁶ Didn't quite answer my expectations. These people are to be pitied.

December 3, 1863, Thursday

Very fine. A day of enjoyment for me.

At 9 A.M. went on boat to W. to the B. depot but cd. hear nothing of the bbls. sent from Buffalo. Called at Mr. Lake's & at Judge Day's. Went with him & Rev. Rockwood & Fisher of the Chronicle to Arlington in ambulance to Dedication of School House & Home at Freedmen's Village on Greene Heights.¹⁷⁷ So little chilⁿ from Camp Barker did the singing. Speakers Chittenden, Briggs & Gooch & Ben Perley Poore. All very good & exactly the thing. Gen.

¹⁷⁵ All in all, alcohol was a problem in Alexandria, although apparently patients were allowed a portion. A communication on February 10, 1863, from Provost Marshall Wells to General Slough reads, "The cellar in which I store confiscated liquors is full to overflowing All requisitions made for such liquors at Hospitals have been filled. Will you direct what disposition should be made with the stock on hand." (Source: NARA, RG 393 Pt, 4, E.1526 Lts, sent 1862-64 (Alex))

¹⁷⁶ Rev. James Hunnicutt, publisher of the Christian Banner in Fredericksburg, was known as a Unionist.

¹⁷⁷ Schoolhouse and "Providence Home" dedicated December 3, 1863. For a reprint of the original December 12, 1863 article in the New York Times, see <http://www.nytimes.com/1863/12/12/news/freedmen-s-village-virginia.html>. According to this article, a school house and chapel was erected by the American Tract Society and the Home for Aged and Infirm Freedmen was erected by donors from Providence, RI.

Heintzelman & staff & band, Gen. Slough & staff & many other notables. Elegantly dressed ladies. It was a gay sight within & without. The sight affected my heart, on Va. soil! On the chief rebel's estate! Twas glorious!

December 4, 1863, Friday

Very fine, Warm.

Worked in clothing room & in my own room.

Letter from Mary. She is safe in Mich. & all well. Not heard from Joe since the 20th

Nov.—

This P.M. went to Long House & to see Julie Slaughter, who had just returned from S. Penn. I think it may do her good. But I am told the 2 girls are very bad.

We hear that Meade is retreating. It is too bad. So discouraging.

December 5, 1863, Saturday

Cloudy. Oh! such a busy day. Did not sleep well last night. Almost sick today. Several 100 wounded came in during the night, have not heard the particulars. A great many calls for clothing. What a pity the other boxes do not come.

Sewing school in my room. I cannot attend to it here, & I have given it up. Sorry to do so for the girls enjoy it. Dr. Colwell of the San. Comm.¹⁷⁸ called to make enquiries. Miss Collier here, cd. not get time to go to the hospitals with her.

Completely used up tonight.

December 6, 1863

Very fine. They tell me it is cold but to me it has been like a hot summer's day as I lay looking out at the bright sunshine. I have not sat up at all today. The overfatigue of yesterday together with a cold I must have taken in the clothing room where there is no fire, has made me ill.

Linda [*Transcriber's Note: blank space*] came yesterday to try to get her pay from Dr. B. for 2 ½ mos. work.

December 7, 1863, Monday

Bright, cold.

Have sat up but a few minutes today but hope I shall be able to do something tomorrow.

Great excitement carried by the arrest of Capt. C.B. Ferguson A.2.M. U.S.A. & Capt. Stoddard A.2.M. Vols. & Clerks Roland & Cary & others. Are in prison in Washington.

Perhaps now will come to light the reason why the contrabands have not been paid always. Ferguson is defaulter to amt. \$640,000.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Possibly Dr. Stephen Colwell from Philadelphia

¹⁷⁹ Capt. Colin Ferguson was Quartermaster and Capt. William Stoddard was his assistant. According to Barbour, *Alexandria in the Civil War* (pp. 94-95), the two, along with some of their clerks, were investigated by Lafayette C. Baker and found to be "engaged in, among other things, the unauthorized purchase and sale of government

December 8, 1863

Bright day. Cold. Frosty morning.

Can't go out today but I feel some better.

Aunt Lucy Lawson comes & does a little work for me every day & says "I'm bound to stay by you, Miss Wilbur." She has brought me some of her peaches & some of her "pars." (preserves)

Mrs. Jacobs is very kind & sees that everything I need is done.

President "recommends all loyal people to assemble for worship & Thanksgiving to God, because the rebel army is retreating from E. Tenn." Better wait till they have retreated.

December 9, 1863, Wednesday

Fine. Warmer.

Feel much better. Been to see some of the sick in hospital & been out to my dinner. Hope to be quite well by tomorrow. So much I wd. like to do. F. Douglass is in Washington & has lectured twice. I hope he will come here.—Patsey & Aunt Nancy have had no fire during the day. This eve. 2 men brought in to Hos. from Brandy Station, one so sick cd. not sit up, other shot in hip by guerrillas on 27th. ult. Lay on floor in kitchen an hour till Dr. P. came. No man here to help or anything for them. Only one woman here who is well enough to work.

December 10, 1863, Thursday

Bright. Cold. This morning went into Hos. Makes my heart sick. Cd. not keep quiet when Miss C. spoke of going to Dr. B. at meeting last night. "Preach & kidnap men."—About noon Mrs. Latham & Congdon & Thomas came. Dr. B. had showed them Grantville, all but his own houses. I showed them the hospital, wh. had been scrubbed for them to see. Then came Amy Post¹⁸⁰ & B. Fish & Mrs. & Miss Millets. Went with them to Long House & school & all through Old Mill. They are very indignant that Gov. sh. rent such buildings. Mr. G. came before we left & was mighty mad that they had seen these.

December 11, 1863, Friday

Cold. Cloudy.

Boxes & Bbls. came last night from Coxsackie & Worcester. I have opened them & attended to a great many people & am very tired to tonight. Too tired to write letters.

The New York Com. have left. But they have learned a great deal today. Mr. G. & Mrs. J. went with them to the Long House, the Old Mill, &c. & made a thorough investigation, much to the discomfort of Mr. G. who reluctantly accompanied them. He had ordered everything cleaned up

property." (Baker himself had a very colorful career, including involvement in the investigation after Lincoln's assassination.). His successor, J.G.C. Lee wrote in 1906 that he had been working in Washington and, when no suitable replacement could be found, was ordered to take over: "It was then well on to noon. I returned to my desk, transferred by duties, named three clerks to go with me, and at 3 o'clock took the tug *Rescue* at the foot of Sixth Street wharf and at 3:45 landed at Alexandria." (Lee, "The Alexandria Quartermaster's Depot During the Civil War," *Journal of the Military Service Institutions of the United States*, Vol. XXXIX, July-August 1906).

¹⁸⁰ Amy Post and her husband Isaac were leaders in the Rochester abolitionist community (<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=4018>).

early this morning, but the Com. understands him.

December 12, 1863, Saturday

Cloudy. Such a busy day. I have not rested a minute. In morning cleaned my room. Then waited on the people till dark. Then cleaned & regulated clothing room & unpacked 2 bbls. wh. came from Buffalo today.

Posted all my accounts & it is now 10 P.M. & I am oh! so tired!

Too tired to go to bed or sleep. No letters.

206 weeks since my little darling was taken from me.

December 13, 1863, Sunday

This morning it rained. Before noon, cleared off & it is as warm as summer.

Regulated my own room & made a thorough toilet. Feel better & sort rested. Worked while in Clothing room & picked out some things for hospital boys. This evening wrote letters.

One of Mr. Gladwin's teachers was arrested yesterday for desertion. Good riddance for the school! These are fast times.

December 14, 1863

[Transcriber's Note: Piece on left lobbed off]

Lovely, warm.

One of the busy days. Waited on people morning till night. Gave out 119 piece It is very tiresome and I can't even write a letter this evening. We have told not to come again till Friday[?]. I must take it easier. I never can endure hard labor & kept it up. I am not half as strong as I was a year ago.

Wish I could hear from home.

December 15, 1863

Very fine. Put Clothing room to rights & did various chores.

Went to Freedman's Home & to Mr. Ax's school Then to old brick house in cattle yard where several colored families live. An awful place but has once been very pleasant.

Peyton's Grove.¹⁸¹

December 16, 1863

Fine. Got a pass & went on the 10 A.M. boat to Washington. Called at Judge D's & then went to the Capitol. In Senate there was debating upon I know not what. I was vexed & overheated as usual. It adjourned at 1 P.M. I then admired the bronze door made in Munich & went to the House. The treatment of Kan. Zas. Prisoners was up & they adjourned at 2. Then I went to Camp

¹⁸¹ While not clear why this phrase was added to the end of Wilbur's entry for that date (and separated as shown here), Peyton's Grove was a "fine home on a large estate" on Cameron Street, according to the Braddock Road Metro Station Small Area Plan for Historic Preservation, October 1990. Office of Historic Alexandria. Francis Peyton was an earlier mayor of Alexandria.

Barker. Saw Miss Hancock, Miss Willetts, &c. & visited the Hos. Then went to Judge Day. I had pleasant visit. Somehow I do not enjoy anything as I did once. Oh! well—

December 17, 1863, Thursday

Rain. Rain, till 2 P.M. & I staid at Judge D's till it stopped, then went to Dr Breed's & had good visit. Rained all the evening. I did not attempt to go out. Could not go to Capitol even. It is so comfortable here that it will seem worse than ever in Alex. How do I manage to stay there? Such a forlorn, desolate place & no society!

People don't half appreciate their snug, comfortable & luxurious homes.

December 18, 1863, Friday

Cloudy. Warm. Called on Mrs. Markham & at a few place on the Ave. & then went back to Dr. B's & Miss M. Robinson went with me to Capitol. Spent 2 hrs. in Senate & really enjoyed it. A debate arose on a Resoⁿ requiring all senators to take the oath of allegiance. I heard Saulsbury, Powell, McDougall, Reverdy Johnson, Turnbull & Summer. Then they went into Ex. Session & the galleries were cleared. House was adjourned too.—I took 4 P.M. boat & got back here to my room at dusk. Letter from Frances.

December 19, 1863, Saturday

Cloudy. Cold.

Spent most of day in Clothing Room waiting on people. Went through Hospital. The rooms comfortably warm.

Somehow I feel discouraged & dispirited. It is not comfortable here. My room is cold & it looks forlorn. It might be worse I know. But I do feel the need of society. I am lonely.

It is 207 weeks since my little darling was take from her aunty who loved her so dearly. If I cd. only hear from her.

December 20, 1863, Sunday

Bright. Coldest day yet.

Have not been to church, only out to my meals. Written to father & Frances & cleaned up & rested.

Hard work to keep warm. No wood or coal at barracks. How the poor people will suffer.

The soldiers look frozen. How much misery & discomfort there is in the world!

December 21, 1863, Monday

Very cold. Met two white young women just come from 10 miles beyond Culpepper C.H. Never been from home before, hard times there. Called at Miss Chase's.

Spent most of the day in Clothing Room.

Letters from Mary & Phebe & Anna Barnes. M. is settled in her home again & enjoys it but has not heard from Joe this mo.

Anna B. has got back to R. Phebe is working for contrabands all the while.

Two new families came in last Friday, women with nothing but children.

December 22, 1863, Tuesday

Cold. Had my washing done. This evening brought in my frozen clothes. Nearly out of wood & my room is not comfortable. This P.M. went to Home. These past cold days they have suffered for want of fuel. Called on Mrs. Crouch¹⁸². Went to Wolfe St. Hospital to see 2 of the 15 1st N.Y. wounded at Mile Run. Saw one Georgian who does not wish to fight any more. He says he couldn't be better cared for. He was smoking.

This evening went to Meth. Ch. to Mr. Ax's concert but some of the musicians didn't come from W. & it is put off till Friday.

December 23, 1863, Wednesday

Cold, very. Used two barrels for fuel. Did my ironing. Then went to Express Office &c. Went to Wolfe St. Hos. but cd. not see Mr. Wetherbee.

Went to Christ Church to get some ivy for Frances. It seems like the coldest day we have had. I have a nice fire this evening, having borrowed some wood. I cannot bear to think of the soldiers in the field. Poor fellows. May God protect them.

December 24, 1863, Thursday

Bright, very cold.

Went this A.M. to Wolfe St. Hos. & saw J. Wetherbee of Clarendon, N.Y.

Worked some in clothing room. This P.M. David Wing came & I went with him to Christ Church & to Mansion House Hos. & saw J. Caldwell from Middleport, N.Y. Then to Fort Rodgers & saw the 400 pounder & the 200 pounder, &c. Then went to Old Mill & Long House to see the Contrabands.

D. left at 5 ½ P.M. I have been out this eve to give some presents. Letter from Frances & present of Stamp Box.

December 25, 1863, Friday

Bright. Cold. Christmas. Very busy day. Took my 2d breakfast with Mrs. Jacobs. Have been to Home & to Newtown & given some presents. Secesh can celebrate Christmas & the boys especially have used a great many fire crackers & some powder. This P.M. a large fire on Royal St., several poor families both white & colored turned into the street. I went quite near it. A large crowd but no unusual noise. Mounted guards kept order.

December 26, 1863, Saturday

Bright, warmer.

Trimmed bonnet for Sally. Went to P.O. Letter from Mrs. Earle. Miss Howland, Miss Nichols & Miss Willetts here.

Went to Grantville with Mrs. J. & Miss C. Schoolhouse nearly done. Place improving very fast.

¹⁸² Possibly Jane Crouch, an African American teacher and Alexandria native who, along with Sarah Gray, established the St. Rose Institute, on West Street between King and Prince Streets in October 1861. (Source: Special Report of the Commissioner of Education in the District of Columbia, Washington Printing Office of 1871) . Lyles Crouch Traditional Academy, a modern-day Alexandria public school at 530 S. St. Asaph Street, named for her and another educator, Rozier Lyles.

Talk of moving our Barracks to Arlington.

Of 700 at Camp Barker in W. only 115 persons went to Arlington. The rest fled. It may be so here, but how the people will be frightened! This evening Mr. Remond & Mr. Smith¹⁸³ came.

December 27, 1863 Sunday

Rainy.—I have not been out. Mr. Remond & Mr. Smith left about 4 P.M. I dined with them & have had a pleasant visit with them.

Last evening we all went to the festival at Bethel Ch. at 9 ½ o'clock. Not many there.

I have rested some today & written letters.

Yesterday it was 208 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from us. If I could only hear from her & know how she is!

December 28, 1863, Monday

Rainy.

Only been to my meals & P.O. but few people here today. Wrote several letters.

Letter from Joseph Van B. dated Dec. 9th, Knoxville, Tenn. Was well then. The 2d Mich. lost heavily in the siege of K. & fought bravely when the rebs attacked Ft. Saunders. Joe was not in the fight, but afterwards under a flag of truce he sent the rebel dead & wounded within their lines & removed our dead. He commands an Am. Corps. I hope Mary has heard from him lately.

December 29, 1863, Tuesday

Bright P.M. Warmer.

This A.M. cleaned room. Then went to Ex. Of. & several other places & 68 Prince St. This P.M. went to Home. Contention about school in Grantsville.

Talk of sending contrabands to Arlington.

Getting up New Year's celebration.

Letter from home, all well as usual.

December 30, 1863, Wednesday

Bright, warm.

Attended to getting wood. Box came from Rochester, unpacked it & sorted & arranged things.

Spent evening in doing up reports &c.

No one to go with me to M.S.S. celebration.

Mrs. J. & girls gone to Bethel Festival. I have enjoyed my fire alone as usual.

A very busy day & I am very tired tonight. Went through the Hospital. How much the sick need nourishment & care.

December 31, 1863, Thursday

Rainy all day. Been to my meals & to P.O. twice. Worked in clothing room awhile. Then make a

¹⁸³ Possibly Gerrit Smith and Charles Remond, prominent abolitionists? Smith was a large landowner in upstate New York who gave 40 acres each of his Adirondack land to poor, "temperate" black men so they met voting requirements. He also sold land to John Brown and family. Remond was black, born to (free) immigrants from Curacao in Massachusetts.

velvet bonnet.

Letter from Mary Julia. She describes R. Bazaar. All well but not certain that she & her mother will come to Alex.

One year ago I was at Scott House & sat up nearly half the night to watch the old year out.

This evening spent a little time in Mrs. Jacobs room. Since then had evening to myself.

Well, the Potomac Army is in winter quarters a few miles from where it was last winter.

1864 Pocket Diary

[Transcriber's Note: pre-printed]
Pocket Diary for 1864
Published Annually for the Trade
1864

[Transcriber's Note: handwritten]
Price 50 cts.

[Transcriber's Note: handwritten alongside pre-printed chart of December dates, sun rises & set, moon sets, and high water, handwritten]
258 wks since Freda was taken from us.

Friday, January 1, 1864

Bright. Colder. Went to P.O. twice. Went to meeting at Col^d Meth. Church. Anniversary of Freedom for the Slave. Dr. Bigelow presided & read Proclamation of E. Speakers were Rev. Mr. White of Va. Alex. Rev. Mr. Post of Penn. Rev. Mr. Hunnicutt Va. Mr. Pepper of Maine. Capt. Wyman of Mass. Mr. Robinson of Alex. Turner & Drew & Marks, audience small but speaking good. I was the only white woman.

Saturday, January 2, 1864

Coldest day. Then 10° above 0. Went to P.O. & Journal Office &c. Went to slave pen, but few prisoners. Left Anti Slavery Tracts & pamphlets for them. Also for 2 colored men & the guard, too. Only think, distributing abolition tracts in a Slave Pen! The world has moved some. Visited all the families too. Went to Soldier's Rest & to the guard room & left tracts &c. Mr. Parker of Boston here. Mrs. J. & I went with him to Grantville & Summerville & he was much interested. Called to see Mr. Fish who is ill. Very busy day.

Sunday, January 3, 1864

Cold. Snowy all day. Cloudy. After breakfast went to take basket of food to Aunt Fanny. Cleaned up ground & enjoyed the quiet of my own room. Mr. Smith & Mr. Remond came in even. They went with us to Barracks to Meeting. Mr. Hunnicutt preached & there was praying & groaning & shouting. Dr. Pettijohn¹⁸⁴ left this P.M. so suddenly that we did not know it until he had gone. Sick woman brought to Hos. No responsible person here.

Monday, January 4, 1864

Snowy all day. With Smith, Remond, Louisa & Virginia went to S. Rest. Sneers & side looks followed us. A white woman with all these niggers! Whew! Large number of conscripts here. Came yesterday. Went to Office of Slave Pen, was told that we cd. not see the place without a pass from the Pro. Mar. order lately issued. The Sergeant looked daggers at me, but I did not seem to mind it. Smith

¹⁸⁴ Amos Pettijohn, MD, from Indiana came in October 1863 to replace Dr. Graves, who had died of typhoid (Source: A House Divided Still Stands: The Contraband Hospital and Alexandria Freeman's Aid Workers).

& Remond called on President New Years & were received just like others. Attended in clothing room rest of day.

Tuesday, January 5, 1864

Bright. Thawed. Cold this eve. Have only been out to meals, washed & ironed collars & did various chores but few calls. Very cold weather & stormy in North & West. Rebs threatening Winchester. Company of soldiers passed this morning. I greeted them with a waving flag. They doffed their beavers, kissed their hands and hurraed for the waver. Much to the amusement of the few lookers-on.

Wednesday, January 6, 1864

Bright & cold. Went to P.O. & to my meals. Did various chores in room. Miss Collier called. In evening went to hear Rev. J.W. Hunnicutt on the Past, Present & Future condition of the African race in Am. Audience highly delighted. Singing at the close & dancing for it was nothing less. Paper from my friend Mrs. Winans containing notice of her son Edwin's death in Athens Tenn[?].

Sent for rations & attended to wood. Went through Hos.

Thursday, January 7, 1864

Coldest day yet. Cannot make rooms warm. Attended in clothing room. Dr. Webster here from Arlington. Perhaps he will be Surgeon in Charge.

Benj. Latham & H. Dickinson of N.Y. have been here, investigating Contraband affairs here & in Arlington. They called on Gov. Slough. Showed Dr. W. through Hos.

Letters from Neddy & Mary Julia. The first time Neddy ever wrote me.

Barrel from Phebe.

Called at Parker & R. school & left tracts.

Friday, January 8, 1864

Cold, bright. Attended in Clothing Room nearly all day. Went to Wolfe Street Hospital to see Weatherby & Gillespie. Letters from Mrs. Breed & Mrs. Marshall. Mrs. B. wants me to come & take charge of Colored Home. I cannot do it. Boats do not run to W. So much ice.

About 5 P.M. the water pipes burst & flooded the clothing Room. Many things got wet.

Removed nearly all. I was wet from head to foot. Made a great deal of work & I have not done much this eve.

Saturday, January 9, 1864

Very cold, bright, glorious sunset.—

Plumbers here to fix pipe. Room so wet cd. not regulate it. It looks so uncomfortable here. Mr. Parker came from W.

This P.M. went to Grantville. Nearly a hundred children collected in the new school house or chapel.

We had refreshments for them. We all spoke to them & there was singing. They behaved well & all seemed to enjoy it. L. Jacobs & Va. Lawton are to begin a school there next Monday to be

free for the children.¹⁸⁵

Sunday, January 10, 1864

Bright. Cold. Went to P.O. no letters. In P.M. went to Grantville to meeting. The Recognition of the 3rd Baptist Ch., Col^d, in Alex, 1st one formed in 1804. House crowded. Exercises very interesting, but quite lengthy. Reverends Post, White, 2 Parkers, Pepper, Scott, Evans, Robinson, Gladwin, Owen, &c. took part in Ex's & Dr. Bigelow, too—Hope the colored folks will keep control of it.

Monday, January 11, 1864

Milder. Bright. Cleaned & regulated clothing room. It is very damp yet. Waited on the people. Went to P.O. No letters in 3 or 4 days---
Went to buy wash basin, but cd. find no andirons.
Have taken cold. Throat sore. Room so damp. Louisa & Virginia began school with 80 scholars. I gave the school 2 doz. slates.

Tuesday, January 12, 1864

Warm, bright. Attended to washing. Cleaned my room & did various chores. About 4 P.M. Miss Hancock & Mrs. Child came in cars. Had lunch, then drove to Slave Pen & Soldier's Rest. I went to Washington with them over Long Bridge. Nice ride, danger enough to make it exciting. Walked from Av. To Mrs. B. Urged to take place of Matron at Col^d Home, but I cannot do it. Sorry I can't.

Wednesday, January 13, 1864

Hazy, warm. Left Dr. B's about 10. Spent an hour in finding when Omnibus left for Alex. Went to Capitol, draped in black, for C.R. Smith, Ex. Sec. of Int. Heard Mr. Channing open session in House by prayer & stayed an hour, nothing of interest. Went to Senate galleries. Full to hear Sen. Davis of Ky. speak in his own defense against Res. of Sen. Wilson for his expulsion for disloyal words. Effected an entrance after awhile & got seat. D. was speaking when I left.¹⁸⁶ Came back to Alex. in Omnibus.

Thursday, January 14, 1864

Hazy A.M. Bright P.M. Thawing—Went with Caroline Washington to get pass.—Attended clothing room. Letters from Angeline & Elisabeth.
About 11 a.m. Rev. Isaac Gibbard came & stayed till 1 P.M. He saw Caroline. She is to go to W. tomorrow & he is to meet her & take her to Burdett, N.Y. I shall be glad when she is safely there.

¹⁸⁵ According to the Special Report of the Commissioner of Education in the District of Columbia, Jacobs Free School began on January 11, 1864, at the corner of Pitt and Roanoke [sic—maybe Oronoco?] Streets, supported by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, with Louisa Jacobs and S.V. Lawton as teachers. The fact that the New England Freeman's Aid Society sent Miss Virginia Lawton and a Mr. Banfield from New Hampshire was reported in *The Freedmen's Record*, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1865, online at <http://faculty.assumption.edu/aas/Reports/fr02-1865.html>

¹⁸⁶ Davis had urged Americans in the North and South to end the war and revolt against the Administration, but the expulsion from the Senate, led by Sen. Wilson from Massachusetts, did not succeed.

Ironed this P.M. Hear that Dr. Webster is coming here to take charge of new hospital.

Friday, January 15, 1864

Cloudy.

Waited on people in the Room. Called for Caroline & she came over to get ready & I went to the Omnibus with her & she left in good spirits for W.

Went through Hospital. Distressed looking place.

Read Tribune speeches of Davis, Ky. & Wilson. Mass. in Senate. F. Douglass has given a splendid lecture at Cooper Institute. It is wonderful indeed.

This evening when coming from [?] broke through ice & was nearly submerged in mud hole.

Whew! What a city!

Saturday, January 16, 1864

Bright. Warmer. Went out at 9. Left books for Miss Chase & Miss Crouch. Went to Newtown with books for Annabel Davis. Did various chores rest of day. Letter from Mrs. Root. Boats run to W. again.

211 weeks since my little darling was taken from us & all through these long years she is becoming estranged from us. Not a word have I heard from her since Thanksgiving.

Sunday, January 17, 1864

Have only been out to my meals. Cleaned up. Wrote to Angeline & Mary & Minnie Van. Letter from Mary today. All well. She has seen several persons just from Knoxville. Hears from Joe often.

Milly Lewis in Hos. Is very ill. Have been to see her this evening. They sent for Dr. Shaw. Bigelow has neglected her & she will probably die in consequence. Has diphtheria. Such shameful neglect!

Monday, January 18, 1864

Rain all day. Fog at eve. Been to meals & P.O. Letter from Phebe C. I have written to Phebe & F. & Neddy & Mrs. Tracy. Been through the hospital. What a distressed place.

The men & women who worked so long for government without pay have nearly all been paid today. I am glad for them. Mr. Ensey called with Express book.

Tuesday, January 19, 1864

Windy, wild day. Went for rations & for eggs for Hos. 40 cts. a doz. Read Tribune. Made black bonnet. 2 bbls. from Worcester came this evening. Charges from N.Y. \$4!—Waited on a few people.

Dr. & Mrs. Webster called. Things not arranged satisfactorily yet. There is reason to fear that Dr. B. will have things his own way first.

Wednesday, January 20, 1864

Fine. Boats do not run yet. With Mrs. Bigelow went to W. on cars at noon.---Went to Capitol, sat in House an hour. Can't tell what was done. Went into Supreme Court Room a little while. Then to Senate. Hendricks of Pa. speaking in favor of G. Davis. Then they went into

Executive Session & galleries were cleared. Went to House again. Whiskey bill up for discussion. Went to Dr. Breed's. Trouble at "home." Mrs. B. left Committee. Came back on P.M. train. Tired & headaches.

Thursday, January 21, 1864

Cold & raw. Waited on a few people. Head aches today. Had a tiresome day yesterday. Yesterday Ben Johnson died in Hos. He was a noble man & today a boy of 14. This P.M. they were carried out. I went to cemetery. Rode in Ambulance with driver, his dog, & 3 coffins. The Potters field is the most heathenish looking place I ever saw. These were first put in holes rather than graves and barely covered. The poor slave. Virginia does not afford earth enough hardly to cover his remains!!

Friday, January 22, 1864

Fine. Went out early this morning to see a family. Waited on the people & wrote some &c. Letters from Frances & Mrs. Coleman & Mr. Gibbard. Mr. G. got to Burdett with Caroline & she is well pleased so far. Mrs. C. is willing to come to Georgetown, but she is to be disappointed, I fear. F. writes oh! such a letter. They are in the deepest trouble. C. is nearly beside herself. In any other shape, she cd. have borne it better. I am partly home already. Must keep this out of my mind if possible.

Saturday, January 23, 1864

Fine. Got ready in A.M. & took train to W. at noon. Called at Markhams & found that Charlotte & sis came to W. yesterday. Left at 9 this morning for Culpeper. Mr. J.W. Griffin went with me to Col. Hardie to get pass, but he refused to give me one to go to the front. Too bad.

Vexed & desperate I went to the White House as it was on my way & shook hands with the President & Mrs. Lincoln. Then mixing with the crowd. I studied both personages while others were presented. Abraham good natured & awkward & Betsey gorgeously dressed & silly looking. Called at Dr. Breed's & took 4 P.M. boat.

Sunday, January 24, 1864

Fine. Went to Meth. Ch. & heard Mr. Speake. I nodded until I was frightened into being wide awake & left before the close. This P.M. read & rested, but I am so disappointed that I cannot be in Culpeper today.—I am lonely & discouraged.

Mrs. J. has had ever so much company & of course does not think of being lonely.

Monday, January 25, 1864

Bright & warm. Been to P.O. twice. Kind letter from Mrs. Angle. Spent nearly all day in Clothing Rom.

Great numbers of soldiers come in, going to front.

So fine today, streets alive with people. Large funeral of man that was killed & a soldier's funeral. Not seen one before in 2 wks.

I cannot give up not going to Culpeper. The weather is so fine.

Tuesday, January 26, 1864

Very fine. Warm. Need no fire. With Mrs. Bigelow, went to Soldier's Rest & left papers & books. Went to Pro. Mar. for pass to W & called on Mrs. Reeves.—Went to Grantsville to Mr. Lyle's school & the Free School, called on Mrs. Griffin & Mrs. Bell. I left books & tracts.—About 4 P.M., Dr. Breed & wife & daughter called. Took short ride with them. Mrs. J. been to Arlington. Mud has dried up remarkably. Remarkable weather.

Wednesday, January 27, 1864

Very fine. All the A.M. looked for C. & Sis, but they do not come yet. Went to Newtown with Mrs. J. & made several calls. Then to Connoway's[?] Hall, where we are to have the Fair.—Went to Wolf St. Hos. to see Weatherby & Gillespie. This evening been to hear the Black Swan & the Young Swan. They sing beautifully. Hall crowded. Saw only 4 white persons there. Enjoyed it much. First concert of the kind ever held here. Glad for so much.

Thursday, January 28, 1864

Like May. Waited on people & went to Journal Office & wrote to Father & did various chores. Charlotte & Mary Julia do not come yet. Why is it?

This evening went to the Fair at Connoway's Hall. Very few there. Sold nothing. I am oh! so tired & must sleep on the floor, too. I can't go there every evening for a week.

Friday, January 29, 1864

Bright. Very warm. Did various chores in A.M. Louisa J. sick. About noon Charlotte & Sis came, having returned from Culpepper yesterday. Had a pleasant time. They took dinner with me at W. House. Then I went with them to Barracks & new Hos. But Sis is not interested in anything & I presume did not care to come here. I am so disappointed in that child. Hurried off on 4 P.M. boat. I went with them. Tea at Markhams. Went to Browns, then to Dr. Breed's. C. says she will go to Culpepper with me.

Saturday, January 30, 1864

Misty. At Dr. Breed's last night. This morning Charlotte & Sis & Mrs. Griffin called & we went to the Patent Office. Making improvements there. Then went to Smithsonian & staid till we were satisfied. Took dinner at Stanton's Rooms & then went to Reception at White House. But few present. President & Mrs. L. looked about as usual. Went to Brown's awhile & then went to Mr. Lake's. Took dinner & returned to Dr. B's about dark. Very tired this eve. Raining fast.

Sunday, January 31, 1864

Cloudy. Cooler. I have give up going to Culpepper for the present. Went to Unitarian Church & heard Mr. Channing from Micah 6-8. Fine discourse. He was himself to-day. In P.M. went to Home in Georgetown with Dr. B. & Mrs. B. & Meena & Charlotte. The sickness & smallpox panic has turned things topsy turvy there. It looks discouraging now. I hope the new Matron will be an efficient one.

Monday, February 1, 1864

Misty, little rain. Called at Brown's & with C and Sis & Mrs. G. went to Capitol & through it &c. Mr. G. came & we had dinner, then went into Supreme C.R. Then to the House. Mr. Channing made prayer. Staid an hour, then went to Senate. Heard Henderson of Mo. & Sumner on the death of Noell of Mo. Adjourned at 2 ½ P.M.
Went to Sanitary Fair. Not a wonderful display. Bought pictures. Went to Brown & bid good bye to C. & Sis who intend to leave W. tomorrow evening. Went to Dr. B's.

Tuesday, February 2, 1864

Fog in morning. Cleared away about noon, very bright. Took leave of Mrs. Breed. Called on Mrs. Munson, Mr. Van Santvoord & to see Miss Wheelock who has gone to front. Came back on 1 P.M. boat. Made the acquaintance of the Black Swan who is to sing in Alex. tonight.
Had a good cleaning up. Mrs. Reeves called. In evening, went to Fair but few present. Not likely to pay expenses.

Wednesday, February 3, 1864

Bright, high wind. Did various chores & went for Rations & to Ex. Of. & wrote letters.----
Hospital not moved yet. Dr. B. is not to have change of hospital.
Went to Fair in evening & it was after 11 when we left. I sold to the extent of a 50 cent pincushion to a half drunk German Zouave. A waste of time for me & very tedious, as I forgot my papers.
A call for 500,000 more. No particular war news.

Thursday, February 4, 1864

Bright, cold. Swept & regulated Clothing Room, &c. &c. At 2 P.M. went to Mr. Dogan's funeral. Congress has resolved to inquire into the Mil. Administration of Alex. punishments at Slave Pen, &c.¹⁸⁷
In evening went to Fair. Very tiresome. Nearly 12 before we left. I cannot go tomorrow evening I must rest.

Friday, February 5, 1864

¹⁸⁷ On February 2, 1864, the Senate passed a resolution "that the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War be instructed to inquire into the the military administration, in all is departments, in the city of Alexandria and especially into the system of military police there established and mode of imprisonment and punishment, and whether punishments of a 'cruel and unusual character' are not inflicted, without authority of law, in a place know as 'the slave pen' in that city; and that said committee inquire what fines and forfeitures are declared and levied in said city, and how, and by whom, and by what authority they are levied and declared, and to what purposes they are appropriated; and especially whether imprisonment in 'the slave pen' and douchings are resorted to be the military authorities for the punishment of soldiers."(page X). (Source: Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War at the Second Session Thirty Eighth Congress, Washington, GPO.) Available at:
<http://books.google.com/books?id=AvFUAAAACAAJ&pg=PR10&lpg=PR10&dq=senate&resolution&february&2, &1864&alexandria&military&police&source=bl&ots=kSxuUZB004&sig=0tABAI3sFBq25QijsavqV3KFpGk&hl=en&sa=X&ei=HnIXUueGGPjI4AP-IAo&ved=0CDgQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=senate%20resolution%20february%202%2C%201864%20alexandria%20military%20police&f=false>

Fine.

Cleaned my room, attended to Washing. Went for Pass to W. Ironed this P.M. With Louisa & Virginia went to cemetery. First to Potters Field to see where contraband are packed away. Then to Soldiers Burying G. How very nice all is being made. Such a contrast. 11 N.Y. Regulars are encamped so near the old ground that graves are trampled on. Saw a dress parade, fine Band.— Colored funeral, too. Letter from Mary. Joe is going home on furlough.

Saturday, February 6, 1864

Cloudy.

Went to W. on 9 A.M. boat. Went to 59 G St. & Dr. & Mr. B. went with me to W. House to call on Sen. Wilson, but he had gone out.

Then went to 25 4 ½ St. to call on Sen. Julian, who was also out, but we had a pleasant with Mrs. Julian. Took 1 P.M. boat for Alex.

Stopped at C. Hall at 5, went to tea & then to Hall. I did not get home till 12. Quite lively this evening & even considerable children came in P.M.

Sunday, February 7, 1864

Pleasant. So tired could hardly get up this morning. Had a general cleaning & picking up. This P.M. wrote & rested. This evening went to Barracks to meeting with Mrs. J. to hear a woman preach! A negro woman!

Monday, February 8, 1864

Fine, colder.

Waited on people & did various chores.

In evening, went to Fair. Closed, so glad. I sold \$15.00 worth.

Full this evening & nearly everything is sold. Didn't get home till after 12 & so tired.

City very quiet this evening. But colored men are afraid to be out with money. Some have been robbed.—

Fighting at the front on Saturday.

Tuesday, February 9, 1864

Fine, cool.

Last evening, boxes came from Society & from Phebe. This A.M. I unpacked them. This P.M. did various things. Mrs. Henry called. Mr. Smith & Mr. Downing here.—

I was so tired this morning I could hardly get up. Head ached but feel better tonight.—

Virginia been ill several days.—Their school is too hard for them.

Wednesday, February 10, 1864

Cold, bright.

This A.M. did various chores & sent to P.O.

This P.M. went to Soldiers Rest & left papers & books.

Went to Slave Pen, then went to Grantville School & staid an hour. School large & crowded.

Louisa & Virginia have a hard time of it.—

Went to R. Bell's & bought 2 doz. Slates but he wd. not send them to the school for me. Such

mean prejudice! I am mad & vexed.

Thursday, February 11, 1864

Bright, cold.

Waited on people in Clothing Room all day. Very tired.

Letter from Joe Van B. dated Knoxville Dec. 28. Will then expecting to go home

This evening went with Louisa J. to Concert Hall to see Mr. Jones Exhibition of paintings. He is colored. He sings & makes it quite interesting. He is an outspoken Union man & his patriotic songs are beautiful. I bought three & Sumner's photograph for 25 cts.

Friday, February 12, 1864

Cloudy, warmer. Went to Commissary's. Waited on people in clothing room

Went through the hospital. It is a dreadful place. I sent for Dr. Collins to see one particular room. Wonder if he will come!

Too tired & busy to go to Sewing School at Grantville.

This evening wrote letters.

Saturday, February 13, 1864

Fine. Warmer. Letter from Mr. Griffin. Army liable to move at any time. I shall give up going to Culpepper.—This A.M. visited every room at Slave Pen. This P.M. visited all the lower rooms in 2 barracks.—Not so crowded now, but most of them filthy. Some sickness. Some quite destitute for want of pay & have no rations. Com. from Washington¹⁸⁸ & Gen. Slough & Mr. G. came into [?], looked into some of the rooms. But I have no faith in such investigations, a mere farce to go to the persons complained of for information.

Sunday, February 14, 1864

Bright. High wind[?]

Went to P.O. Letter from Joe, dated 13 Jan.

Went to Christ Church. Heard Mr. Drummond but did not like the sound particularly. Mr. Downing¹⁸⁹ here getting recruits for Mass. Can. Regt.

Patsy died this P.M. & a woman yesterday in the Hos.—a report today that Louisa & Virginia were kidnapped last evening by Northern doctors for dissection. Queer stories afloat. Some of the colored folks are afraid of being out after dark.

Monday, February 15, 1864

Cold, snowy P.M.—

Went to cemetery in Ambulance that carried Patsey's coffin. Her boy went, too. He is an orphan now & must go to the Geo. Home.

¹⁸⁸ As part of the Congressional investigation noted in the footnote on February 4, 1864, a short entry on February 12, 1864, reported "the following witnesses were examined: Lieutenant Colonel Henry H. Wells; Mr. Manchester Eldridge, (recalled), Captain John Wyman" and a visit to Alexandria "for the purpose of examining into the condition of affairs there" proposed for the following day (page xiii). (Source: See previous URL.)

¹⁸⁹ Possible George Thomas Downing.

Went to new hospital.¹⁹⁰ It is being made very nice & convenient. 4 portable furnaces.
Dr. Bigelow is dismissed from the service. Good!

This evening went to hear Downing & Remond at Bap. Church, but few present. Probably afraid they will be asked to enlist. Mass. gives a bounty of \$325.

Tuesday, February 16, 1864

Cold, windy. Have not been out much. Wrote letters, read papers & did chores.

The hospital has been moved today. The North House looks lonely enough now, as if ghosts spooks, & spirits might take possession of it. Indeed, Phebe says she saw "something in white" in Patsey's room last night & Patsey's boy saw it too & it clutched him by the neck.

I hope & pray that a new order of things will be instituted in the new hospital & that a matron will be provided.

Wednesday, February 17, 1864

Intensely cold, high wind. Went to new Hospital. Cold there. They nearly froze last night. But it will all be made comfortable in time, I hope. Went again this P.M. to the Slave Pen. Frances Brooks gave me a pair of handcuffs found in the Slave Pen. I am told that soldiers have been showered today. How barbaric in such weather.

I can hardly keep comfortable sitting by the fire with a shawl on.

Thursday, February 18, 1864

Bright. Mer. 8° above zero this morning. Can do little else but try to keep warm. Waited on people in C. Room. How they must suffer in this intense cold. Open rooms, scanty bedding & but little fuel.

Letter from Mrs. Earle, has sent a barrel of things.

I felt dispirited & dis- & lonesome.

Wd. go to W. were it not so cold.—River frozen over, boats do not run to W.

Friday, February 19, 1864

Bright. Very cold.

Went to hospital. Dismal looking place. Not warm. Dead man there.

Waited on people. Can't keep warm today. Given away several blankets & various other things.

Went to Journal office. Towards night, Mrs. Marshall came & Lieut. Sweet & wife. Very glad to see Mrs. M. Will stop at Mr. Augur's. I spent the evening with them, very pleasantly. Remond, Smith & 2 Downings here.

Saturday, February 20, 1864

Not quite so cold.

Mrs. Marshall & Mrs. Sweet came over this A.M. Lieut. Sweet quite ill.

Bedstead & mattress taken from me yesterday.

Been with Mrs. J. to look for another & for straw. How vexatious. Dr. Bentley¹⁹¹ doesn't seem

¹⁹⁰ L'Ouverture Hospital received its first patient on February 15, 1864. For a description, see Documentary Study, Archeological Evaluation and Resource Management Plan for 1323 Duke Street, John Milner Associates, Inc. pg. vi.

disposed to oblige us. Water pipe burst.

Letter from Ella. Well. Spent evening at W. House. Mrs. Marshall ill, too. She has Consumption, but will keep about. Mr. Bush here, member of convention.

Sunday, February 21, 1864

Warmer. Did not rise till 10. Felt miserably.

After a thorough Ablution, I felt better.

Went to W. House.

Mr. Marshall left with his Regt. 40th N.Y. this morning for Brandy Station.

Lieut. Sweet had just been taken to Hal. S. Hospital.

Mrs. Marshall very poorly. Left with her brother for W. about 1. After dinner I went with Mrs. Sweet to Hos. She will stay there with her husband.

I am lonely & dispirited to night.—

Monday, February 22, 1864

Mild, hazy.

Very busy day. So many people to attend to.

Bought bedstead for \$4.25 & straw for 50. Made tick & filled it & at last have a bed, such as it is. I am getting tired of living in this way. Called at Hos. Lieut. S. is no worse. I am so tired tonight. Letters from Frances & Henrietta. No good news. M— J— does no better & they are all full of trouble.

How can she do so? Dr. Collins vaccination this morning. Last Friday I was in room with Smallpox at Hos.—

Tuesday, February 23, 1864

Fine. Warm

Worked in my room & Clothing R. till noon.---Mrs. J. sick. Went to Slave Pen & Hospital & Barracks. Smallpox case taken from Hos. today.—Things unsettled yet. Phebe says she saw a soldier showered at S.P. the 17th, that cold day.

A few days since a colored woman received 39 lashes by order of civil authorities & is now in jail for 30 days. Done here in sight of the capital of the U.S.!

I have heard & seen so much wickedness that I am heartsick. This is, I fear, a God-forsaken place. A vile city.—

Wednesday, February 24, 1864

¹⁹¹ Edwin Bentley; in September 1862, he was in charge of the Third Division U.S. Army General Hospital in Alexandria; later in the year, on October 1, 1864, he was placed in charge of all the general hospital in Alexandria until February 1865. From May to July 1865, he was Surgeon-in-Chief of the District of Alexandria (<http://civilwardc.org>). He was born 1824 in New London, CT, and enlisted in the Fourth Connecticut Infantry as an assistant surgeon in June 1861, moving up the ranks to lieutenant colonel. He remained in the army after the war, stationed in Washington until late 1869 (during which time, he was Howard University's first professor of anatomy), and was assigned to Little Rock, AR, by 1878. When he retired from the Army in 1888, he remained a prominent member of the Arkansas medical community. (Source: <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=359>)

High wind.—Went on 9 a.m. boat to Washington. Called on Mrs. Breed & Mrs. Marshall. Went to Capitol & spent 2 ½ hours in the Senate. Res. to make Grant Lieut. Gen. was taken up. Heard Grimes[?] in opposition, & Hale, Wilson, Johnson, Fessenden in favor.

[?] say “wait until the war is over & then bestow honors.” The pros & cons were curious to hear & I enjoyed it very much.

Mr. Gladwin has been to Claremont. 100 cases of Small pox there.

Thursday, February 25, 1864

Fine.

Waited on people all the A.M. In P.M., went to school anniversary at Barracks. Several schools represented. Number of strangers present. Speakers, Maj. Silvey, Capt. Wyman (who spoke well), Owen, Scott, Powell, Robinson, Demman[?] & gentlemen from Troy & Albany who happened in. Also Mrs. Jacobs & Miss Collier. There was music, too. When Mr. G. asked me to speak, I told him I had no school there, he had broken up my school & taken possession of my room & if I spoke, I should tell of that. He did not urge the matter. Went to hospital.—

Friday, February 26, 1864

High wind. So much dust in the air, it has been very unpleasant.

Only been to meals & P.O.—Had water pipes fixed today. Sent for rations by Henry.

Waited on people all day at intervals. Sewed a little. Too busy to go to Sewing S. at Grantville.—
Had so much running up & down stairs that I am quite tired tonight.

Saturday, February 27, 1864

[Trans note: handwriting above date at top reads “notes for 29th”]

Cloudy. In Washington, dust, dust. Mrs. M. better. Went out about 10 A.M. After long walk went to Pat. Of. to Fair of Chris. Com. & staid 2 hours.

Many elegant, expensive & curious things there. I made no purchases. Came back to Hotel to dine, too tired to go to Capitol.

Mrs. M. rested well last night & seems better.

I left her at 4 P.M. & came back to Alex.

This evening went to Barracks & heard Remond & Downing. Then went to Fair. Tired enough.

Sunday, February 28, 1864

Cloudy. Went to W. on 10 A.M. boat. Walked from S. Landing to Clarendon Hotel to see Mrs. Marshall. She is quite ill. I am to stay with her tonight. Her brother & Miss Plant are here a part of the time.

But four ladies in the Hotel.

Dr. Dove attends Mrs. M.—

I am reading Hannah Thurston by B. Taylor¹⁹² & am much interested.

¹⁹² The book Hannah Thurston: Story of American Life by Bayard Taylor. A review at the time describes the book's protagonist in rather unflattering terms: “the daughter of Quaker parents, has herself been brought up a Quaker.... She has made humanity her God and philanthropy her worship. She has devoted herself body and soul to the assertion of woman's rights.... She is, or wishes to be a man-woman, and to force all men to recognize and respect her manly claims....”

Cannot yet see much similarity between Hannah & myself. Mrs. Angle thinks she sees it.

Monday, February 29, 1864

[Trans. note: handwriting above date at top reads "notes for 29th by mistake"]

Fine. Called on Miss Collier & also to see Lieut. Sweet. Then cleaned my room myself, which took until 4 P.M.—Called at Mr. Henry's, Mrs. H. away

In evening went to Barracks expecting to hear Remond, but he was not there. There was a prayer meeting & such prayers!

The Lord was asked to "bless the Pres. if he would & the Cabinet kitchen if he would." The most ludicrous things were said with the most serious ones.—I am very tired tonight.

Tuesday, March 1, 1864

Rainy.

Potomac Army began to move Sunday. Always waits until a storm may be expected. Army active all over the country.

Dr. Pettijohn came last evening to have the same situation again. Been 2 mo. With the Cold troops at Benedict, Md. But they now have been sent into the field.

Our new Hos. has not been regulated yet nor finished nor furnished.

Letter from Frances. Trouble not over yet.

2nd Mich. Regt. has reached Detroit.

Wednesday, March 2, 1864

Bright. Cool.

Attend to washing, ironed.

Went to County jail to see girl who was whipped. Saw her in presence of jailor & cd. not say all I wished.

Called to see Lieut. Sweet. He is better.

About noon Miss Jackson & 2 other ladies came & I went with them to Fairfax Seminary. Nice ride. About 20 in hospital. Went up into the cupola. Fine prospect. Called at Soldier's Rest & at barracks, then round by Christ Church & Marshall House. Then to Landing. They took 4 P.M. boat for W. Mrs. Henry called & Miss C. also. I am very tired.—

Thursday, March 3, 1864

Fine. Cold.

Waited on people all day in Clothing Room.

Several newcomers who were very destitute. Wish I had some more 2nd hand clothing.—

Mr. Owen's daughter has come to teach.

I have had a hard day's work. Hardly seen a fire.

Taken in \$2.6 & gave away some pieces.

Friday, March 4, 1864

Fine. cool. Dr. Shaw has come. Attended in clothing room all day. Took in \$20 & gave away some articles.

So tired this evening, I could hardly eat my supper.

More goods come for Mrs. J. I hope all the Contrabands are as well supplied as they are here. I fear N.Y. Friends don't use good judgment in sending off things & presume these are needed in Washington more than here.

Saturday, March 5, 1864¹⁹³

Rainy. Went to my meals & to P. Office.

Wrote several letters.

A line from home informs me that father intends to leave his home to Henry, & he is to live at E. Avon in hired house. Nothing hardly cd. be so bad for me, but I must not let this crush me. I feared it wd. come to this.

Remond & Downing speak at Barracks tonight, but I cannot go to hear them.

Mr. Gladwin has asked us to go into the other house. The selfish, contemptible fellow.

Sunday, March 6, 1864

Fine. Chilly.

Anniversary of S. School at Barracks, but the spirit did not move me to go. Remond & Downing there.—

Went to P.O. Mailed papers to various persons.

Looked over & arranged all my letters & papers & destroyed ever so many.—

I have enjoyed the day very much. I have had no interruptions. It is a privilege to have a room all to oneself.

218 wks. yesterday since my darling was taken from me.

Monday, March 7, 1864

Fine. Box came from Rochester Society. Shawl &c.

Called at Hos. to see Lieut. S. He is better. Mrs. S. went with me to Pro. Mar. for pass, also to R.R. Depot. Been to our Hos. twice. The sick have nothing but poor rations & suffer from want of nourishment. Will it ever be any better? Very tired, but went this eve to hear Frederick Brown, brother of John & Downing & Remond at Bap. Ch.

F.B. is not a man of large talents & no orator as Redmond is. They succeed well in getting recruits.

Tuesday, March 8, 1864

Rainy day. Could not go to W.—Mrs. Sweet called. Letter from A. Barnes. Wrote to Mrs. B. & trimmed a bonnet.

The beautiful shawl that came in the box yesterday is a present to me from the Society. It is fine woolen, mottled, shaded brown & double.—

Great numbers of troops are coming to V.

This evening hear drums & bugles.

No papers today.—

Wednesday, March 9, 1864

¹⁹³ Letter from Julia Wilbur to Anna Barnes dated March 5, 1864.

Foggy morning. Fine day. With Mrs. Sweet, went in 10 A.M. boat to W. Mrs. Marshall better. Mr. Marshall sick at Brandy Station. Went to Capitol with Mrs. S.—Nothing interesting going on in House nor in Senate either. Garrett Davis spoke on Slavery.¹⁹⁴ Very tiresome. Called at Dr. Breed's. Then returned to Clarendon to stay with Mrs. M. Officer's funeral. Gen. Grant is in town. Mrs. Sweet back to Alex.

Thursday, March 10, 1864

Rainy day. With Mrs. B., went to Sanitary Rooms. They will give me things for hospital. Staid with Mrs. B till night & had good visit. Pouring rain but went back to Clarendon.

Mrs. M. sat up to day.

I did not sleep much last night. So much noise in the streets & a fire & a Serenade to Gen. Grant, which was very beautiful.

I have been very dull today. I think I shall sleep tonight in spite of the noise.

Friday, March 11, 1864

Cloudy A.M. Showers in the P.M. Went to Mrs. B's to return hood & shawl. Went to Capitol. Studied the Bronze Door. Sat in House awhile. Debate on contested seats. Dr. Breed's Bill on Colored School presented. Went into Senate Gallery. Harris, Fessenden, Wilson, R. Johnson, & Anthony spoke on West Point & Finances. Came back to Clarendon. Rained so concluded to stay. Great rejoicing in Alex. yesterday. Convention resolved that Virginia shall be a FREE state. Bells rang. 100 guns fired. Horses ran away &c.

Saturday, March 12, 1864

Fine, warm. Letter from Phebe sent back to Alex. Wrote P. & went to P.O. & to see Lucinda. Soldier murdered yesterday in R. R. tunnel. With Louisa went to Con. Hos. & took some things for the sick.

Went to Hos. to see Mrs. Sweet & did various chores.

This evening Miss Howland & Miss Nichols & Capt. Ferree have been here.---

Letter from Mary. Joe had just got home & she is happy, only he has to go back again.

Kilpatrick's raiders came to Alex. yesterday on their way to Meade.

Sunday, March 13, 1864

March weather.

"Winds & clouds & changing skies."

Have only been out to my meals. Cleaned myself. This is always needed particularly after being in W. a few days.

Have written all the P.M. Have had no interruptions & have enjoyed the day.

Mrs. J. has company every Sunday & almost every evening. She has no chance to write.

John Rush of 72nd N.Y. Regt. has been arrested on suspicion of murdering the soldier in the

¹⁹⁴ According to a reprint of his speech on March 9, 1864, Garrett Davis, Senator from Kentucky, spoke on "the bill to equalize the pay of soldiers." The text can be seen in the Samuel J. May Anti-Slavery Collection at Cornell (<http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/mayantislavery/index.html>)

tunnel. I know Rush.

Monday, March 14, 1864

Cold & raw.

Went to P.O. & my meals. Waited on people all day in Clothing Room & sold over \$40 worth, or more properly took in \$40. Gave some pieces to family just arrived.

Been to meeting this evening at Crow's S. House.¹⁹⁵ Mr. Rippen[?], Mr. Arnold, &c. Meeting a failure.

White men are unwilling to give Downing & Remond the privilege of recruiting their own color. How contemptible.

Tuesday, March 15, 1864

All kinds of weather. Snow. Went to Jail with Miss Collier to be there when Mahala Ann Grady was released, but she had already gone & we cd. not find her.

Called to see Lieut. Sweet. He is nearly well.

Did some cleaning & regulating & read & wrote.

A number of new people came in to day.

A circus in full blast & so near here that we hear the music & the applause. I intend to go to W. tomorrow to hear debate on Fugitive Bill.

Wednesday, March 16, 1864

Cold as winter, windy.

Went on 9 A.M. boat to W. Called on Mrs. Marshall. Went to Whitehursts for Picture.¹⁹⁶ Then to Capitol. Wind & dust make it a disagreeable day.

Sat in Senate from 12 to 4 ½ P.M. Debate on bill to raise Salary of Consuls & on Bill to incorporate Masonic societies & Bill for another city R.R.

Mr. Sumner's proviso first up Saulsbury. He blazed like a lurid meteor against the Negroes admission to the Con. Disappointed in not hearing debate on Fugitive Bill.

Head aches & tired tonight.

Thursday, March 17, 1864

Bright, cool, wind.

Called at Hos. for Mrs. Sweet. Mahala Ann Grady came & I gave her some clothes.

About 10 A.M. with Mrs. Jacobs & Mrs. Sweet went in ambulance to Georgetown to take Jackson C. to the Home. Then drove to W. to Rooms of San. Com. & Mrs. Fowler gave me some clothing & food for the sick.—Then to Clarendon & found Mrs. Marshall sitting up & better.

Returned over Long Bridge. Overtaken by a Locomotion. Horses fractious, driver not quite sober. Got back at 3 ½ P.M. dusty. Called at Wolfe St. Hosp. Tired tonight

Miss Collier & Miss Evans called.

¹⁹⁵ Possibly Crow's School House, or the Sickel Barracks School, run by a Rev. Crow at the corner of Princess and Patrick Streets (according to Special Report of the Commissioner of Education), in Grantville.

¹⁹⁶ The Whitehurst Gallery at 434 Pennsylvania Ave. made cartes de visite and other photos for both prominent and everyday citizens.

Friday, March 18, 1864

Cold, high wind, dusty.—

Waited on people in Clothing Room all day. New people come in. Telegram from W. Tomorrow at 10, Repeal of the Fugitive S. Bill to be debated in Senate. Dr. Breed & wife & sister & Meena came & I went with them to Claremont Smallpox Hos. 113 patients there. 50 of them are soldiers. The rest colored men, women & children. Only Dr. & Mrs. B. went in the house. They seem well cared for. It is kept clean. But the people suffer for want of clothes. Surgeons seem kind.

Saturday, March 19, 1864

Fine. Warmer.

Went on A.M. boat to W., but Senate was not in session. Called at Mr. Lake's & at Hos. on Judiciary to see J. Wetherbee. Called on Mrs. Marshall. She is much better. Photograph does not please me. Sat again.

Came back in Ambulance with Mr. G. & Mr. Owen.

Moseby & a large body of cavalry are said to be within 7 mi. of Alex. Virginia & I went & reconnoitered as far as S. Pen & Barracks. An ominous quiet prevails, hardly a soldier to be seen. All out west to guard the approaches.

Sunday, March 20, 1864

Fine. Slept soundly until 7 this morning. The rebs might have shelled the town & I should not have known it.

I learn this morning that a brigade lay on the outskirts of the town. Cannon were planted in the streets & the approaches to the city were barricaded with wagons. Wise precautions no doubt. Today has been unusually quiet. The danger is not over yet, I hear that there has been fighting at Manassas.

Took a walk just before dark out to the barricades on King St.—cleaned up & wrote letters.

Monday, March 21, 1864

Bright. Cold.

Attended in Clothing Room, but few calls.

In P.M., went to Hospital. Things somewhat improved but quite far from where they should be, but feel for patients. For some reason, the sick are unwilling to go to the Hos.

Called on Mrs. Henry. No further news of the rebs. Seen no papers.

300 people have come back from Hayti. Govt. sent for them. They are to go to Arlington.

Landed here, many only half clothed.

Tuesday, March 22, 1864

Cloudy, cold, windy, dusty.

Snow at night.

Went on 10 A.M. boat to W., bought a bonnet for \$3.

Went for Picture. Not done yet.

Called on Mrs. Marshall, 377 Pa. Av. She is improving. Mr. M. came on Saturday.

Went to the Senate. Heard a speech from Mr. Willey of Va., abolition by annulling Constitution

recommended. Strong against the vile system, but cannot vote to repeal the Fugitive S. Bill. So I have not heard Sumner's speech after all.

Wednesday, March 23, 1864

Bright. Cold.

This morning snow was [?]. It has thawed so it is very sloppy. A few sleighs out.

This A.M. cleaned my room. This P.M. worked at bonnets. Too bad walking to go out. Mrs. Jacobs been to Arlington to see the people from Hayti. They went last April. Smallpox on voyage. Been in a distressed condition since. The President sent for them. This may teach him the absurdity of colonization.

Thursday, March 24, 1864

Fine. Snow nearly gone. Attended in clothing room. Trimmed a bonnet.

Sick (750) brought in from front on cars.—

Disturbance in Street, soldier shot at. Several persons arrested. Letter from Eliza Van W.—Letter from Aunt Eliza W. She says father has sold his farm to A. Barber for \$5 per acre. Can remain there through the summer if he chooses. Oh, dear, I must not think about it.—I must not let personal trouble unfit me for work & my anniversary deaths.

Friday, March 25, 1864

Cloudy A.M. Rainy P.M. I went out for wood &c. Mrs. Sweet called. Trimmed my bonnets.

Head ache all day. Such a pouring rain. Snow all gone.

No news, only Gen. Grant has gone on to the front.

Gen. Meade is to retain the same command.

Great things are hoped for now. President has called for 200,000 more men.—

Saturday, March 26, 1864¹⁹⁷

Cloudy. Windy.

Went for kerosene & to my meal.

Finished my bonnets.—

Letters from Home & from Angeline & Frances.

Our home sold. An auction to take place on the 6th A.M. What a change for us, for me! Troubles seldom come single.

C. has trouble & F. too & this is greater cause for anxiety than my own personal affairs. Oh, where will it end?

¹⁹⁷ A letter from Harriet and Louisa Jacobs to Lydia Child was written this date and published in the April 16, 1864, *Anti-Slavery Standard*. In it, Jacobs describes Alexandria: "We went round visiting the new homes of the Freedmen, which now dot the landscape, built with their first earnings as free laborers. Within the last eight months, seven hundred little cabins have been built, containing from two to four rooms. The average cost was from one hundred to two hundred dollars... We have over seven thousand colored refugees in this place, and, including the hospitals, less than four hundred rations are given out. This shows that they are willing to earn their own way, and are generally capable of it... On the 11th of January we opened school in the new school house with seventy-five scholars. Now we have two hundred and twenty five...." (Excerpted letter from *Fireside Sentinel*, edited by Michael Miller, February 1991, Vol V., No. 2).

Sunday, March 27, 1864

Fine, warmer.

Went to Methodist Ch. near me. Mr. Davis & I wished these colored people might have more rational teaching, something better adapted to their wants.—In P.M. went to Grantville to S. School. Then went to see a family just got back from Hayti. Went about 2 yrs. ago, rejoiced to get back. They have suffered so much.—Wrote to father.

This eve. have been to Barracks, heard Mr. Mace¹⁹⁸ of the Home Mis. who is begging from the Contrabands. I think it is wicked to do so. The Home Mis. should help the contrabands instead. Miss C. and I told him so.

Monday, March 28, 1864

Fine, warmer.

Lucinda did my washing.

Called at W. St. Hos. to see Lucinda.

Attended in clothing room all day. Tired enough tonight. Called on Miss Collier.

Large numbers of troops are going through to the front.

City has lively appearance nowadays.—

Tuesday, March 29, 1864

Cloudy, high wind, cold.

Ironed this A.M.

This P.M. went to Long House. Old Mill North house. Visited nearly every room. Some rooms so filled with smoke that I cd. not stop at all. Some of these people & the rooms are as filthy as they were a year ago & the people come in no better condition.—I suppose it will always be so with some of them.

Went to the school. 35 scholars taught by a soldier.

Rain this evening. Hon. Owen Lovejoy is dead, a loss to the country.

Wednesday, March 30, 1864

The 50th N.Y. Regt. passed this morning. We waved our flag & there was a general hurrah. This P.M. went with Miss Collier to the Hospital. I am heart sick. Those people suffer from want of food & nourishment. They have no bread, only poor flour & worse corn meal. I went out & bought some rusks & cakes & with some stewed cherries, they had quite a supper. About 20 new inmates from Smallpox Hos. They need clothes, but I have little for them. The Surgeons seem indifferent to their wants.

Thursday, March 31, 1864

Cloudy. 11th Penn. Regt. went through this morning.

I went to Fairfax St. & bought bread & butter for hospital & the sick enjoyed it exceedingly.

Attended in Clothing Room nearly all day.

¹⁹⁸ In *Baptist Home Missions in America, 1832-1882*, "The first regular work of the Society for the freedmen in the District of Columbia was one by Rev. Jeremiah Mace, who entered upon his labors in March, 1864."

Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. 30 years ago this great trouble came upon us. Oh! the sad, the weary years I have seen since then. And now the dear old place is to pass from us. Such are life's changes.

Friday, April 1, 1864

Attended in Clothing room all day. But few calls. Fixed up some old bonnets. Have not felt well. I am tired & dispirited.

Armies making preparations to move. Exciting debates in Congress but not much accomplished. Geo. Thompson is to lecture in W. in the 6th. I must try to go hear him. This is a dull, miserable place.

Saturday, April 2, 1864

Rained & snowed all day.

What a time in the Camps! The poor soldiers!

This A.M. I went for rations & lugged home my heavy basket. Shall give them all away.

Cleaned my room & swept Clothing Room. Didn't get a chance to sit down until 4 P.M.

It is 222 weeks since my little darling was taken from me. It is several months since I have heard from her. Oh! dear.

Sunday, April 3, 1864

Cloudy.

Went to Hospital with a bundle of clothing but 10 times as much is needed there.—

This P.M. went to Grantville S. School.

I am tired somehow. Letter from Joe Van B. He is in Mt. Clemens Mich. but expects to start tomorrow for Annapolis, Md. The 9th Corps is ordered there. 26th Col. Regt. to be in this Corps. It has just N.Y. Joe intends to come & see me.

Monday, April 4, 1864

Rainy day.

Distributed my rations. Went with Mrs. J. for pass. Attended in Clothing Room, fixed bonnets.

Wood came from Comis.

Mrs. J. went to W.—

18 new people came in yesterday & they intend to stay here.

Letter from Mrs. Earle. Teacher wants a place.

The camps must be dreadful now. The poor persons!

Tuesday, April 5, 1864

Rained all day!—

I have only been out to my meals.

Did various chores, looked over trunks & boxes & arranged things.

I have enjoyed the day. I have had no interruptions. This evening called on Miss C. & Miss

Evans up in their tower. Saw no silver lamp, however.—Best I would not keep house as they.
Tomorrow is Freda's Birth day. She is 8 yrs. old. It doesn't seem possible.

Wednesday, April 6, 1864

Cleared off. Sunshine in P.M.

Went on 10 A.M. boat to W. Called for picture & to see Mrs. Marshall & with Mrs. M. I went to Mr. Lake's. Spent P.M. in Senate. Heard fine speeches from Harlan on Amending Constitution. Saulsbury, Hale & McDougal, also spoke. Got well paid in my time.

Went to Mr. B's to tea, then went with Dr. B & Amy Borne to House of Reps. to hear Geo. Thompson.¹⁹⁹ A vast assemblage of the intellect, beauty & fashion of W. was there. There were the President, Chase & Usher & Congressmen. The most radical utterances were vociferously cheered. It was a decided success. I enjoyed it in spite of a severe headache.

Thursday, April 7, 1864

Fine. Warm.

Spent the night at Dr. B's. Feel better today. Called on Mrs. Griffin & Mrs. Marshall.

Spent the P.M. in the House. Affairs of the Dist. of Col. was the subject of discussion. At one time there was considerable excitement & confusion. More than I ever saw before. As I am alone, I cannot half enjoy these things, I have no one to speak to.

Great many ladies in the streets today.—Came back on 5 P.M. boat. I am very tired but would not have missed seeing & hearing what I have for the last 2 days.

It has done me good, however.

Friday, April 8, 1864

Fine.

Went to Transportation Office. Got 2 bbls. from Worcester. Unpacked them & attended in Clothing Room.

In P.M. went to Hospital. Am so vexed with the want of management there. 5 persons from S. Pox. Hos. came yesterday. One wears the same clothes she wore while there.

5 persons made their escape night before last. I am glad of it. The object is to keep the Hos. full as they can.

Saturday, April 9, 1864

Rainy day. What will the poor soldiers do?

I have not accomplished much today. Could not go out.

About 4 ½ P.M. Cousin Jephtha came.

He has been here this evening, but has gone to W. House to sleep. Intends to leave tomorrow.

Letter from Mrs. S.F. Porter enclosing \$10 from Plymouth Church S.S. for the Freedmen. 10 o'clock & the rain pours yet.

223 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me!

¹⁹⁹ British antislavery activist. The next day, President Lincoln responded to Thompson's remarks at the White House (reprinted in *Lincoln on Democracy*, Fordham University Press, 2004)

Sunday, April 10, 1864

Cleared off in A.M.

At 9 went with Jephtha to the Barracks and the Hospital, the Slave Pen, & the Soldiers Rest. Then to the Soldiers Burying Ground & through the cemetery to the Potters field. Such a heathenish place, but no more Contrabands are buried there now.

Hunting Ck. Bridge is 2/3 submerged. The River is high. Went to Grantville & sat in the Meeting a little while & came back very tired. J. left at 2 P.M. Have written some.

Monday, April 11, 1864

Fine.

Attended in Clothing Room all day & am very tired tonight.

My head has ached ever since I awoke & the smoke has made my eyes ache. I cannot do much this evening. My meals have been very shabby today. I cannot thrive on such fare.—

Mrs. Jacobs sick unwell.

Tuesday, April 12, 1864

Fine. Towards night light rain.

Went to bakers on Fairfax St. then S. Hospital with some things. Then to C. Room & fitted out Elize S.—breastpin, old lady quite delighted.

Then to Old Mill by River & Tamar Jeeves[?] was in raptures for a calico wrapper.—

Then went in Ambulance to the new Contraband burying ground. 65 graves there already. As good a place as they could get.

Then to Hospital again. The well people have left today. A matron is needed there. I am very tired tonight. Mrs. Jacobs is sick in bed.

Wednesday, April 13, 1864

Pleasant.

Went to see Dr. Bentley. My first interview with him. Thinks it well enough to have a Matron at the Hos. but “wants to run a black machine entirely.” He is like too many others, Thinks anything is good enough for niggers. I think the Matron sh. be white for the present & sh. be intelligent, too. Oh dear, how discouraging.

Mr. Lake came. Had a long chase after 2 girls to go to W. with him. So tired this P.M., I am nearly sick.

Too tired to read or write. I am fagged out & dispirited & I make so many blunders. Nobody understands me.

Thursday, April 14, 1864

Cloudy. Almost sick today. Cannot attend much in C. Room.

Mrs. Sweet & Mrs. [?] called.

Have written some—

Letters from Phebe & Mrs. Winsor of Homer, N.Y.

Large box came from Philadelphia.—

I am too tired to unpack it tonight.

I do not feel well. No war news in particular. The roads are very bad. The freshet swept

away several bridges & injured the R.R.

Friday, April 15, 1864

Cloudy. Have only been out to my meals. Trying to get rested. Have written letter to Democrat & home & some other writing. The evenings are so short. I cannot write much unless I sit down in the daytime. No news.

It is dull here & I confess to being lonesome.

But I do not feel well. I feel old. It must be that I am no longer young. When tired I do not get over it as I used to when younger.

Well, well! As Bidy says.

Saturday, April 16, 1864

Rained all day.

Unpacked the Box from Philadelphia. 240 old garments.

Posted all my accounts. Had but few interruptions & have enjoyed the day.

Letter from Cousin Kate.

Rebels have taken Fort Pillow & acted like fiends, killed women & children & shot the wounded.

224 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from me!

Sunday, April 17, 1864

Fine. This P.M. went to S.S. at Grantville. School large & interesting. Crowded.

Went to Barracks & saw a woman that was "17 yrs. old. when Washington's war began." Must be over 100 yrs. Came in 2 days since from near Brandy Station, is blind, & can't walk. Brought on a stretcher from the cars.

Went to Hospital with Louisa & Virginia.

Two regiments went through today. One was 122nd N.Y.-

Letter from Joe with his Photograph, he is in Annapolis, Md.

Monday, April 18, 1864

Fine. Attended in Clothing Room till 2 P.M. Then we were delighted to see E. Earle & wife²⁰⁰ & Miss Wood of Worcester, Mass. Mrs. Earle has done a great deal for us here. She is a lovely woman. Mrs. J. & I went with them to Grantville S. into several houses. Then to Hospital & to the Barracks, then to the families at Slave Pen & to the Soldier's Rest.

Our visitors were much interested. 8000 soldiers took meals there yesterday.—

Letter from S.A. Ferris who has sent a box.

I am very tired tonight.

Tuesday, April 19, 1864

²⁰⁰ Possibly, Edward and Ann Earle. According to an entry for Edward Earle in History of Worcester and Its People (Charles Nutt, Lewis Historical Printing Company, 1909, pg. 604), "He was an anti-slavery man and during the war, went South as a member of the friends committee to look for the welfare of the Freedmen."

Anniversary of Sister Sarah's Death

Cloudy, Cool.

Called to see Mr. Rush[?] at Hal. Hos. Called to see Mrs. Gannett & Mrs. Sweet. Wrote 3 letters. Went to Pro. Mar's for Pass. Went to Journal Office. Called on Mrs. Richardson. Called on Mrs. Dogan, who went with me to see Mrs. Merrick who, with her daughter, was beaten by a white man a short time ago. Her husband is dying.

This P.M.—I must help now. Called to see Miss Chase. She was arrested for striking a white boy & was fined “1.00 for costs & .50 for the lick[?]”

Wednesday, April 20, 1864

Pleasant. Cool.

Went to Merricks. He is dead.

Washed a little & ironed.

Mrs. Sweet called.

Went to C. Hospital.

Called to see the Old Woman “Aunt Cicely” & made several other calls. Mr. Fish's School, &c. —In evening went to Grantville School.

Dr. Hiscock of N.Y. there. Made good remarks.

School very quiet. Dr. Scott & Miss Collier have done good work through the winter.

Thursday, April 21, 1864

Capricious weather. Warmer.

Attended in Clothing Room this A.M.—Lieut. Marshall & wife came. I went with them to Wolfe St. Hos. They took dinner with me. Mrs. Sweet came.

Went with them to boat at 4, saw 10 rebel prisoners.

Then went to Rooms of San. Com. 700 sick soldiers just come from front. They were taken to Fairfax Sem. Hos. All have refreshments from San Com. before being put into ambulances.

Some were very feeble.—Met Dr. Bentley. Too tired to go to Grantville tonight.

Friday, April 22, 1864

Cloudy, warmer.

Went to 68 Prince Street for rations.

Attended in Clothing Room rest of day.

Trimmed 2 hats & one bonnet.

Received Package from Phebe Cornell.

Received Box from S.A. Ferris.

Received Box from Philadelphia.

Ex. Charges on it \$4,20.

A great many troops have passed through today.

Very tired tonight.

Saturday, April 23, 1864

Hot, windy, dusty.

Went to W. at 9 A.M. on new Fulton boat. It was so pleasant on the River.

Went for my Photographs. Went to Dr. Breed's. Met Miss Robinson there & Miss Perkins. Rode in car with rebel deserters.—Went to Mr. Lake's. Ms. M. went with me to Cap. House in Session. Tax Bill under discussion. Went to Mr. L's again. Came back on 6 P.M. boat, very tired.

225 weeks since Freda was taken from me.

Letters from Joe & Mary.

Sunday, April 24, 1864

Cloudy, warm.

Went to Christ Ch. but the expected minister didn't come & I came away.

Letter from Mary. She feels badly about Joe's going away again.²⁰¹ Wrote 3 letters.

Where I went to supper, saw 2 regiments of inf. & a squad of Cav. The music sounded like a funeral dirge. It seems, somehow, as if they were only going on to be slaughtered. I am told that Burnside's Corps is between here & W.—30000 men. So Joe is near here probably. I hoped I may see him.

Battles are impending. Oh, dear! How dreadful.

Monday, April 25, 1864

Warm, bright.

Unpacked Phila. Box & waited on people till 4 P.M. when Joe Van Buskirk came. I was very glad to see him. Went with him to Barracks, Hospital, & Ss Rest & to supper. Spent evening here. 9th Corps is in Washington & expects to come here tomorrow. Has a Div. of Colored Troops & some Indian sharpshooters. I have a great desire to see them. Do not know the destination of this Corp.

The cars run constantly. 2 bbls. came from Worcester.

Tuesday, April 26, 1864

Fine. So tired this morning.

Attended to the people part of the day. Called to see Mrs. Sweet.—saw 2 squads of colored soldiers.

Miss Wheelock came, went with her to Hospital & Soldier's Burying Ground. She took dinner with me.

Have seen Joseph but very little today. He is very busy.

Evening

Miss Wheelock has been here, but Joe has not come. I think he has gone to W. Louisa & I went with Miss W. to see Mrs. Collins.

²⁰¹ According to Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers, 1861-1865, he enlisted in Company F of the Michigan Second Infantry as a corporal on April 23, 1861, at age 24. He received several promotions throughout the war and was transferred to Company K, where he was commissioned captain of the company on July 12, 1864. This regiment was also the one in which S. Emma Edmunds operated as Frank Thompson and published a memoir (The Female Spy of the Union Army).

Wednesday, April 27, 1864

Fine but windy. Joe came this morning and said the Corps was to leave this A.M.—he sent an ambulance for me to go to the 9th Corps. & Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa & Virginia & Miss Wheelock & Miss Collier & Miss Evans went too.

When we got there all the Colored troops, 6 or 8000 had gone, but we saw nearly all the rest of the Army. It was a sight to be remembered. None of it came through the city. 2 Div. of artillery came this way just on the outskirts & the rest went towards Fairfax C.H.—We were in the ambulance train. Got back at 1. Then Joe had to leave. Oh! dear! Chap. May called & Miss W.

Thursday, April 28, 1864

Fine, cool. Good day for marching. I have been thinking of the 9th Corps.

I have helped Lucinda Wash. I have cleaned my room, windows & all.

I have regulated things in Clothing Room and am very tired tonight.

Quite a number of new people have come in.

Old house burnt. 7 contraband families lost nearly all they had saved. I am glad if I can help them.

Friday, April 29, 1864

Fine. Cool.

Worked hard in Clothing Room all day. Gave away 87 pieces. Sold 47 for \$27, in all 134 pieces.—Am oh! so tired.

49 Mass. Regt. went through. A deserter from 1st Ohio Cav. shot today. Several Regts. were present.

A soldier was shot by the guard who were taking him to Slave Pen.

It is said the 9th Corps is going to Acquia Creek.

Good day for marching,

Letter from Mrs. Earle. So kind & good.

What a state of things exists!

Saturday, April 30, 1864

Cloudy. Quite a busy day. Went with woman for rations.

Did 4 wks' ironing.

Attended to getting wood sawed & brought in.

Cleaned Clothing Room & had a general overhauling of Boxes & contents.

Letters from Anna Barnes & from Phebe. Hear that Mr. Griffin has been thrown from horse & injured & that Frances is in Rochester &c.

Sunday, May 1, 1864

Very fine. Rose at 8. After breakfast, went to Hos. Got back at 11. Did my work. Dispensed with

dinner & went to see the 27th U.S. Col. Regt. who marched through city to Depot. Great many people out to see them, secesh too, but they keep quiet.

Went to Hos. again. Came back at 4. Then another Col. Reg. from Illinois with Music & banners went through & are now at Soldiers Rest. It was full & looked fine. A sight of people out to see them. It was a glorious sight. This is a day to be remembered.

Monday, May 2, 1864

Cloudy, rain at evening.

Went to Soldier's Rest to see the 29th Ill. (Col. Regt) Col. J. A. Bross com^g. Talked with Lieut. W.W. Flint. This Regt. has come from Quincy. About 500 men. Many of them can read & write. Some fine singers. One man is 64 yrs. old. Smart looking men. Treated well on all the route. Like their officers.

Went to Hospital.

Rest of day attended in Clothing Room.—

Hos. filled up with Soldiers. Why don't they put them in one of the Soldiers Hos? Several nearly empty.

Tuesday, May 3, 1864

Fine. cool. Thunder shower last night. Col^d Regt. went for their arms & were out in it all. Do not know where they are now.

I have only been out to my meals. Spent most of the day writing letters, but have had some interruptions.

Letter from Joe, dated Saturday at Warrenton Junction. Went to Fairfax C.H. final[?] day. Before night ambulances full of men who were tired out. One night marched till 11, & were up at 4 next morning. Does not know where they are going.

Wednesday, May 4, 1864

Fine. But few interruptions. Wrote 5 letters. Went to King St. & to P. Office. Letter from Mary Julia. Mr. G. is in Hos. at Georgetown.

Mr. LeBarron here.—Went to Hos. Nearly all the sick people (except sol^s) have been sent to Arlington. This to make room for others. The men's ward is full of Soldiers. Tents are to be put up in the yard.—I went to San. Com. Rooms & was told that the Col^d. Soldiers should have what they need. If there was only a matron to take charge of things!

Thursday, May 5, 1864

Fine. Warm.

Attended in Clothing Room nearly all day. Did a little repairing.

Between 4 & 5 P.M. went to Funeral of a Colored soldier, the first who has died here. Had a

white escort & was buried in the New Freedmen's B. Ground.²⁰² Mr. Gladwin officiated. He made no allusion to the peculiar circumstances of the Country, not a word of encouragement to its brave defenders. He shows no sympathy for the people, nor for the Country. Went into the Catholic B. ground.

Friday, May 6, 1864

Fine. Hot.

Went to Hos. All the women gone. Putting up tents for Soldiers. Called on Mrs. Henry & Mrs. Sweet. Went for Pass to W. Attended in C. Room & sewed a little.

About 4 Dr. Breed & Mrs. B. & [?] & J. M. McKim came & staid about 3 min. I went back to W. with them.

Very pleasant ride. Went to Mr. Lake's. Took supper. I saw Mr. & Mrs. M. Went to Dr. B. Very pleasant in city now. Meade had crossed Rapidan.

Saturday, May 7, 1864

Very hot. In W.

I stopped at Dr. B's last night. This morning called at Rooms San. Com, & got 50 hdkfs²⁰³ for Col^d soldiers.

Went to Georgetown to see Mr. Griffin who is in Seminary Hos. He is doing well. He expects Charlotte this evening.

I came back to Alex on 12 P.M. boat.

This P.M. have done various things---Called on Judge Day & saw people from Arlington. Some fighting is going on to day. & various things are surmised.

Sunday, May 8, 1864

Bright. hot.

About 11 a.m. went to Hos. 19 more were brought in last night. I had a hdkf. for every one. They have but little attention. Clement Frisby²⁰⁴ is dying & hardly noticed by any one there. Came back to dinner & with Miss Evans went to Hos. again & to staid an hr. or so. 1,000 wounded are expected this evening & many of them Colored soldiers. We hear that we have 10,000 rebel wounded on our hands & that Meade is pushing Lee very closely.

Monday, May 9, 1864

Very hot. Shower at night. Rose early, cleaned my floor. Worked in C Room. Did various chores. Letter from Phebe. She is in Phila. & I intend to go to P. Wednesday & meet her there.

²⁰² This was quite probably Freedmen's Cemetery on South Washington Street (www.freedmanscemetery.org), with the first burial there on March 7, 1864. The first soldier buried there was Prvt. John Cooley, 27th U.S. Colored Infantry, who had "died upon entering [L'Ouverture] hospital." (Source: Edward A. Miller, Jr., *Volunteers for Freedom: Black Civil War Soldiers in Alexandria National Cemetery, Part I*. Available at: <http://alexandriava.gov/uploadedfiles/historic/haq/haqfal98.pdf>)

²⁰³ Handkerchiefs, which were commonly sewn by Ladies' Societies and others for the soldiers.

²⁰⁴ The Gladwin Record, a record of those buried in Freedmen's Cemetery, lists FRISBY, Clem, 10 MAY 1864, 20y, New General Hospital (<http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/burials/burials.pdf>)

Letter from home. They intend to stay on the place til Sept.—Father has bought a place in Avon (East). Nice place enough.—

Conflicting reports from the army: But I fear Gen. Wadsworth is killed. No wounded have been brought here yet.

Tuesday, May 10, 1864

Fine. Hot. Went to Hospital with Miss Evans. Man died this morning. None very sick now & Miss E will do what she can while I am away.

Went for pass.—

This P.M. I have packed up & put things away as snug as I can. intend to go on 4 A.M. boat tomorrow.—

Gen. Alex. Hayes & Gen. Wadsworth are killed. I knew them both. I hope to see Gen. W. Gov. of N.Y. yet. Wounded are put in hospitals in Fredericksburg at present.

Wednesday, May 11, 1864

Hazy. hot.

Left Alex. on 9 A. M. boat, went directly to Bal. Depot & on 11 A.M. train. (Saw Col. Cav. on Penn Av.) Through Bal, had 5 horses to a car. Woods very beautiful. 2 long bridges over Sus. Riv. At Havre De Grace, engine was overturned. 2 hrs. delay. Fine scenery. Elkton, Wilmington & reached Phila. at dusk. Then 3 mi. to S Cox's, 1214 Mt. Vernon, & Cousin Phebe there. Went to Meeting of Women's Assn. of Friends for Freedmen. Reports read, &c. Tired enough.

Thursday, May 12, 1864

Cloudy. Phil:

With Phebe went to Greene St. Meeting for worship. Speakers went to Jane Johnson's to dinner. Very pleasant people. In P.M. went to a business Meeting on Race St. Meeting House, which is a very nice house. Minutes from yearly meetings were read. Music discussed. Took tea at Ed^{wd} & Ann Townsend's. Met Wm. Hallowell's sister & other pleasant people. On return called at Mrs. Neal's. & then back to E. Cox's, very interesting day. People very kind.

Friday, May 13, 1864

Cloudy. Phila.

Called at Marmaduke Cope's, 1312 Filbert St. Saw Sarah Cope. Then at Margaret Robinson School Cor. Race & Franklin, such handsome girls! Then to 635 Walnut St. to Dr. Evans, saw his housekeeper. Then to Dr. Childs to dinner. With Ellen Childs rode about the city to see things. Saw Penn. Hospital where my father was once.

Then to S. Cox's for the night. Rainy evening. Very tired, but I am pleased with Phila.

Saturday, May 14, 1864

Rainy.

About 11 went with P. to do some shopping. Fine stores. Came back at 2. Called to see Mrs. Chew 749 S. 9th St., Mrs. J's friend.

Mary Pearl called this morning. She is collecting things for me to take to Alex. & packages are

being sent in, for the Hospital.

Cousin Phebe has gone out of town for 3 days. People here are very kind. The Friends are ready & willing to help the Freedmen all they can.

Sunday, May 15, 1864

Rainy. Germantown

Went with Mary Reed to Germantown. 5 mi, to M. Robinson's home. Met John R. of Rochester, & Edith Beckley[?] & Susan Wharton, &c.

So cool & shady & quietly beautiful. Miss R's house in Cottage Row is like a little paradise.

Terrible fighting the last week. We lose 20,000 in killed, wounded & missing. The wounded are taken to Fredericksburg. Many are burnt badly too.

Monday, May 16, 1864

Cloudy. Phil^a.

Left G. at 8 with Mary R.

Called at Abe Barkers, 1118 Spruce St. Wife Sarah W. B. is a lovely woman, & very active in the Assoⁿ for Relief of Freedmen. _____

Then back to S. Cox's. Called on Harriet E. Stokely at Dilwyn Parrish's 1019 Cherry St.—

At 6 went to Depot. Met Dr Evans & 2 Miss Collins & went to Abbotsford. Station Falls Lane, beautiful place. The country is very fine. Vegetation comes [?] rapidly.

Tuesday, May 17, 1864

Cloudy. At noon fine.

Mr. Abbott's family are Miss Evans Cousin. They received me very kindly. Fine people. Called on Mrs. A's sister, Mrs. Richards.—They both have elegant residences on high ground, prospect splendid. Mr. & Mrs. A. went with me to Laurel Hill Cem. Very interesting place.

In P.M. went to Dr. C's also to Women's Assn, in Race St. Meeting House, sewing meeting.

They will send me whatever clothing I need for the Contrabands. They are doing a great deal.

Wednesday, May 18, 1864

Fine A.M.—Rainy P.M.

Hear of the death of Silas Cornell.²⁰⁵ Mrs. Abbott came & went with me to Academy of Fine Arts. Some fine paintings there. Then to Independence Hall on Chestnut St; saw the Old Bell & many interesting relics of revolutionary times. Then kind Mrs. A. left. & I went with Mary Cox to Girard College. 600 orphans. Noble buildings, &c. &c. Started for Chestnut Hill Hos. Too late for Cars. Went to City Hos. wh. is being made ready to receive wounded.

Thursday, May 19, 1864

²⁰⁵ According to Charles Lenhart, a descendent of JW, Silas Cornell was the father of Anna Barnes' from the Rochester Ladies Anti Slavery Society. Listed as age 70 in the 1860 Census, he was an active abolitionist and Quaker.

Fine. hot. ___

Left my kind entertainers at 7 a.m. but as train did not leave till noon, I went to see Mrs. Chew & took a walk on Chestnut St. Such elegant shops & such beautiful things! Then into a Hospital. Hot ride to W. The vicinity of Phila. is beautiful.—

In Depot at Washington wounded soldiers were lying on the dirty floor. & people stumbled over them. There all day waiting to go to Phila. I went to Dr. Breeds. Met E. Yates. Tired enough.

Friday, May 20, 1864

Bright. hot.

Went to see Miss Dix. Then to San. Rooms. Then to Mr. Lake's & to see Mr. & Mrs. Marshall.—Then to Depot for trunk & took 12 o'clock boat for Alex.

Alex. appears filthier than ever after being in Phila. Rev. Peter Washington died this morning.

This P.M. did various chores. Letters from Mary & Frances & Joe & Mrs. Earle & Griffin, &c. Joe wrote from Fredericksburg. Unpleasant news from Rochester.—

Saturday, May 21, 1864

Bright. hot. Alex.

Went to Hos. after cleaning my room. About 100 there. 5 or 6 Indians. ___

The new tent is occupied. I am not pleased with the looks of things as they are now. So hot I had to leave. Mrs. Jones called & then Misses Taylor, England & Froshay[?], teachers from W. came. After dinner we attended Peter's funeral & then I went with them to barracks, Hospital, Slave Pen, Soldiers Rest, & Christ Church. Saml. Dickinson came.—Hard day's work & I am very tired.

Sunday, May 22, 1864

Very hot.

At 8 A.M. went to the River near Fort Rodgers where Mr. Scott baptized 18 persons, 7 men & 11 women. A multitude present. I came back so tired that I could not sit up.

This P.M. heavy thunder shower & it has seemed so hot. I have not even been to Hospital, as I meant to do. I have been filling up my Diary, &c.

Monday, May 23, 1864

Cooler.

Attended in Clothing R. Overhauled boxes, did various chores. —Letter from Ella.

Report that stores are being brought back from Aquia Creek, & Locomotives & cars wh. have just been sent there too.

We fear that Grant is in a tight place & that Butler has been defeated. No news from B. for 2 days,

Secesh have heard some thing which pleases them. (Those in Alex.)

Tuesday, May 24, 1864

Bright. Very hot.

Went to Journal Office. Called on Mrs. Sweet. Went to Hospital. Took the 4 doz. fans I brought from Phila. & had an apple for each one. Two or 3 very sick. One badly burnt, brought in last night. Two new surgeons.—Talk of taking over Barracks for a Hospital.—

Hear that Butler has been fighting Longstreet. No news from Grant.

Wrote several letters. Thunder shower this evening.— unpacked 2 bbls. & box from Worcester.

Wednesday, May 25, 1864

Pleasant.

Did not give feel well this a.m. Worked in C. Room 2 hours. Sewed rest of the day.

Lee has retreated from the North Anna & Grant is following him up.

Butler has had hard fighting.

The wounded are being brought from Fredericksburg as fast as possible. 10,000 there yet. & 100 die daily—

Great confidence is felt in Grant. But is awful to have so many killed.

Thursday, May 26, 1864

Rainy day. Cooler

Attended in Clothing Room all day, trimmed a bonnet.

No particular news, wounded soldiers were brought in last night.—

I wish Frances was here, she might be vey useful.

Friday, May 27, 1864

Fine.

Helped Lucinda wash. Sent for rations. Attended in clothing R. Went to Newtown.

3 bbls. & 5 boxes came from San. Com. Rooms in W.—Saw a sad sight this P.M. 6 ambulances containing 11 coffins on their way to the Soldiers B. Ground. & 2 amb containing 3 coffins passed before these did. 2 of our Col^d soldiers were buried to day also.—

A number of wounded were brought in last night to the different hospitals.

Saturday, May 28, 1864

Fine. cooler. Showers in P.M.

Rose early & Ironed. Opened Sanitary boxes & sorted the things. Such nice new shirts, drawers & socks; towels & hdkfs. Also crackers, lemons, wines, sugar &c.

In P.M. went to Hos. & made lemonade for them all. Colored Ladies came in with good things too. The sick fare very well now. About 100 there & 3 Drs.

230 wks, since my little darling was taken from me.

Sunday, May 29, 1864

Delightful day.

Spent A.M. at Hospital. Put up Pictures &c.—Things look quite nice. Then went to Pitt St. to see a woman.—

This P.M. went to Cemetery with Miss Evans, Collins, Lawson & Mr. Briggs & Master Abbott.

A great many people in the streets.

Grant has changed his base, is this side of the N. Anna. Lee is strongly entrenched on the South Anna.

Monday, May 30, 1864

Fine. Perfect day.

Went to Hos. with 2 bbls. of bandages &c.—

Then cleaned up C. Room. 3 Colored Regts. from Camp Casey have marched thru Alex. & sung “John Brown” & other appropriate songs, They were 29th Ill, 28 Ind. & 31st N.Y. —over 1000 in all. Are going down the Riv. to——. A grand & cheering sight.

This P.M. went to King St. Hos. 150 there. Oh dear. The poor fellows. My heart aches for them. They need nursing & woman’s care.

Tuesday, May 31, 1864

Very hot.

Called on Mrs. Sweet & saw Dr. Bentley. Went to Ouv [*Transcriber’s note: unclear whether this reads “Ouv” as short for L’Ouverture or “Our”*] Hospital & put up curtains. Worked till nearly 1 P.M. Am disgusted with some of the arrangements.

In P.M. with Miss Evans & Miss Collier I went to Wolfe St Hos. 260 patients there, mostly wounded & bad cases. Fare very well. St. Paul’s Ch. Then went to Mansion House Hos. This has a Matron & I think under Dr. Tryen they are well cared for. Quiet encouraging.

Wednesday, June 1, 1864

Very hot.—Went to Hos. Then with Miss Evans, Miss Collins & Master G. A. for passes. Went to wharf. Then too see Dr. Coventry, N.Y. agent for Soldiers.

So hot that I remained in doors until 6 & did various chores.

Called on Mrs. Henry.

Cars have not run west for 2 wks.—

Good news from Sherman. Nothing from Grant.

Letters from Frances & Mary Julia.

Thursday, June 2, 1864

Cloudy, cooler

Attended in Clothing Room all day & trimmed a bonnet.

We hear that Lee has retreated to Richmond. & Grant is besieging the place.—There has been severe fighting.

Large numbers of men are going to Grant.

Have seen 9 funerals this P.M. All the sick that are able to be moved are being sent to their own states to make room for more wounded men.

Friday, June 3, 1864

Fine.

Been in Clothing Room part of day. Mrs. Marshall called, went out with her. Mr. M. came again this P.M. Mrs. Sweet also. Took tea with them at Mr. Augur—

Trimmed one Bonnet. Hear that Grant is besieging Richmond.

Saturday, June 4, 1864

Fine.— Called on Mrs. Sweet & Mrs. Marshall.

In P.M. went to our Hospital. Enlarging all accommodations. About 1 doz. Indians now, & one is a grandson of Red Jacket & great grandson of Mary Jemison. His wife is Queen of Squaws.

From Cootnawaga [?]. In 24th Mich.

Called on Dr. Bentley. Wants women for our Hos. I am to write for Frances to come. Hope she will do so. This evening went to Summerville. Ever so many new folk there. Not easy to find work for them.—

Sunday, June 5, 1864

Cloudy, Warm, dusty. Wrote in A.M. —In P.M. went to Grantville S.S. to teach Miss Evan's class. There is a great want of teachers. Then went to Barracks to hear funeral sermon preacher for Peter Washington, several speakers & some ludicrous things said.

Then went to Soldiers B. Ground, with procession, 2 ambulances con^{tg} 4 coffins. Quite a number of persons present, Chaplain, &c. These made 8 buried to day & 18 yesterday.

Letter from Phebe & heard from home.

Monday, June 6, 1864

Hot. Shower in P.M. Helped Lucinda wash. In P.M. did all the Ironing. So tired to night!

More wounded came in to day, & many other from hospitals sent to their own states.

Last Friday & Saturday there was fighting near Hanover. It is said we lost 7000 in killed & wounded. How terrible!

Tuesday, June 7, 1864

Cool & pleasant.

Had my room whitewashed & helped cleaned it which took nearly all day.

Slow[?] coaches in Alexandria.
Am tired again tonight.
Soldiers of Western N.Y. are to be put in Hospitals in Rochester.—

Wednesday, June 8, 1864
Fine. Cool.

Went to Hospital 3 times. Had book shelves put up. Set up clothes. Made Lemonade for them all, &c. &c., am so tired again to night.

Baltimore Convention have nominated Lincoln and Johnson for Pres. & Vice Pres.
Grant has not advanced army in several days. Keep up skirmishing kill the men[?!]

Thursday, June 9, 1864
Warm.—Shower at eve^{ng}.

Attended in clothing Room most of the day. Some new people & they have nothing to begin with. But they are so hopeful & most of them try to get along.—

Mrs. J. left for Phila.

A Col^d Soldier buried to day, & 8 others have passed here. Know of 11 funerals. It must be sickly here. Grant remains in status quo.

Friday, June 10, 1864
Fine, Cool.

Went to Summerville & found woman for Mr. Augur. Stewed cherries & went to Hos. & gave some to those who are sickest.

Waited on several persons in C. Room

In P.M. Louisa J. went with me to King St. Hos. A great many there & very bad cases too. Some of them were suffering very much & had but few comforts around them.

Something depends on the Wardmaster.—

Letter from Joe Van B.

Saturday, June 11, 1864
Fine, cool.

Called on Mrs. Sweet. Then to King St. Hos. to take some things to 2 sick men. It is dreadful there in some of the wards. Poor Fellows!

This P.M. with Miss C. I went to Wolfe St. Hos. —& I hope we comforted several poor fellows. Took over some dried fruit & Raspberry Vinegar. I went 3 times. Several have just come from White House L.g. one boy 16, another 18.

I have seen so much it has seemed like a long day.

Sunday, June 12, 1864
Delightful weather.

Went to meeting in the Court Room. Heard from Hooker.

In P.M. went S. School at Grantsville. Wrote some. Letters from S.W. Barnes & J.M. McKim.

I feel very well, the weather is inspiring.

It was 232 weeks yesterday since my darling was taken from me & it is oh! so long since I have heard from her.

Monday, June 13, 1864

Fine.

Waited on people in C. Room. Went to our Hospital. 30 sick men. Just came from Camp Barker, W.

In P.M. with Collier I called on Mrs. Bigelow & then went to Sickel's Barracks Hos., where there are 700 wounded men in barracks & tents.

Things look very clean & comfortable. Saw 2 Rochester men.—Came back very tired. At dark Harriet Stokley came from Phila. & stops with me tonight.

Tuesday, June 14, 1864

Fine.

Spent the A.M. at L'Ouverture Hospital. Patients doing very well.

In P.M. went to Wolfe St. Hos. Then called on Mrs. Sweet, & at Ex. Office & No. 7 Royal St. where the N.Y. agent stops. Called twice to see Dr. B., but didn't see him.

Went to Slave Pen & to our Hospital again. Have been to Newtown, too. Oh! I am so tired. 90 wounded brought here from Wilderness battle field. Oh! Poor fellows.

Wednesday, June 15, 1864

Fine. Called to see Dr Bentley. Took 10 A.M. boat to Washington. Went to Dr. Breed's & in P.M. went with Dr. & Mrs. B. & Meena & Aunt A. to Piney Branch. A wild, woody place. A clean stream. Fragrance & quiet. Went by Forts Stevens, Slocum, Slemmer, & [?], &c. By the Soldier's Home & Soldier's Burying Ground where are buried 6000 soldiers. The place is made very nice. Grove on 2 sides, & it is green & quiet there. We rode 12 mi. In evening went to Ratification Meeting in front of Patent Office. 8000 people. Office illuminated. Speeches & music & Fireworks.

Thursday, June 16, 1864

Hot, windy, dusty. Came from W. on 10 A.M boat. Package of Pictures &c. came from Phila yesterday.—Mrs. J. came back to day. Mrs. Hazzard came as Matron for L'Ouverture Hospital.

This P.M. I went with Mrs. More to our Hos., to Barracks & to Soldier's Rest where there are 350 wounded & sick. It has been a confusing day. Wrote to J. M. McKim. Saw 9 coffins pass this P.M.

14 new patients brought to our Hos. yesterday. Some of the Indians have left.

Friday, June 17, 1864

Very poor, tired[?]. Went to Commissary's Hos. & to Quartermaster's Hos., only 6 colored men in the latter. Fare very well. Called at Wolfe St. Hos.

In P.M. went with Miss Collier to Soldiers' Rest. About 400 more. Stayed nearly 3 hours. Their fare is not very good. Left some lemons, & anti-Slavery Songs. & pictures. It does these men so much good to talk with us. Some Col^d soldiers brought into [?]

Saturday, June 18, 1864

Fine,

Went to see sick woman Fairfax St. Then Sewed a little. Went to Pro. Mar. Went to Hospital & put up "Come & Join us Brothers."²⁰⁶ Men delighted with them. Went to Newtown to see sick family & made other calls.

Sam^l Dickinson here but I did not see him. Mrs. Looks called. Letter from Frances, but she is not ready to come yet.—

Mr. Griffin has gone back to Washington.

Sunday, June 19, 1864

Cloudy. Cool.

Quite indisposed. Only went out to breakfast & dinner.—

Read a little. Slept some & rested.—

Grant's army is near Petersburg. Cutting off communications.

Monday, June 20, 1864

Hot, hazy, dusty.

Called on Mrs. Sweet. Attended in C. Room. Went to hospital. About 40 men left for Regiments.—gave them Combs &c.

The two Matrons, Miss Hazzard & Miss Semmus, have been installed by Dr. Bentley.—

Letter from Miss Evans. Will not be back in 2 wks,

Went to Old Sc House this evening & heard H.H. Garnett Lecture on the Colored people. He is a pastor of Church in W. now.

Tuesday, June 21, 1864

Fine, hot.

Took long walk. First saw Dr. Bentley about blinds for Hos., flag &c.—Then went to various places.

Returned & wrote awhile. About 4 P.M. went to Soldiers Rest. 128 men left this Morning. They do not seem well cared for. I went around & gave each a spoonful of Peach Cordial.—

There has been severe fighting at Petersburg & we have several thousand killed & wounded so our hospitals will be filled again. It is terrible!

Wednesday, June 22, 1864

Hot.

²⁰⁶ Perhaps a copy of an 1863 lithograph aimed at recruiting African American troops; a copy is currently in the Smithsonian collection (http://www.civilwar.si.edu/soldiering_join_us.html)

Went to Washington on 10 A.M. boat. Went to Blind factory, Paint Shops & Hardware Stores, & find that blinds for the Hos. will cost about \$70. & now will I get them? Called at Mr. Lake's & Dr. B's. Came back on 9 P.M. boat. Went to L'Ouverture with some things. Matrons not very well pleased with things. I hope some things will be better arranged.

Letter from Frances. Hardly knows whether to come or not. Have written her that perhaps she had better not come.

Thursday, June 23, 1864

Hottest day yet. It is very dry.

Called to see Dr Bentley. Then went to L'Ouverture. Man died last evening. 4 have died within 5 days.

I have written several letters, &c. Called at Barracks School.

Letter from J. Van B, dated "before Petersburg, June 18." We had then carried the outer works but with fearful loss to us. J was well but very busy removing wounded to the Hospitals.

3 bbls. came from R.

Friday, June 24, 1864

Very hot.

Cleaned my room. Unpacked 3 bbls, from Rochester, all old clothing, some of it good for nothing. In P.M. went with Miss C. to Parker's school & Wolfe St. Hospital.—It is not full now, but more are expected every day.—Colored troops, before Petersburg have been fighting bravely. Place not taken. Grant changing his tactics.

Convention in Md. Have abolished Slavery.

Saturday, June 25, 1864

Very hot.

Rose early. Helped Lucinda wash. In P.M. Ironed. Have suffered much from the heat.

How the soldiers on the march & the sick in the hospitals must suffer. It was much as much as I cd. endure to go to my meals & there the flies almost devour us. Water is becoming scarce.

There is considerable sickness. It is 234 weeks since my little darling was taken from me.

Sunday, June 26, 1864

Hottest day I ever knew. Have only been out to my meals.

How the sick must suffer & the soldiers too.

Have written most of the day.

Miss C. has been away nearly all day.

Not any stirring news from the army.

Monday, June 27, 1864

Not quite so hot. Shower in P.M.

Worked in Clothing Room nearly all the A.M. 6 new people to fit out.

This P.M. went to Hospital & staid about 2 hrs. Improving in some respects, but some things are very discouraging yet.

Some low-hired white men there, who counteract all the efforts made to improve their morals. About a doz. ladies from Washington have been there with oranges, &c. They have visitors enough. Letter from Frances.

Tuesday, June 28, 1864

Very fine. Waited on people. Went to hos. Then to Cameron St. Then to Hos again & to Pitt St. & visited 15 houses.

Found colored soldiers in a disreputable house. Some of 54th Mass. going to their Regt., one of their officers with them. Shame on him.

I have been ashamed of my race today.

The tyranny of the White ward master at Hos. will, I fear, make the men do something desperate.—One woman was arrested & marched off to Pro. Mar.—Oh! dear. There will be trouble as long as such women are kept there.

Wednesday, June 29, 1864

Fine, cool.

With Miss Collier, went to W. on 8 A.M. boat. Called at 251 F. St. Then to see about blinds.—Went to Patent Off. Then to Botanical Garden. Then to Capitol. Sat in Sen. Gallery over an hour. Heard Trumbull, Wade, Saulsbury, Sumner, &c. on Reconstruction.—Then to the House for a little while. Then back to Alex. on 2 P.M. B. Then went to Hospital. 12 wounded brought in yesterday. Then to Wolfe St. Hos. Then away down King St.

Am very tired tonight.

Thursday, June 30, 1864

Fine A.M. Shower in P.M. With Miss C. I went to W. on 9 A.M. boat. Called to see Chas. Sumner. Then to see Mrs. Griffin and Miss Searle and Mrs. Breed.

Then made bargain for blinds—

Returned to Alex. on 2 P.M. boat. Caught a shower, took refuge in room[?] of a Secesh Catholic woman.

Went to our Hospital, then to see Mr. Henry.

Waited on some people & am very tired.

Letter from Frances & Mrs. Colman.

Friday, July 1, 1864

Very hot, sultry.

Waited on several people. Wrote several letters.

In P.M. went to several places to pay bills. Called at King St. Hos. Looks so uncomfortable there. Great many flies, hot, dirty, poor men. They might be used better. They might be in a better place, I am very sure.

Saw about 100 men guarded by Cavalry. They looked more like secesh than anything else. Sec. Chase has resigned.

Saturday, July 2, 1864

Very hot.

Worked this morning. Then went for pass.—

This P.M. with Miss Collier I went to King St. Hos. Took soup for the men. Then went on 4 P.M. boat to W., bought at Fenwick & Stewart²⁰⁷ 15 prs. Venetian blinds for \$45 & came back on 6 o'clock boat. Went to L'Ouverture Hos. with the Blinds, then to tea & find myself tired tonight. Wounded came in the P.M. again.—

Letter from Mrs. Barnes.

Sunday, July 3, 1864

Very hot.

Went to Christ Ch. this A.M. Heard Mr. Drumm.

This P.M. wrote to Mrs. Barnes. She has a great deal of trouble.

Wrote several letters. Men are unloading lumber from cars. There is not so much business done here now since Grant has made City Point his base.

This is the quietest Sunday I have known for some time. The Fourth has not begun yet, although it is night.

Monday, July 4, 1864

Not so hot.

Sick nearly all last night & have not set up much today. No celebration in particular. Guns fired at sunrise and at noon, there was a lot of firing. There seemed to be banging from every Fort wh. jarred the house. Mrs. J. & the girls &c. went blackberrying out some 3 or 4 mi from Alex.— Rather dull day for me.

Congress adjourned today at noon. No Bill for Freedman's Bureau has passed. Know of 10 burials today.

Tuesday, July 5, 1864

Fine. Not quite so hot.—

Waited on ever so many new people from Westmoreland. Called to see Dr. Webster. Then to Exchange Bank. Then to hardware store.

This P.M. called to see Mrs. Henry. Then to Hospital.

Then to Newtown & made 3 calls. A great deal of sickness among children. Two colored soldiers buried today.

I feel very much better. Have eaten blackberry & milk & feel refreshed.

Wednesday, July 6, 1864

Hot. No rain yet.

Went to P.O. Then to Hos. & Newtown. Called at Anna Davis's School. 6 scholars. Miss Dana & Mrs. Crosby came. Went with them to Soldiers' Rest, full there now. Wd. not admit us into Slave Pen. They left at 3. Then I went with Louisa & Virginia to Mr. Crow's school, average 175

²⁰⁷ Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory, 1862, lists William A. Fenwick and John A. Stewart as wood and coal dealers, at "Canal c7th west, bds 10th west bet Va av and C south. The establishment is also listed in the 1864 Boyd's directory at this address, as well as a Fenwick & Stewart at "h 11th west cor C south" (<http://archive.org/details/boydswashington1864wash>) that possibly sold other items.

scholars.---Then to Mrs. Fish's School. Has 45 scholars, very good school. Then to Dr. B. for pass to Slough Hos. Then to see Mrs. Sweet.—In A.M. went to Wm Crouch's school.

Thursday, July 7, 1864

Very hot. Showers at dusk.

Waited on some new people. Went to Pro. Mar's Office. Miss Evans has returned. I can get no carpenter yet.

This P.M. with Miss Collier I went to Slough Hos. an extensive establishment. 400 or 500 patients there, but it looks quite comfortable. Went to see Chas. H. Ellerbee of Canada. Long, dusty hot walk but I am glad I went. Tired enough tonight. Mrs. J. has been to W.

Friday, July 8, 1864

Very hot.

Went to Fairfax St. twice to see a carpenter. Then to Hospital & took box of things in wagon & visited all the wards & did various things.

Mrs. Johnson & Mrs. Underwood came.

I went with Mrs. J. to the Hospital again.

Then I went to Dr. B's HQrs. I have walked in the sun & wind until I am tanned & tired as a dog. Letter from Joe Van B, he is well. Letter from Miss Robinson. I am to have a flag for the hospital.

Saturday, July 9, 1864

Very hot, but windy.

Went to Hospital this A.M.—

This P.M. have written an account of L'O. Hos. for the Chronicle (N.Y.). Md. is invaded again by the rebs & they also threaten Penn.

But Grant will not be diverted from his purpose.

Baltimore is in danger & so is Alex. & Washington too. Mosby is active again near Alex.

236 weeks since my little darling was taken from me.

Sunday, July 10, 1864

Hot, windy.

Spent the A.M. in cleaning my room, killing bedbugs & regulating things generally.

This P.M. wrote a little & called on Mrs. Henry.

There is a good deal of excitement. Alex is in danger of a raid & there are but few troops here. But I shall not pack up quite yet.

Troops are being hurried to W. There is danger there.

Monday, July 11, 1864

Very hot. Showers in P.M.

Attended to Washing & to Rations.

Too hot to go to Hospital.

Everybody is more or less excited. Towards night I went out with Miss C. & Miss. E. Washington St. is barricaded with wagons. Civilians are armed & sent out to the entrenchments.

Soldiers nearly all gone to W. We hear the rebel cav. at Ft. Stevens about 5 mi. from W.²⁰⁸ There has been fighting there. The citizens are arming. They are within a few mi. of Baltimore, too.

Tuesday, July 12, 1864

Very hot. Showers in P.M.

Went to W. with Mrs. J. on 9 A.M. boat. Boats coming up the River loaded with men who went towards Ft. Stevens. I went to Dr. Breed's.

About 5 P.M. we rode out as near the front as civilians are allowed to go to Piney Branch Road. No firing since 3 P.M. Rebs near Ft. Stevens.

Went to tollgate on 7th St. Road. Crowd going in carriages, on foot & on horseback. Bodies of troops (6th Corps from Petersburg), stragglers & army wagons. So hot. The men were almost overcome. Came back to Alex. at 7.

Wednesday, July 13, 1864

Hot. In morning Ironed. Then went to Hospital. Talked with Dr. Barker. He does not regard these people as I do.

Talked with Miss H. The women refused to work this morning as they had just learned that they are not to be paid. I do not blame them.

Called on Mrs. Crouch & Miss Chase & left books for scholars. In P.M. with Miss Evans went to King St. Hos. Visited sick prisoners & others. Such want of care! Went to Mansion H. Hos. Here are 6 women nurses & all look comfortable.—Went to Wolfe St. Hos. Men buy their own medicines!

Thursday, July 14, 1864

Cooler.

This A.M. wrote awhile. Read Chronicle. Rebs are running away. Vicinity of W. is all quiet.—

This P.M. went with Miss Evans to wharf. Visited about 40 families. Went into every room in Old Mill & Long House & North House & 7 new houses besides.²⁰⁹ Also into Barrimore's School which appeared very well. Not much sickness.

Things look more comfortable than I ever saw them before. Quite hopeful.

Friday, July 15, 1864

Comfortable.

Such a busy day & I am very tired tonight.

Quite early I went to the Hos. with the Carpenters. Then to the Painters & to see Mr. R. about wagon to go to Mason's Island.

Then to Livery Stable & to Pro Mar's office, but can get no pass to go beyond the lines.

Then to Newtown & called on 4 sick families & A. Davis's school of 5 scholars. Then to

²⁰⁸ This fort near what is now Georgia Avenue was built to protect the main thoroughfare from the north into Washington (<http://www.nps.gov/cwdw/historyculture/fort-stevens.htm>)

²⁰⁹ In November 1864, in the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society (pg. 17), Wilbur wrote that during the month of July, she visited "nearly all the houses where Freed people live. Miss Evans accompanied me on nearly all these visits. The number of Freedmen has been stated at 7000....At the most liberal estimate, and reckoning 300 at the Fairfax Seminary, I cannot make their number over 5000."

Mr. Crouch's examination & to the Hospital. Letters from Frances, Mr. Coleman & Joe Van B.—all well.

4 days without mails.

Saturday, July 16, 1864

Cooler.

In A.M. went to Hospital & to Newtown. Visited 24 families. A great many sick children.

In P.M. rested a little & then went to Barracks, where the School had a Pic Nic. Scholars appeared very nice.

Then with Miss Evans went to Slough Barracks. Visited about half the wards & left tracts & papers. Men complain of not getting enough to eat. Too bad!

Came back very tired.

Sunday, July 17, 1864

Hot.

Quite unwell today & have not sat up much.

Miss Evans brought my dinner & tea. Mean to be better tomorrow. Have walked too much for a few days past. Have letters from Frances & Mrs. C. & Mr. Griffin & C. Post & Joe Van B.—Joe is well. Mr. G. is discharged & is at home.

No news yesterday nor today. Great precautions have been taken to defend the city. Suppose it was never in more danger than for a few days past.

Monday, July 18, 1864

Hazy. Warm.

Feel better. In A.M. went to Hospital. 40 men left today. Miss Semmus has left. Went to Newtown & called at 50 houses, in which live 250 persons, 31 owners.

This P.M. with Miss C. went to Newtown again. Called at 54 houses in which live 260 people. Only 9 of these are rented. Many children sick.

Tired tonight.—

Tuesday, July 19, 1864

Fine. Hot. No rain yet.

This A.M. went on Washington St., St. Asaph & Franklin & made about 50 calls. About 100 new houses & some old ones & 400 people. This P.M. went to Hospital & then with Miss E. to Hayti. Called at about 40 houses, & 200 persons. 15 owned the houses they lived in.

Call for 500,000 troops. Good news from Sherman.

Wednesday, July 20, 1864

Cloudy & sunny & awful hot.

Helped Lucinda regulate clothing room.

Went for Painter & to Bank. Then to King St. Hospital. Treated men to Raspberry Vinegar—then to Hayti. Called at 16 houses, 9 owned & 135 persons.

Many of them live very nice & comfortably. It is astonishing how well they get along. I saw a woman with [?] as long as her arm & ½ yd round. Count few people sick.

Received check from Phila. Letter from Mrs. Johnson. Want Mrs. C for Matron.

Thursday, July 21, 1864

Hazy, dusty, hot.

Went to both Slave pens & all through the Barracks.

Then to Grantville & called on a great many people.

In P.M. went to the houses within Stockade & several officers.

Then with Miss Evans went to Grantville & made calls until 8 P.M. & counted people.

Am very tired tonight.

Friday, July 22, 1864

Cooler. Very dry.

Went to Grantville & beyond to the Rifle pits. Have called at nearly every house & number the people. Found some very destitute families, but many do very well. Came back at 1 P.M., waited on people an hour or so. Then with Miss Evans, went to Soldier's Rest & treated all the sickest patients to Raspberry Vinegar.

After tea, went to Summerville & called at every house. 23. Left tracts &c.

Hard day's work & I am almost tired out tonight.

Saturday, July 23, 1864

Cooler.

Lucinda did my washing, hos. curtains, &c.

Blinds all finished.

Have cost.

In P.M. Ironed, &c.

After tea, called on sev. families on Prince St. &c. Some live in wretched places. Have now called on nearly all the people. Not so many as visually estimated.—

It is 238 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me.

Sunday, July 24, 1864

Cloudy, smoky, dusty.

Wrote awhile.

Then went to Hospital & put up clean curtains. Some of the Blinds are broken already.—

This P.M. have done various little chores.

Looks very much like rain. Much needed.

Virginia has heard of her father's death & left this P.M. for her home. The poor girl takes it very hard.—

Report that Sherman has possession of Atlanta.

Monday, July 25, 1864

Rained all last night & this morning.—

About 11 A.M. I went to Grantville.—After dinner, I went to L'Ouverture & went through every ward.

Then with Miss Hazzard & Miss C. went to Soldier's Rest & through every ward.

Met a former scholar Fred. Heinold[?] from R. Left Anti S. Tracts all through. The Reb. from Ga. seemed glad to get them. He is a fine fellow.

After tea went to Union St. & called on several families. Louisa J. sick. Fine P.M.

Tuesday, July 26, 1864

Very fine day.

With Miss Evans went to W. on 8 o'clock boat, very pleasant trip.

Went to San. Comm. Room. Gave all we ask for.—

We then went to the Colored Hospital. 72 patients there. Look quite comfortable. Only 9 women there. Surgeons very civil.

Then called on Mrs. Breed. Then to B. Depot & at Mr. Lake's. Came back at 2 P.M.

Rested a little & went to S. Rest. Then explored several alleys. Made numerous calls.

Wednesday, July 27, 1864

Fine.

Cleaned room & pick up things preparatory to leaving.

Went to King St. Hos. & C. Com. & Trans. Office, &c. &c. Went to Hospital & said good bye to the people.

Tried to put up things but do not succeed very well. So many interruptions & hindrances. Find there are about 4500 people in Alex. (Freedmen). I intend to start for home tomorrow.

Thursday, July 28, 1864

Hot. Took nearly all day to pack what things I must take & leave the rest of things in order.

Took 5 P.M. boat for W. Miss Evans went to boat with me.

Boats loaded with men who look like rebel prisoners.

Took 7-20 train. Mrs. and Doc. Griffin there.

Began to feel tired.

Friday, July 29, 1864

Hot, windy.

Took sleeping car last night but did not rest any. Distressed night.

No appetite, taking cold all the time.

Tiresome day. At Elmira at 1 P.M. Reached Avon about 6 ½ P.M. Went to Mrs. Winans.

Saturday, July 30, 1864

Cooler. Mr. & Mrs. W. brought me home this morning early. Found them well. But oh such a looking place & this was once my pleasant home!

But I am past caring for such things now.

Have hard chills & fever & must give up to be sick.

Oh. I am all used up.

Sunday, July 31, 1864

Sick. Chills & fever.

Slept part of the night.

Aunty Cathy here.

[Transcriber's Note: Penmanship in next few weeks in August are extremely light and loose, and often illegibly so.]

Monday, August 1, 1864

Hot.

Sick. No chills but had fever.

Slept very little last night.²¹⁰

Tuesday, August 2, 1864

Hot.

So sick this A.M. Feel better this P.M.

Letter from S.A. Ferris who is coming to Springs & I cannot enjoy her visit.

Cousin J.W. home.

Wednesday, August 3, 1864

Hot, rained last night.

Sick. Slept but little, felt wretched all day.

Rainy.

Thursday, August 4, 1864

Rainy.

Sick.

Frances & Neddy came.

Friday, August 5, 1864

Hot.

Sick.

F & Neddy went away.

In P.M. Dr. Jenks came.

Saturday, August 6, 1864

Hot

Sick.

Sunday, August 7, 1864

Suffocating atmosphere

Frances & Mrs. Coleman & Aunt Eliza here.

²¹⁰ Meanwhile, in Alexandria, Rev. Gladwin on August 5, 1864, requested a 20-day medical leave of absence from General Slough. He wrote again on September 2, 1864, this time from New York requesting an extension and accompanied by a letter from "Edgar/Surgeon"; this repeated again on September 30, 1864. (Source: Transcriptions sourced to NARA microfilm, "Union Provost Marshal's File" of One-Name Papers, re: Citizens, M345, Gim-Gn; Roll #105)

Monday, August 8, 1864

Hot.

Very sick.

Dr. Jenks here.

Tuesday, August 9, 1864

Hot.

Very sick.

Mary B. & Alvira here. A. stays.

Dr. J. here.

Margaret[?]

Wednesday, August 10, 1864

Very hot.

Very sick.

Alvira here.

Thursday, August 11, 1864

Very hot.

Very sick.

Alvira here.

Dr. Jenks came.

Friday, August 12, 1864

Sick. Rain.

Alvira gone.

Frances & Neddy came.

Saturday, August 13, 1864

Fine.

Sick.

Dr. Jenks came.

Sunday, August 14, 1864

Fine.

[?] to Emma

Mrs. Blyelor [?] here.

Monday, August 15, 1864

Fine.

Feel about the same & that [?] wretched.

Tuesday, August 16, 1864

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Nice weather.
Dr. Jenks here.
Feel so bad.
Cousin J. here.

Wednesday, August 17, 1864
Cooler, cloudy.
Had such a bad night & do not feel so well today.

Thursday, August 18, 1864
Cooler.
Slept some last night. Still I have not felt much better today.
I am a little stronger.

Friday, August 19, 1864
Cool. Fire in stove.
Bad night. Slept about 2 hrs. & I feel miserably this morning.
Letter from S.A. Ferris & Miss Evans. S.A. & sister are at the Springs.
250 wounded soldiers brought to L'Ouverture.
Jenks here this evening.

Saturday, August 20, 1864
Rainy.
Frances & Neddy went to Rochester.
I slept about 4 hours last night but I have to take so much medicine.
Long, dis[?] today.

Sunday, August 21, 1864
Fine.
Frances came home alone about 9 P.M. Too bad. It was a very hard job for her. No particular news. I have been quite comfortable today.
Dr. Jenks here this morning. Slept about 4 hrs. last night.

Monday, August 22, 1864
Rainy.
Did not sleep any until about 4 A.M. Such a tiresome night.
Wrote to Miss Evans.
I must be some better today.

Tuesday, August 23, 1864
Fine. Frances went to Springs for Sally Ann & got back about 11 AM. Seems so good to see her.
I have been able to visit some this P.M.
This A.M. I was very miserable.
Dr. Jenks here this evening.

Wednesday, August 24, 1864

Fine. Warm.

Slept some this A.M. & some last night.

Feel better this P.M.—

This morning Frances took Sally Ann back to Springs. Have had a good visit with her.

Considering.—

Letter from Alfred. Angeline is coming next Friday.

Letter from Dr. Bentley. Remarkably considerate & kind. I am quite satisfied. Doing well at L'Ouverture.

Thursday, August 25, 1864

Fine. Warm.

Have not felt as well as I thought I should, not half as well as I did yesterday P.M.

Letter from Mrs. J.—& wrote to her.

Friday, August 26, 1864

Fine till 4 P.M. Now it rains & Frances wants to go to Rush Station for Angeline.

I have felt some better today.

Dr. Jenks has been here.

Angeline came about dusk.

I have written 2 letters.

Saturday, August 27, 1864

Fine. Cool.

Thunder Showers last night.—

Did not sleep much. Have not felt as well today as I hoped to.—

Frances & Angeline have gone to Springs.

Evening

Alfred has come back with them.

Rain.

Sunday, August 28, 1864

Showery.

Frances been to I. Green's &c.

Heard from Mary. Has been ill 4 wks.

Alfred & Angeline are gone this P.M. to Uncle J & Uncle E's.

I have felt better today.

Saturday, August 29, 1864

Cool. Cloudy.

Frances went to R. with Alfred & Angeline & did not get back till 8 P.M. Long day. I have been quite comfortable today. Have read some & looked over letters.

Wrote 2 letters.—

Sunday, August 30, 1864

Bright & cloudy & cool.

This A.M. packed crockery &c. & Frances & Mother have been up to the house. This is load No. 1.—

Letter from Mary. Has been sick 5 wks., is getting better now. Ella is there. Joe has a Captaincy. Was well a short time ago.

Dr. Jenks here. I am a good deal better but tired.

Wednesday, August 31, 1864

Fine. Frances & Mother have been up to the house nearly all day. F. has attended to cleaning my room & putting down carpet. I have worked at various things a little at a time. Packed some things.

I gain strength slowly. There is so much I wd. like to do. For 4 wks. I have done nothing.

Cousin J. here this P.M.

Did not sleep well last night.

Thursday, September 1, 1864

Fine. Frances & mother went up to the house.

About 11 Neddy came for F. & I rode to Avon with him & went to the house. It is old & poor & out of repair. Not half as pleasant as this.—

Frances has gone to R. with Neddy. C. is sick. How lonely I shall be. But I must get along as well as I can. I wish I was strong.

Friday, September 2, 1864

Cloudy.

I packed some things & have not done much else somehow. I have not felt very bright today.

This P.M. Mrs. Daly & Euphemia called. Father & Mother gone to the house with a load.

Letters from Miss Collier & Miss Evans. Miss E. has her hands full. Is well. Things about so[?].

Saturday, September 3, 1864

Cloudy, warmer.

Leland came & took a load this morning.

Uncle Jephtha came this P.M. & took 3 loads. I have done a great deal of packing & am very tired.

Father & mother away this P.M. & did not get back till dark, staid till all was unloaded.

Mr. & Mrs. Winans called. Hear that Lewis was wounded in fight at Reams Station.

Sherman has taken Atlanta.
Copperheads have nominated McClellan at Chicago.

Sunday, September 4, 1864

Fine. So quiet & pleasant here. I have packed up all my little traps. The walls are stripped & it looks forlorn now. We intend to leave in 2 or 3 days. I do not realize it yet?—But the house we are going to is not half as pleasant as this when I get there I shall realize it sadly enough.-- This is the last Sunday we shall spend here, probably. I have not worried about anything yet. But I may be crushed at the last. I try not to think of the past. The present only absorbs me.

Monday, September 5, 1864

Rainy.—

Spent most of the day in packing up & getting things ready to move tomorrow. Oh! It is a great deal of work to make such a change.

Then as my father cannot see, we do not get along as well.---

Time is passing very rapidly & I have done nothing yet with reference to going back.

Wonder if I shall go back.

Letters from Mrs. Marshall & Miss Evans.

Tuesday, September 6, 1864

Fine.

Mother has been up to the house nearly all day & I have attended to loading up goods. They have taken 4 loads & there are 2 more to go.

I have been tired out 2 or 3 times today. About 4 P.M. I left with father & came up here, but I do not realize that we have really & entirely & wholly left that house which has been our home so long. It is not half as pleasant here as it is there.

Wednesday, September 7, 1864

Fine. Cool.

Rodney & George came this morning to help us.

They set up bedstands, stove &c. & did various things

We have done a great deal of work today & I am getting tired. I was about going to bed when who should arrive but Cousin Abbie Halsted & husband! I was very glad to see them & helped wait on them as Mrs. Wilbur refused to do anything & went to bed in high dudgeon!

Thursday, September 8, 1864

This A.M. cold & windy.

The P.M. quite pleasant.

I went with Benj^m & Abbie to W. Avon & to the Springs & around by Uncle Jephtha's to show them the country. They enjoyed it.

I slept but little last night & have not felt so well today.

Letter from Mary. She is nearly well now & seems to have good courage, but she is so disappointed that Joe has not come home. He was well a few days ago. He is a Capt. now & will have to go into battle.

Friday, September 9, 1864

Fine, warmer.

Cousin B. Halsted & Abbie left at 8 1/2 A.M. Had a good visit with them, but would have enjoyed it more had we been settled nicely.

I have worked all day & am very tired tonight. It is so much work to regulate things!

My ride yesterday was too hard for me & I took cold too & I have not felt so well today.—It wd. be a lonesome place had I nothing to do.—I must write to Mary to night.

Saturday, September 10, 1864

Fine, warmer.

Did various chores, accomplished considerable but have not felt much like work. Wrote to Mary & Joe & Mrs. Coleman. Letter from Mrs. C. Bad state of things at Home. Miss Mann is dreadful, terrible! Hope Mrs. C. will stay.

245 weeks since Freda was taken from me. Only 10 miles from here & I can neither see her nor hear from her.

Sunday, September 11, 1864

Fine.

Father & Mother been to church.

I made a thorough toilet, did a few chores & wrote letters the rest of the day.—

Have had fire in my stove & my room is quite pleasant. Had I nothing to do it would be lonely but I never saw the time when I had nothing to do.

Have done nothing yet with reference to going back.

Monday, September 12, 1864

Cloudy.

Helped wash in A.M.

In P.M. did various things----

Very tired tonight. Letter from Frances. All well.

Tuesday, September 13, 1864

Fine. Cool.

Ironed in A.M.

In P.M. begun to make Report & worked at it till after 9. Do not feel very well & worked too hard yesterday & today. The 2 flights of stairs are very tiresome.

Rev. Mr. Nott & cousin Jephtha called.—

Wednesday, September 14, 1864

Damp but not rainy.

Went to Mr. Chapel & engaged him to go for a load of goods, but looked so much like rain he did not go.

I have worked at Report.

About 6 P.M. Cousin P. Cornwell came. Very glad to see her. Had good visit this evening.

Thursday, September 15, 1864

Fine A.M. P.M. Showery.

In morning went to the old place. Phebe & I in buggy & Mr. C. with wagon. I helped him load up the parlor furniture. Seemed very queer to knock at our own door. Looks forsaken there, grapes fine. Flowers in garden, phloxes, &c.

Came back & helped unload. Then about 11 Phebe & I went to Uncle Ephraim's. Came back at 4 & then Phebe left for the Springs. I went to the store &c.

Friday, September 16, 1864

Fine.

Arranged things in parlor, but how unlike our old Parlor at Home, then removed book case to my room & arranged my choice crockery & nicknacks in that.

Regulated cupboards &c downstairs, so the day has been used & I have made no progress in writing Report. I must if possible attend to writing tomorrow.

Letter from Miss Collier.

Saturday, September 17, 1864

Very fine.

Wrote to Mr. McKim & Angeline.

Cousins E. Tyler & Emmaline Wilbur here to dinner.—

Spent P.M. in writing report.

Letters from Ella & Anna Barnes.

Were it not for the letters I receive, I fear I should get lonesome.

Sunday, September 18, 1864

Fine.

I have not been out, I have written some & done some trifling chores. Rather dull day. I mistrust I am lonesome. Spirit does not move me to go to either of these meetings.

Right arm quite lame.

Monday, September 19, 1864

Fine.

Helped a little about washing

In P.M. had repairing down in my room & lock put on my door & bolts on the doors below.

Have taken cold. Arm lame & teeth ache.

Tuesday, September 20, 1864

Very fine.

Have spent most of the day in writing Report. Cannot use my hand as freely as I wish.

State Fair begins today. I have no desire to go to it.

Wednesday, September 21, 1864

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Fine.

Every body going to Fair.

I have spent day in writing Report.

Letters from Frances & Mrs. Coleman & Mr. McKim. Mr. C has trouble yet. Mr. McK. has no place for Frances yet.

Frances is full of excitement & perplexity.

Mary Julia was married on the 16th to H.W. Milstead at St. Nicholas, N.Y.²¹¹

Expected home next morning after Frances wrote.

Thursday, September 22, 1864

Very fine & warm.

Have spent nearly all day in writing Report & am tired & feel bad as I always do when I am applying myself so closely to writing.

Friday, September 23, 1864

Very fine. Warm.

In A.M. finished Report & feel very much relieved.

In P.M. went with father to W. Avon & called on Mr. Winans.

Recruiting is progressing wonderfully.

Came back & called at Mr. Chapel's.

Think I will go to R. tomorrow morning.

Called on Dr. Jenks this eve & paid him \$13.25. My illness has cost me about \$20.

Saturday, September 24, 1864

Rain in the A.M., Fine P.M.

Left home in Stage at 8 1/2 A.M. & waited at depot in Avon till 3 P.M. for train. Very tedious.

Almost like a lost day. Reached R. at 4.

Found them all well. Went to Charlotte's.

Sunday, September 25, 1864

Cloudy. Cool.

At C.'s. Visited with sis &c.—

Finished Lady Audley's Secret.

Monday, September 26, 1864

Fine. Cool.

Went to Miss Porters & Mrs. Marsh's & Mrs. Lang's. Did some shopping. Towards night, went to Irondequoit.

Aunt Elizabeth is very well. She is 81 now.

Gold is down. Dry goods have come down also.

Tuesday, September 27, 1864

²¹¹ In early 1865, JW wrote that "Mary Julia and Harry" spend time in Washington, DC, and Georgetown.

Fine. At B. Wing's. Heavy thunder last night.
Uncle Noah[?] & son David here, going to Dutchess.
Do not feel at all bright. What is the matter with me? I am very stupid.

Wednesday, September 28, 1864

Chilly.

Came to city with Phebe & Eliza.

Bought Repp dress &c. Took dinner at C's.

In P.M went to Miss Porter's, several ladies of the Society there. I read my Report &c.²¹²

At evening, went to H. Babcock's with Frances.

Thursday, September 29, 1864

Rainy.

Came back to city.

Marked linen for C.

In P.M. went to Amy Post's & Mary Hallowell's & then over to Charlotte's.

I intend to go to Somerset tomorrow.

Friday, September 30, 1864

Cold. Cloudy.

Left R. on 8,40 train. Frances went to Depot with me.

Reached Lockport at 11, waited until 2 P.M. Morgan & Stephen there. Went with them to S.

Find them all very well. Have not been here two years before.

Children have grown & so have trees.

Saturday, October 1, 1864

Cloudy, cold.

At Morgan's. I sewed all day. Must try to do something for myself now.

Morgan & E. have been to Albert's.

Sunday, October 2, 1864

Cloudy.

Heavy rain last night. I have not been out. Some of the family have been to meeting.

This "evening" Alfred & Angeline here.

Wrote to Miss Evans. Would like to hear from Alex. again.

Monday, October 3, 1864

²¹² JW's entry in the Thirteenth Annual Report of the RLASS is dated October 1, 1864, so perhaps she shared it with the members before submitting it. The 1864 report (pp. 5-24), starts on a positive note: "It is with much satisfaction and true thankfulness that I proceed to make a report of my second year's labor among the Freedmen of Alexandria." She gives an account of clothing and money received and distributed, as well as her activities and observations.

Wet-cold.

Sewed nearly all day. Have a lame arm & hand which I fear is going to hinder my sewing and writing.

Tuesday, October 4, 1864

Cloudy.

In A.M did nothing.

In P.M. went to Alfred's. Sewed a little.

Discouraging for me.

Encouraging news from army.

Wednesday, October 5, 1864

Rainy.

Wrote nearly all day.

Arm & hand quite bad at night.

Angeline not well.

Alfred gone to L. & to Buffalo to attend a McClellan meeting.

Thursday, October 6, 1864

Rainy A.M. Fine P.M.

Heavy rain last night. Alfred came back at 1 today.

I have written some & sewed a little.

Friday, October 7, 1864

Rainy. At Alfred's. Have written nearly all day.

Catherine Von W. here this evening.

Wrote to Miss Porter & A. Whitmore.

Saturday, October 8, 1864

Tempestuous, rainy.

Such a gale from the Lake all day. The Lake is a grand sight.

Elizabeth here this morning. I have written nearly all day.

Arm & hand better.

Sunday, October 9, 1864

Cold. Sunny. Cloudy.

Wild weather.

Finished writing Report. Feel relieved. Hope the Society will approve of it.

Towards night Allie came for me & I went to Morgan's.

Monday, October 10, 1864

Cold. High wind in A.M. Pleasant in P.M.

Sewed some.

In P.M. Elizabeth & Eliza went with me to Alfred's.
Frances does not come yet.

Tuesday, October 11, 1864
Fine, warm.

Alfred & Angeline went with me to Lockport & to Depot. Dined at Stevensons.
Took train at 2 P.M. & reached R. at 4 ½ P.M.

Wednesday, October 12, 1864
Cloudy, cooler.

Staid at C's last night.
Called on Mrs. Barnes & Miss Porter & Mrs. Marsh & at the City Hospital but did not see much.
So not like the matron.
Went to Isaac Hilles[?] & R.S. Bank & got new Bank Book for \$2,35.
Called at John R's & went to Mrs. Angle's.

Thursday, October 13, 1864
Cool. Pleasant.

Did Shopping.
Called on Mrs. Danforth.
Bought cloak for \$22.—Staid at Mrs. Angle's last night. Had very good visit.
Letter from Frances. She is in Somerset.
Went to Miss Porter's to Society.

Then to hear A.E. Dickinson at Cov. Hall, subject "Chicago the Last Ditch." It was very fine, great crowd. I enjoyed it very much.

Friday, October 14, 1864

Cold, bright. At Home. Came up on 10, 30 train & in Express____
Found things as usual. Letters from Mary & Joe, Miss Collier & Miss Evans. They wish me to come back to Alex. & bring clothing for the people.
Joe is mustered out & is going home. Has written Mary to meet him here the 10th, wh. is tomorrow. I am glad for Mary. Have been twice to dressmaker. Somehow I am very tired.

Saturday, October 15, 1864
Quite pleasant.

Have sewed some & done various chores
This evening about 8 o'clock Capt. Van Buskirk came. He is very well & hoping to find Mary here. But she will not come probably until the first of next week
Joe has been in service 31/2 years. He was in the fight at Poplar Grove church the 30th Sept. Had horse shot under him.

Sunday, October 16, 1864

Rainy. Windy. Very unpleasant
Father Laura & Joe have been to meeting.

In P.M. Joe went to Harvey B's & is to come back Tuesday.
I have done but little today.

Monday, October 17, 1864

Cold. Windy.

Sewed some & wrote some. I feel tired tonight.

About 8 o'clock this evening Sister Elizabeth & Allie came from Somerset.

Frances stopped in Rochester.

Tuesday, October 18, 1864

Squally. I went to W. Avon with Joseph to see if Mary was home. She & the children had just got seated in the stage to come up here.

Minnie looks just as usual but Stewart has grown & talks too. They were very glad to see their father & I am glad that he has left the service & can be with his family again.

Wednesday, October 19, 1864

Cloudy. Cold.

Packed crockery this morning & put up things for Elizabeth & visited & did various things besides.

About 5 P.M. E. & Allie left for home. Joseph took them to W. Avon.

Allie went to the old place with her grandfather this A.M. This is the first time she has been to her Grandfather's. She is now 14!

Thursday, October 20, 1864

Cold. Cloudy.

Mary took Joe to W. Avon to go to Mass Meeting in Rochester.

I have sewed some. About 3 P.M. I took Mary & children to Uncle J's & then to Harvey B to stay a few days.

She intends to come back here Sat. night.

Friday, October 21, 1864

Quite pleasant.

Ann Whitmore came this morning to sew.

I have sewed some too & done chores. Feel miserably tonight.

I know I ought to be in Alex. now & there is so much to do before I am ready to go that I am nearly discouraged.

The meeting in R. yesterday was a glorious one. It was immense. Gov. Andrew &c. there.

Saturday, October 22, 1864

Cloudy. Cold.

Sewed some & written some.

About 11 Mary & Jo. came for their trunk & left & will not be here again before they leave.

They intend to be in Rochester next Wednesday & I am to meet them there.

Sunday, October 23, 1864

Cloudy, warmer.

Have not been out today.

Finished copying Report & wrote 3 letters.

I am very tired, so much indoor work does not agree with me.

Monday, October 24, 1864

Cloudy, dark day. A Whitmore here & I have sewed as hard as I could spring all day. Such work does not agree with me.

Tuesday, October 25, 1864

Fine, warmer.

Did chores and sewed. Have two dresses nearly finished. Am tired tonight.

Went to the store this A.M. It is so pleasant I wd. like to go out more, but it is work, work in the house.

Intend to go to R. tomorrow.

Wednesday, October 26, 1864

Fine, warm.

At 8 went to W. Avon, stopped at Mr. Winans till train came in. Saw a delegation from Avon going to Geneseo for Republican meeting.

Reached R. at 1.—Called at Miss Porter's & did little else but go to C's & see Mary & children.

Went to Mrs. Hallowell's. Met Mrs. Barnes, Miss P. & Harriet Tubman &c. H.T. has been S.C. & Florida for 3 yrs, a scout for Government, spy &c.

Thursday, October 27, 1864

Cloudy. Rain in P.M. Did shopping.

Joseph & Mary & children left for Somerset on their way to Michigan. Glad they could come here. JE[?] went to Holley.

Went to Depot for her at 5 P.M.—

Then went in rain to John K's.

Last night staid at Wm. Hallowell's & had very good visit.

I shall not be able to see all the people I would like to see.

Friday, October 28, 1864

Pouring rain all day. At 10 went to Valley Depot. F. did not come & train left us. Walked back to C's.—Did up some last chores & then at 5 tried it again. Left Avon at 7 1/2 & when we got home we were wet enough. Such time!

Ann Miller has gone & we have no girl now.

Saturday, October 29, 1864

Rainy all day.

Ann Whitmore here, & I have sewed some. Alvira here, just got back from Boston. Frances has

helped about house some.

Letter from Mrs. Jacobs. Rebs so near Alex. that there is considerable excitement.

Sunday, October 30, 1864

Rainy, cold.

Alvira H. here.

I have done various things. So many things to look over & arrange. I have not been out but Frances has been to Rush C's this evening.

Monday, October 31, 1864

Very rainy.

Frances washed, but there is no such thing as drying clothes.

I have sewed all day & feel badly tonight.

We intend to start for Alex. next Monday if wind & weather & everything permits.

Tuesday, November 1, 1864

Cloudy & wet.

Sewed all day & feel miserable tonight. My arms hands ache. I think I have rheumatism.

Maryland has become a free state.

Wednesday, November 2, 1864

Bright A.M. A. Whitmore finished sewing for me. Has been here 8 days at .50 cts. a day. I feel better only I have had head ache today. Letter from Elizabeth. Stephen sick.

Thursday, November 3, 1864

[Transcriber's Note: This small section is on the November 2 page, about halfway down, then entry continues on its own page below]

Heard from Freda. Lillie B. has been up to Revilo's with her father. Freda is well but she is a pale, slender girl. Nothing was said to her about her mother's friends.

Thursday, November 3, 1864 (cont.)

Pleasant, sunny, cold.

In A.M. worked at various things. In P.M. Frances & I called at Uncle Jephtha's, Uncle Ephraim's, Leland L's, H. Bigelow's, & at the old place. Took up on shruberry to set out in our burial lot at W. Avon. We intend to go there tomorrow.

I have taken cold in my head. My teeth ache & I feel tired & miserable tonight.

Friday, November 4, 1864

Pouring rain nearly all day. Could not go to Avon to get out our shrubs. Ann W. here sewing for F. I have spent nearly all day in looking over & sorting things, & putting some away to leave at home.

Mr. Salsbury here. Frances thinks we can get ready to go on Monday next, but it does not look much like it now.

Democratic pole raising.

Saturday November 5, 1864

Very cold, windy. F & I went to W. Avon & Mr. Salsbury helped set out our shrubbery. We called at Mr. Winans.—

This P.M. I cleaned my room & Frances washed & went to mill. We cannot get ready to go on Monday.

At 8 ½ this evening Charlotte & Neddy & Mary Julia & Harry came. I am very tired tonight.

Sunday, November 6, 1864

Bright.

Charlotte & Neddy & Mary Julia & Harry left at 8 this morning. The first 2 walked, the last 2 went in buggy with Frances to Avon. I hope Sis has a good husband, I like his appearance very much. Cousin Jephtha called. Frances has gone out this evening.

Monday, November 7, 1864

Rainy. Bright. Warm. Packed trunks & box. Cleaned my room & left everything in order. Did a great many chores to get ready to start in the morning.

Frances cooked & went to Leland's for butter.

Ann Whitmore called. I should think Father & Mother would be very lonely when we leave.

Tuesday, November 8, 1864

Rainy. Election. Left home at 9. Mr. Chapel took us to W. Avon. Train left at about 11 a.m. Cars not crowded. Reached Elmira at 4 & waited till 5 ½ o'clock. Depot so filthy that we went to a hotel. This place has been full of soldiers for several days past, going home to vote. To avoid a crowd we chose to start today.

Wednesday, November 9, 1864

Rainy A.M.

Last night was a hard one for us. Smoke, dust, heat, cinders. Reached Balt. at 7 ½, & Wash. at 11 A.M. Went to Pro. Mar. for passes. Called at Mrs. B's. Then to boat. Mrs. Beach went to Fairfax Sem.

Ladies here in some excitement. Mr. Gladwin has got my key. I tried to get possession of my room. I have been to see Col. Wells & Capt. Mason, but shall have to give up my room. I hardly know what to do. I have no boarding place.

Thursday, November 10, 1864

Shower & sunshine. Slept very well last night. This A.M. waited to see what would turn up. This P.M. F & I went to the Hospital. Things look strange there. Nearly all the inmates are strangers, & there has been an entire change of doctors. New nurse in women's ward. I do not like the appearance of some things which I saw. Nothing further said about my room.

Friday, November 11, 1864

Fine. At 8 F & I went to W. to Dr. B's. Saw Misses Haycock, Carter, & Perkins. At 3 ½ P.M. with Dr. & Mrs. B. we rode to Giesboro Pt. to see about the colored people there. ____
[Transcriber's note: Blank in original] men employed & have good accommodations & good wages. Only 4 women there & these have families. Stables for 10 or 15 or so horses. Place worth visiting. Went near Insane Asylum & Fort. Rode back by moonlight. Very tired.

Saturday, November 12, 1864

Cloudy. Went to Mrs. Swissholm's but did not find Mrs. Coleman. Then to Ajt. Gen's office. Harry & Sis have come.²¹³ We went to George T. but did not find them. So tired. Went to boat & reached Alex. at 2. Went to Hos. Went to Magnolia House to find board, Miss Evans went with me to 3 places. Did not succeed. Saw Mrs. Coleman a moment. Order from H.Qrs to leave my room at once. Mr. Gladwin is a despicable fellow.

Sunday, November 13, 1864

Bright. Cold. Raw. Have a bad boil on my chin.—Have not been out. About 1 ½ p.m. C & Sis & Harry came. Stayed about an hour. F. went to boat with them. Say they have a pleasant boarding place in Georgetown. I have picked up things with reference to leaving in the morning, for then my room must be cleared.

Monday, November 14, 1864

Cold. Packed up all my things. I waited for Mr. G. to say that I could have a room on the other side of the house, but he put me off till noon. Then Gen. Slough came to town, & Mr. G. has been another man since. "Why, yes, you can have the room, of course. Can I do anything to help you?" Moved this P.M. Room not half as pleasant & convenient as the other; not half as good either.

Tuesday, November 15, 1864

Cold. Cloudy.

Frances went to W. in morning. I regulated things as well as I could. Mr. Coleman here with Mr. Dudley & Mr. Whittemore. Miss Evans went out with them. I took lunch at Mr. [?] with them. I went back to W. with them, tea at Mrs. S's. Went to Mrs. Gangewer's in Georgetown to a meeting, then back to W. to Mrs. Holt's for the night. Went to bed about 1, cold and tired.

Wednesday, November 16, 1864

Bright. With Mrs. Coleman went to Geo.T. to see Harry & Sis. Charlotte there but is to leave tomorrow. Frances there.

I called at Mrs. Breed's then at Judge Day's office, then to Mrs. Swisshelm's²¹⁴ to lunch. Saw Mr. McKim at Mrs. S's.

I came back on 4 p.m. boat & Frances on 5 P.M. boat. Sorry she didn't see Mr. McK. He went to Geo.T. to see her but she was gone. Very tired.

²¹³ This would be JW's niece Mary Julia and new husband, Harry Milstead, as noted previously.

²¹⁴ Possibly Jane Grey Swisshelm, antislavery activist and journalist (see *Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life, 1815-1884* by Sylvia D. Hoffert).

Thursday, November 17, 1864

Cloudy, very busy day. Went for rations, &c. & went for wood & attended to sawing, &c. Went to see Aunt Fanny R. & Aunt Lucy. L. helped me clean & regulate clothing room. Hard day's work.—

Miss Evans has left & gone to W. to work there. Rooms with Miss Howard. She will not stay here & be under Mr. Gladwin's control & I told him so. I am sorry to have him.

Friday, November 18, 1864

Rainy. Last night I had no sleep at all. Oh! Such a face & tooth ache. How I suffered, probably took cold yesterday.

Have not been out of my room today. Slept some this A.M. Feel sick and miserable. Frances has done my work. Mr. G. has had a lock put on door & plastering done, &c. He thinks by this to make amends for his meanness. Mrs. Jacobs gone to Phila.

Saturday, November 19, 1864

Cloudy.

Slept well last night but was sick this A.M. Fixed my new cupboard & various things. Room looks quite comfortable. Went out this P.M. for things.

Mrs. Coleman came about 4 to have meetings tomorrow.

I feel better this evening.

Looked over papers &c. & no particular war news.

Sunday, November 20, 1864

Rainy. I have not been out. Frances went with Mrs. C. at 3 P.M. to Barracks, & this eve, they have gone to Grantville to hold meeting.

Evening. F. & Mrs. C. have not been to G. but spent the evening at the Magnolia House. They & Virginia took tea with Mr. Baker. I have been writing.

Monday, November 21, 1864

Cold, rainy. Mrs. C. left this A.M. I worked some. Letter from Miss Porter with report to be copied. I have written this P.M. & evening. See no papers & hear no news.

Tuesday, November 22, 1864

Cold. Cloudy. Wrote nearly all day & evening, & finished copying report. Feel relieved. — Have been out for some things & have taken cold in my head. F. has been to Wolfe St. Hos. Miss Evans has been here. She is satisfied with her migration to Washington, 87 4 ½ St.

Wednesday, November 23, 1864

Bright. Freezing cold. Frances went to Washington this A.M. to stay till tomorrow. I have helped Lucinda wash &c. which took till 1 p.m.—I went out & made some purchases in the housekeeping line.

Broke watch this morning & have had it mended. Brought in clothes & ironed some this evening. Feel well today but am quite tired tonight.

Thursday, November 24, 1864

Bright. Cold. Wrote to Miss Porter. Frances came at 12.—

At 3 P.M. went to Soldier's Rest to a Thanksgiving dinner & returned at 7. This was a complimentary dinner to the members of the Sanitary & Christian Coms. given by gentlemen of Alex. Mr. Baker was master of ceremonies. The dinner was nice & there were speeches too. We did not stay to the dance in the evening. I have enjoyed this 3rd Thanksgiving in Alex. Wonder how they are at home.

Friday, November 25, 1864

Bright, warmer. Waited on people in C. Room.

Then about noon F & I went to Depot & to Barracks & to Soldier's Rest & to Slave Pen & to Hospital. Got back at 4 P.M, got dinner & then it was night.

Frances has gone to meeting this evening, & I have been writing.

I have seen things today which grieve me very much. Must the negro forever be the victim of the white man's cupidity? It would seem so.

Mrs. Hazzard called.

Saturday, November 26, 1864

Pleasant & warmer. Frances has been to W. She has seen Harry & Sis. Can find no boarding place in G. yet.

Miss Evans has been here. I have been to Hospital & Barracks.

Have been out twice to make purchases of tin ware, crockery, &c. & did some marketing also. New business for me. Prices high. How do the poor manage to live?

Sunday, November 27, 1864

Fine. Cold. Frances has been to S.S. at Grantville. I have not been out. I have written letters & regulated various things.

Nothing can be seen from my room, so I know but little of what's going on outside.

Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa came back this morning.

Think of going to Vienna tomorrow.

Monday, November 28, 1864

Fine. Warmer. F & I went to Col. Wells for pass. Was refused. F. went again & succeeded.

Left on 10 A.M. train for Vienna. 15 mi, 2 hrs to go. Walked about 80 rods to Mr. Cammins[?].

An ancient farmhouse in the midst of a Cavalry Camp, 16th N.Y. We went through the camp & to the grand house. 3 guerrillas there. Saw one brought in, shot in head. Hard case. All quiet and orderly, bugle sounds every hour. Visit in eve'g with Mrs. C.

Tuesday, November 29, 1864

One of the finest days I ever saw & oh! How I have enjoyed it. Visited to camp & guard house.

Saw Capt. McPherson of Caledonia, N.Y. Nice visit. Saw Lieut. Jones of Rochester. Lieut.

Keyes, &c. Going into winter qrs. building huts & sheds. Lively scene.

Went to Depot at 12, waited till 3 for train. Explored Vienna & its environs. Polite & hospitable, Com. & Q.M. Sergrts gave us refreshments. Train came with a guard, & we got back to Alex about 5. All safe. Warm as summer.

Wednesday, November 30, 1864

Fine. Warm. Frances went to W. I went for rations, &c. Then F. Douglass came. Mrs. J & I went with him to Soldiers' Rest. A mistake, this was on the 1st of Dec. But today, Nov. 30, we wrote some & then Frances & I went to the Soldiers Burying G. This is being extensively improved. Then to the Hospital. This evening I went to hear Douglass lecture at Liberty Hall.

Thursday, December 1, 1864

Mild as May or Sept. F. went to Washington. I went for rations. Then F. Douglass came. I & others went with him to Soldier's Rest, then into the Slave Pen. Then to Hospital, through all the wards. He spoke to the men assembled in dining room, they sung, &c. Then went to Grantville School. Dined at Mr. Beckley's with Douglass & others. In evening heard him lecture at Liberty Hall. Very good. He is pleased with his visit to Alex.

Friday, December 2, 1864

Cloudy. P.M. rainy. Frances came back about 2 P.M. Has engaged a boarding place in W. to go into school in Georgetown next Monday. I went out & made some purchases & wrote some. Last evening after lecture Douglass took supper at Magnolia House with Gov. Pierpont & other prominent men. The world does move.

Saturday, December 3, 1864

Cloudy. Wrote a little. Went to market &c. Sewed a little. In evening with F. I called on Mrs. Belden at Magnolia House. Called on Mr. Baker also. Encouraging war news. Rebels attempting to burn Northern cities. 257 wks. since Freda was taken from us.

Sunday, December 4, 1864

Fine. Cooler. Frances & I went to Christ Church & heard Rev. Drummon[?]. Not very satisfactory to me. 58 colored folk landed here this morning from Sussex Co. farther south than Petersburg. They came to the house. We gave them some clothes & refreshed them a little & then they were loaded into 4 Army wagons & sent to Mason's Island.

Monday, December 5, 1864

Bright. Cold. Went to W. with Frances on 10 A.M. boat. Went first to her boarding place on 12th St. Then called at Mrs. Breed's. Then to Georgetown where she is to teach in the basement of Mt. Zion's Church. I am sorry to have her teach in such an unpleasant place. Oh! Dear. Went to see Mary Julia. Tried to find Miss Evans but failed. Came back cold & nearly tired out.

Tuesday, December 6, 1864

Fine. Warmer. Cleaned my room with Ednah's help. Then went to dine at the Magnolia House. Called on Mrs. Belden, who went out with me & made some calls to the old mill, Longhouse, &

to Bearmon's[?] school. Miss Evans called a little while. Quite satisfied with her Island work. I have waited on several people today. In evening wrote some. Miss Hazzard is married.

Wednesday, December 7, 1864

Rainy. Went to Journal Office & to see about wood. Ednah cleaned hall & stairs, & window. Three barrels came from Farmington. Contained very good things. White soldiers removed from Baptist church, & 118 colored soldiers put there, just brought up from City Point.

Thursday, December 8, 1864

Cold. Worked in Clothing Room nearly all day. Quite uncomfortable. Mr. McKim & daughter & Mr. Garrison here. I went with them to Slave Pen, & Hospital. They were here less than an hour. I went to Baptist Ch. Hos. 118 colored soldiers there. They have a comfortable place. S.P. Chase is made Chief Justice of the U.S. [*Transcriber's note: this next written in the bottom margin*] Lent \$2 to Dr. P.

Friday, December 9, 1864

Very cold. Spent all A.M. in clothing room without fire. Expect to have teeth-ache tonight. So cold I have made no calls. Robt. McCarrick & brother here this evening. How the poor people must suffer for want of fuel & bedding.

Saturday, December 10, 1864

Cold. Snow several inches deep. Sleighs out & bells jingling. I did not go to W. today as I intended, too unpleasant to go out. Have sewed some & written some. Frances came about 2 p.m.—258 weeks since Freda was taken from us.

Sunday, December 11, 1864

Misty. Thawy. Sloppy. Very bad walking. Only been out to dinner. Francis dined with me. Mr. Baker called here. Wrote a few letters. 5 funerals passed here this P.M. Letter from Cousin Phoebe Cornell.

Monday, December 12, 1864

Very cold. Frances left at 7 ½ o'clock, before I was up. She must have had a cold time of it. I am afraid she will take cold & be sick. I have been to market & had wood sawed, &c. This PM went to Bap. Ch. Hos. The men look very comfortable there. A large proportion have lung diseases. Some are wounded. There have been an unusual number of funerals today.

Tuesday, December 13, 1864

Cold morning, milder PM. Spent A.M. in clothing room. Not many calls. This P.M went to Bap. Ch. Hos. & took books, &c. Then to L'Ouverture. Called on Mr. Leonard²¹⁵. Called at several rooms in barracks.

Mr. Fish & wife have come.
I intend to go to W. tomorrow.

²¹⁵ Chauncey Leonard was African American chaplain at L'Ouverture Hospital.

Wednesday, December 14, 1864

Fine. Lovely day. Started for W. & went as far as P.O. Walking so bad that I came back. Slippery & wet. Did various chores.

This PM went to barracks & to L'Ouverture Hos, Grace Ch. Hos twice & to Bap. Ch. Hos. In the two last the men have got along remarkable well. They look so clean and comfortable. They want books & I have but few for them. Found some destitute people in the barracks.

Thursday, December 15, 1864

Cold. Cloudy. Helped Aunt Lucy wash from 10 am till 3 pm. Waited on several people. Brought in all the frozen clothes. Ironed some. So tired I can do nothing this evening.

This morning 83 new people came from Sussex. Many of them very destitute & cold & hungry. Came with our troops to City Point. We gave them what we could. They were sent to Mason's Isl. in 6 army wagons. Poor things.

Friday, December 16, 1864

Not so cold. Cloudy. Such a busy day again. Went twice for rations. Went to wharf for wood. Attended to sawing & bringing it in. Ironed, went to baker's, swept halls, stairs, &c. Did various other chores.

Frances came about 6 ½ pm. She has boarded at Mrs. Brown's. Bad walking & small pox in the school, &c., &c. Am very tired again tonight. Intend to go to Arlington tomorrow.

Saturday, December 17, 1864

Foggy. Misty. So wet. Did not go to M. Isl. Did chores. & in P.M. Mrs. Belden called & we went to Bap. Ch. Hos. Doing well. Went to Wolfe St. Hos. But very few sick men. Nearly all convalescent. In evening wrote some & called on Mrs. Jacobs.

259 weeks since Freda was taken from those who love her so well.

Sunday, December 18, 1864

Cloudy, misty. Only have been out to dinner. Have done but little. 4 new women sent to Mason's Island from Sussex Co.

War news very encouraging. Thomas in Tenn. has routed Hood's army. Report that Sherman has reached Savannah & taken it with 11000 prisoners &c. Hope it may be true.

Monday, December 19, 1864

Wet. Terribly muddy. Went to milliners &c. Did various chores. In P.M. Mrs. Coleman & Mr. Hawkins²¹⁶ came. Mr. H. will send me goods. He is Sec. of N.F.R. Asso.²¹⁷ & Mrs. C is agent.

Frances left before 8 this morning. I fear she has undertaken too hard a task.

Tuesday, December 20, 1864

²¹⁶ William G. Hawkins and possibly Lucy Colman.

²¹⁷ National Freedmen's Relief Association

Bright. Cold. Went on 10 A.M. boat to Washington. Took dinner at Dr. B's. M. Robinson there. Came back on 5 P.M. boat. Did not go to see Frances nor Sis.

A call for 300,000 more troops!

Sherman is 3 miles from Savannah & is in communication with the coast. He's marching through a rebel country.

Wednesday, December 21, 1864

Snowy. Rainy. All slush. The worst walking I ever saw. I have only been out to my dinners. No colored calls today but how uncomfortable the poor people must be.

I have made over my velvet bonnet. It suits me & I have saved \$2 by so doing.

Dr. L Heard of Rochester called. He is to be Asst. Surg. at L'Ouverture Hos. Mrs. Hazzard continues to act very foolish.

Thursday, December 22, 1864

Very cold & windy. Slipping walking. Have been out but once, to the bakers.

Cannot keep my room warm.

Waited on people in clothing room.

How the poor must suffer our weather.

So much ice was on the river the boats have stopped. What will Frances do? She wants to come over tomorrow evening.

Friday, December 23, 1864

Not quite so cold. Bright. Went to L'Ouverture. Saw the case of Instruments presented by the patients to Dr. W. K. Fletcher, who leaves today. I saw his successor Dr. Platt, an Eng. man, been 6 weeks in this country, only.

This PM waited on people. Took 2 long walks and am tired tonight.---

Frances has not come. Letters from Cousin Phebe and Mrs. Tracy.

Saturday, December 24, 1864

Cold. Wet. Frances came this P.M. on the cars. Has had a tedious week of it. So cold & walking so bad.

I have made a black bonnet & been down street once.

Barrel from Phebe Cornell.

Strange that I do not hear from Rochester, nor from home, nor from Somerset.

Sunday, December 25, 1864

Bright. Milder. Unpacked Phebe's bbl. Cleaned up. Had nice dinner at Magnolia House. Took tea with Mrs. J. Sergts. Hood & Thompson here. A little firing & a very little excitement. Does not seem like Sunday or Christmas or any other day. This evening read Husks.

Monday, December 26, 1864

Very wet. Terrible walking.

F. & I went to Barracks & to Hospital. Office full of men. Mr. Gladwin there. He has order from Gen. Slough to bury soldiers (colored) in Col. Cemetery. Soldiers resent it.²¹⁸ Sherman has taken Savannah & 150 guns, &c.

In P.M. Mrs. Coleman came. In evening called on Mr. B at Magnolia & saw a dancing party &c.

Tuesday, December 27 1864

Misty. Not fit to go out. Accomplished but little. Box came from Rochester. In eve unpacked it. Waited on a few people. Mr. Joy here in eve. Went to Magnolia & looked in on a dancing party. Mr. Gladwin has buried 2 soldiers in Col. ground this PM. Quite an excitement. The soldiers at hos. are furious, refused to go as escort. Mr. G has caused one to be put in slave pen.

Wednesday, December 28, 1864

Bright A.M. Cloudy P.M. Arranged things in C. Room. In P.M. Frances & Mrs. C & I went to Battery Rodgers. Saw Capt. Spear & the 440 pounder, & 5 200 pounders, &c. &c. Went to see the woman with the wen[?], then went to Colored B. Ground. Muddy enough! So warm have no fire this eve. Frances & I went to King St. Hos. 50 sick prisoners there, distressed place. Miss Parker here & Mr. Joy. Went to hear Louise De Mortie read at Liberty Hall. Went to fair at Lyceum Hall.

Thursday, December 29, 1864

Colder. Cloudy. Two barrels came from Worcester.---

Waited on people in clothing room. Made several calls with Mrs. Coleman. Went to Grace Ch. Hos. Finished 'Husks'.

Mrs. Belden called & Miss Parker also. Louisa Jacobs is ill. I am alone this evening. Frances is gone to the fair with Dr. P & Miss Owen.

Mr. Gladwin reigns yet.

Friday, December 30, 1864

Cold & raw. Waited on people nearly all day. Sold \$37 worth of goods & gave away some.

Louisa J. no better. I went for Dr. Heard & then for Dr. Bentley.

Mrs. Coleman came & left at 3 PM. Two Miss Chamberlains came & F. went out with them.

I have been to baker's, &c. Wrote letters this evening.

Louisa J very ill.

Saturday, December 31, 1864

Snowy. Wet. Slosy. Frances & I went out to look for pictures. Bought Marshall House. Bought crockery at Millers, china, glass, &c.—

While waiting for dinner, we called on Mrs. Dewell.

Regulated clothing room, went to bakers, &c.

²¹⁸ Background about a petition from African American soldiers to be buried in the Military Ceremony rather than Freedmen's, an act that ultimately led to Gladwin's dismissal in "Convalescent Soldiers in L'Ouverture Hospital 'Express Our Views' on Burial Location,"

<http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/louverture.shtml>

Letter from Laura, Father is well.

It is 261 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from me & from those she loved so well.

[Transcriber's Note: The following are written on the back pages of the diary, beyond the dated portion, on two Memoranda pages].

Five years has gone since she left her grandfather Wilbur's & in all probability she has nearly forgotten us. It is nearly 5 years since I have seen her & in all that time I have heard from her but seldom. Two months since I heard from her. She was reported quite well there, but is a pale looking, delicate girl.

Five years ago was one of the saddest days of my life, & oh! The wretched days I have seen since. I wonder if it will always be so or will we sometime be allowed to see each other? _____

I can hardly realize that this is my 3rd winter in Virginia. How time flies! I have not the least idea that another winter will find me here.

Frances is with me now & I shall probably go to W. & we shall be together.

Mr. Gladwin is in power yet, & the people suffer.

War news very encouraging. Sherman has done wonders.—

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. JANUARY page at back of Diary]

B. Taylor says of "Hannah Thurston" none would have dreamed of calling her a beauty.²¹⁹ In society nine men would have passed her without a thought, but the tenth would have stood still & said "Here is a woman to sit at a king's right hand in thunderstorms" & would have carried her face in his memory forever.

The severest test of a woman is to play an exceptional part in the world. Her respect, her dignity, her virtue itself, become doubtful, if not mythical in the eyes of men."-

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. FEBRUARY page at back of Diary]

"My habits of thought, the duties I have assumed- my lack of youth & beauty, will never attract me the man unselfish enough to be just to my sex, equally pure in his aspirations, equally tender in his affections & wiser in the richness of his experience, whom my heart would demand, if it still dared longer to cherish a hopeless dream²²⁰."

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. MARCH page at back of Diary]

Saxe says,

There is no medium in poetry. It is either decidedly good or decidedly bad. That is, tolerably good poetry is like middling good eggs or tolerably neat butter.

He says Pegasus may trot gracefully even under a side-saddle.

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. APRIL page at back of Diary]

Buchanan's "Ostend Manifesto".

²¹⁹ In Feb. 1864. JW reports reading this popular book and that a friend of hers said she saw the resemblance between JW and the protagonist, Hannah.

²²⁰ A quote from Hannah Thurston.

To obtain Cuba & Mexico by purchase or coercion as a means of supplying our domestic slave market & increasing the political power of the country & guarding slavery, &c.

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. MAY page at back of Diary. Numbers here and below as written, even if do not tally up]

In 1850 Washington had
Whites 29,730
Free colored 8,158
Slaves 2,113
Total- 40001

Free colored in Dist. 10,059
Slaves in Dist. 3687

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. JUNE page at back of Diary]

In 1850 Alexandria had
Whites 6390
Free colored 1283
Slaves 1061
Total 8734

Number schools- 17, Public
Teachers- 20
Pupils 619
Other schools- 7
Pupils- 804
No. whites who cd. not read- 689
No. free colored 603
Total 1292

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. JULY page at back of Diary]

In 1850 Georgetown had
Whites 8366
Remainder of District 3320
Total in District
51,687
Slaves in District 3687
Free colored in Dist. 10,059

In 1860
Whites 6798
Free colored 796
Slave 577
Total 8723

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. AUGUST page at back of Diary]

In 1850, Pop. of Virginia
1421661
Free colored 54333
Slaves 472528

In 1860 Pop. of Virginia
Whites 1047411
Black 34557
Mulatto 23485
Free colored 58402
Slaves, black 420886
Slaves, mulatto 69979
Total slaves 490.865

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. SEPTEMBER page at back of Diary]

In 1860 ~~Washington~~ Dist. of Columbia had
Whites 60764
Free colored 11131
Slaves 3185
Total 75080 in Dist.

City of Washington had
Whites 50139
Free colored 9209
Slaves 1774
Total 61122

[Transcriber's Note: Written on CASH ACCOUNT. OCTOBER page at back of Diary]

In 1860 Alexandria had
Whites 9857
Free colored 1415
Slaves 1386
Total Free 11,266
Aggregate 12,654

[Transcriber's Note: NOVEMBER page left blank. Below written on CASH ACCOUNT. DECEMBER page at back of Diary]

Pop. of Alexandria, Va.
in 1860 was 12652
Whites 9857
Free colored 1415
Total Free 11266
Slaves M. 498

“ F. 888
Slaves total 1385
Aggregate 12654

[Transcriber's Note: Written on SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNT page at back of Diary]
Fort Hamilton & Fort Lafayette on the western end of Long Island at the narrows & Fort
Tompkins & Fort Richmond on Staten Island at the narrows. 8 mi from N.Y.

[Transcriber's Note: Written on MEMORANDA page at back of Diary]
Mar. 4 Gen. U.S. Grant has been made Lieutenant General. He has taken 474 cannon & 90000
prisoners—more than Washington or Scott ever saw. M & S were the only Lieut. Gens. before
Grant. Salary \$13000.

Iron Clad Dictator uses 175 tons of coal a day.

[Transcriber's Note: Written on MEMORANDA page at back of Diary]
Fort at Rosier's Bluff, Alex. to be called Fort Foote.

Walter[?] Battery at James Point Alec. To be called Battery Rodgers.

Fort Blinker to be called Fort Reynolds.

The 4 redoubts A.B.C. & D. near Fort Lyon to be called Fort Weed, Fort Farnsworth, Fort
O'Rourke, Fort Willard

[Transcriber's Note: Written on MEMORANDA page at back of Diary]
Hair chains from \$8.50 to 12.
Sleeve bullions from \$6 to 8.
Rosebud pins \$5.
Gentlemen's pins \$8,50

2 drams lac sulphur
2 drams sugar lead.
1 pint water.

R.A.C.
1863

1865 Pocket Diary

[Transcriber's Note: Pre-printed pages before the beginning date of January 1 have some notes in Wilbur's handwriting as follows, as if noting some significant of the events per month]

[For January 1865]

2-Mon.—Called on President Lincoln
7-Satur.—Harry & Ned come
12-Thur—Gladwin deposed
Around 14-Satur—263 weeks since Freda was taken away
21-Satur—Hail, snow, rain

[For February 1865]

3-Frid.—Left Alex. for W.
16-Thur—Hurt foot
around 18 Satur.-268 wks since Freda was taken
25-Satur.—Reception

[For March 1865]

4-Satur.—Senate inauguration
18-Satur.—Alex.a.

[For April 1865]

14-Fri—President shot
19-Wed.—Funeral
22-Sat.—277 wks (Freda)

[For May 1865]

1-Mon.—Phila.
15-Mon.—Richmond
17-Wed.—Libby & C. Thunder
21.-Sun.—Old Af. Ch.
26-Frid.—Gov. Pierpont
28-Sun.—Jeff. D's ch.

[For June 1865]

1-Thur.—Fast
4-Sun.-St. John's Ch.
5-Mon.—Petersburg
10.-Satur.—283 wks.
11-Sun.—Old Af. Ch.
16-Fri.—Came from R.
20-Tues—Trial of conspirators
24-Satur.—So hot.

[For July 1865]

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1865

4-Tues.—Colored celebration in W.
15-Satur.—Mary Harris trial
20-Thur.—Left W.
21-Frid—Home
22-Satur—289 weeks since Freda went
*[Along left margin]*4 conspirators hung

[For August 1865]

8-Tues—Birthday
21-Mond—7 yrs since Theo. Died
26-Satur.—294 wks. since Freda was taken.

[For September 1865]

9-Satur.—296 wks since Freda was taken.

[For October 1865]

6-Fri—Left home for Wash.
14-Sat.—Wirz trial
21-Sat.—Congressional investigation
28-Sat.—303 weeks since Freda taken away

[For November 1865]

1-Wed—Smithsonian
5-Sun.—Phebe left
7-Tues—Capitol
25-Satur—307 wks since Freda was taken
30-Thurs.—Frances came

[For December 1865]

3-Mon—congress
6-Wed—F'burg
15-Frid--Battle F.s
18-Mon—Richmond
25-Mon—Gov P's
27-Wed—Fred'burg
30-Sat—Washington, 207 I St.
312 wks. since Freda was taken from us!

Sunday, January 1, 1865

Alexandria, Va.

Cold wind. Had New Year's gift from Aunt Lucy Lawson, consisting of 2 pieces of peach pie, a turnover & a leg of a chicken. She says "she always remembers me when she has anything good". I have written two letters & done but little else. Am not satisfied with myself today. The

Misses Chamberlins here. Frances went to Hospitals with them. They think there is much suffering at King St. which is a Prisoner's Hospital.

Monday, January 2, 1865

Cloudy. Cold. Frances & I went to W. Ice in the River. We called at B. Labor's & at Miss Chamberlin's. Then went to White House to make New Yr's call. Had glimpse of Foreign ministers & Cabinet. Saw officers of Army & Navy. Great crowd & great jam. Was pushed into the house, shook hands with Lincoln, had glimpse of Mrs. Lincoln, & then were pushed out of the House. The "call" didn't pay. Then went to G. & saw Harry & Sis. Then to Mrs. Brown's to stay all night with Frances.

Tuesday, January 3, 1865

Cold & snowy towards night. F. went to school on Mt. Zion. I went to Mrs. Clark's & staid while Harry & Sis went to depot to meet C. & Neddy. They didn't come. At 2 P.M. I went to Dr. Breed's. Took dinner & then went to the Rooms of New Eng. Friends Assoc. Saw S. Wall & Jones-- Then to their store, & to the Office of Hospital. Saw Dr. Rapiere & C. Douglass, &c. Went to Dr. B's for the night. Saw Mr. Hicks of N.Y. one of Com. of Hicksites. Intend to establish themselves in Maryland on farms, have schools, &c. &c. Friends are doing much for the Freedmen.

Wednesday, January 4, 1865

Several inches of snow. Cold & blowy. Sun shine. Waited to see Mr. McKim, but he didn't come. Then I went to 207 I St to see house for teachers &c. Went to Landing & waited an hour for boat. Reached Alex. at 1 pm. Went for rations. Went to bakers & then worked in Clothing room. Water pipe burst last night, my boxes all moved & things all topsy-turvy. I have run up & down stairs & worked till I am very, very tired & it is so cold too.

Thursday, January 5, 1865

Very bright. Not thawed much. Men fixed pipes & bothered me. Helped Aunt Lucy wash &c. Cleaned my room & fixed up Clothing R., very damp there. This evening ironed. Have been in the cold & wet all day. Am very tired. Miss Moore, Mrs. Seaton & Mrs. Belden called. Room not regulated. Generally happens so.

Col. Trimble lectures this evening but I am too tired to go. Subject "The Black Brigade".

Friday, January 6, 1865

Rained all day.

Worst weather I ever saw. Waited on people in A.M.--- Ironed in P.M. & did various chores. Have only been out to my dinner.

How the poor people & soldiers must suffer.

Frances did not come till after 9 this eve. Boat did not come & she waited 3 hrs. for train. She is wet, cold & tired. I wonder that she can endure so much.

Saturday, January 7, 1865

Bad day. Cold. Windy. This A.M. went for passes. About 2 P.M., Harry & Ned came. I went with them to Soldier's Rest, to L'Ouverture & to Grace Church Hospitals. Last full of smoke. Nothing pleasant today. Went with Harry & Ned to Magnolia House to dine & then they took 3 P.M. train to go back. Sorry Ned couldn't see any more of Alex.

I went to Express Off. barrel of eatables for Frances. Went to Fair in evening with F. & others.---

Sunday, January 8, 1865

Bright. Cold. Cleaned up & then went to Friends Meeting. Held in Dr. Janney's parlor. 12 persons present. No minister & we had a silent sitting of an hour. Such unusual quiet made me sleepy.

F. went to Christ Church.

F & I took supper with Mrs. Jacobs. Mr. & Mrs. Leonard present. F. has been to meeting this evening. I have written a little.

Monday, January 9, 1865

Very bright. F & I went to W. with Free Pass on 8 A.M. train. Went to 207 I St. & waited to see teachers till 10, then went to G.

Charlotte, Sis & Ned went with me to Mt. Zion to see Frances' school. Doing very well. Then we went to Capitol. Went to the House a while. Nothing of interest there. Went to Senate. G. Davis spoke against freeing families of colored soldiers & Johnson the same. Wade made a powerful speech against slavery. Wilson spoke too. I took 4:30 train for Alex.

Tuesday, January 10, 1865

Pouring rain all day. In A.M. worked in Clothing room, &c.

A new instance of Mr. G's tyranny.

This P.M. made bonnet. Frances came about 5 o'clock.

Charlotte could not come as she intended it has rained so.

Wm. Ives & his mother called.

Wednesday, January 11, 1865

Very bright. Cold.

Went out for tea, 2,00 a lb. & candles, 40 cts. a lb.

Went to Pro Mar. for permit to buy alcohol. Worked some in C. room.

Made a bonnet.

Mrs. Belden here this PM.

Letter from Mrs. Earle.

Frances left on 8 am train.

Gen. Butler has been removed. Something is up now. Wonder if he was to blame for the failure at Wilmington.

Thursday, January 12, 1865

Bright, --old. Bought 1/3 cord wood for \$4.00. Sawing, &c. 80. Rate of \$14.40 per cord.

In clothing room nearly all day, smoke all the time--- People are suffering for want of food & cannot have rations.

Harriet Tubman here.

I am very tired tonight.

Butler's removal is making a sensation.

Friday, January 13, 1865

Bright, warmer. In A.M. worked in clothing room.

Called on Mrs. Belden while waiting for dinner. Gov. Pierpont & family have taken board at the Magnolia.

This P.M. went with Mrs. B. to L'Ouverture Hos. & called on Mrs. Leonard, &c.

Bought picture of Scott H.

Frances has come. We have both been vaccinated this evening.

Gov. P. exults over Butler's removal.

Saturday, January 14, 1865

Bright, fine. Made over velvet bonnet for Frances, took all day.

About noon Mrs. Coleman & Mrs. Dudley came. Took dinner with me.

Miss Chamberlin here. F. went with her to Hos.

This evening Mrs. J & Louisa & Virginia here. I have done a few chores. I do not like this way of living.

Sunday, January 15, 1865

Fine. Milder. Mrs. C. here. Mr. Joy called. Kept house for me while I went to Friends Meeting. F went to Christ Church. Had silent meeting. More present than last let. day.

I am not satisfied with myself. I accomplish so little.

8 new people from Sussex came, gone to barracks.

This eve, went with Mrs. C to Grantville meeting.

Order for Capt. Ferree to supersede Gladwin.²²¹

Monday, January 16, 1865

Bright, cold. Made over Mrs. Cs bonnet. She left at 4, & I went to Old Mill, & then to L'O Hos.

Took books for library. Frances left this morning.

Edward Everett is dead. Flags at half-mast.

Mr. Joy here this evening; but I cannot let him have my Flag.

Mrs. Belden called. Dare not rejoice much yet, for I am afraid Mr. Gladwin's removal is not certain yet. Threw my flag to the breeze today.

²²¹ Letter to Captain James Ferree from C.A. Dana, Adjutant Secretary of War, January 12, 1865, "is hereby relieved of duty at the Lincoln General Hospital and will report to Major General Augin, Commanding the Dept. of Washington, for assignment of duty as Superintendent of Contraband, at Alexandria, Virginia, in place of Rev. Mr. Gladwin by order of the Secretary of War." (Source: NARA, Letters receive by the office of the Adjutant General, Main Series, 1861-1870, M619, 1865, Roll 334, 53-W (1865))

Tuesday, January 17, 1865

Bright & squally & cold. Waited on people in clothing room.

Went for rations & gave them to Aunt Fanny & E. Walker.

Capt. Ferree, the new superintendent of Freedmen came this P.M. but did not see Mr. G, he having gone to W. Tomorrow the Capt. will come to stay.

I wish the colored people would have a jubilee. Frances came this evening. I wrote 2 letters.

Wednesday, January 18, 1865

Very cold.

Rose early. F. went on 8 A.M. train. In A.M., I went to Grant V. School & to Summerville. This P.M. Mrs. Belden came with me to Bethel Church School & to several families in stockade, then to Grace Church Hos. & to L'Ouverture, to the Barracks & to the school & then to Newtown.

Am tired tonight.

Made bed tick this morning.

Intend to go to W. tomorrow. Fort Fisher taken.

Thursday, January 19, 1865

Very cold. Went to W. on 8 A.M. train. Left parasol in car.

Went to 207 I St. & saw the teachers. Then to 413, 13th St. & saw Mr. McKim. Decided to go to 207 to live.

Then called to see Mr. Hunt. Then bought bedstead for \$6. Went to Dr. B's & dined. Then to 207 again. Then to cars & reached Alex. just before dark. Saw about 40 col. women given to Pro. Marshall, been arrested for stealing at Slough B. Hos.____

Friday, January 20, 1865

Very cold, bright. Worked in Clothing Room nearly all AM. After dinner staid at Magnolia House while artist took photographs of the house.

Called at several places & so another day has gone.____

Frances has come. She has just been to see Mr. G. He thinks she put the flag out & it cuts him dreadfully.

Saturday, January 21, 1865

Hail. snow. rain. ice & slush. The worst day to be out that I have ever known in Alex. This P.M. I made Mrs. Belden a visit, took my work. The first time I have done so in Alex.____ I really enjoyed it. Went to baker's such walking!

Miss Chamberlin & Frances went to King St Hos.

It is 264 weeks since Freda was taken from us. If only I could know how she is this winter. Would like to hear from father too.

Sunday, January 22, 1865

Cloudy. Everything covered with ice. A beautiful sight. Bad walking____

After dinner staid at Magnolia while artist took photograph of House. Such work is not usually done on Sunday, but then this is on the sacred soil of Va. where we are not surprised at anything that is done.

Mrs. J & Louisa here this evening. Have written some. Letters from Aunt M. & S.A.F.

Monday, January 23, 1865

Rain, very bad day.

Have only been out to my dinner. Everything covered with ice.

Have written 3 letters. I am alone this eve. It is unusually quiet here. _____

Frances left on 8 A.M. train. Terrible walking.

Tuesday, January 24, 1865

Very cold, bright. This morning went for wood, but could find none at the wood yards or market. Dr. Pettyjohn has none either. When it comes in the price will be very high. What will the poor do!

Icy streets, too bad to go out. Have written letters, &c.

Make no progress in getting ready to move. I must wait till the weather moderates. I feel the cold more than ever I did before.

Wednesday, January 25, 1865

Bright, cold.

Went to Grace Church & L'Ouverture Hos. & Baptist Church. Took books &c.

Bought wood & attended to sawing &c.

This P.M. went with Mrs. Pierpont & Mrs. Gordon to Grantville School. They were much interested. School appeared well. Went to 'Castle Thunder'²²², so called. Saw several white families, refugees & others. Poor white folks. Smithsonian burnt last night.

Thursday, January 26, 1865

Very cold, bright _____

Helped Lucinda wash. In P.M. went out with Mrs. Belden. Then we went to Miss Lane's funeral on Queen St. Saw funeral of Surgeon Ivanoff Stanislaus von Willentski²²³ of Meth. Ch. Hos. Officers were mounted & soldiers were in ambulances. Went to Catholic Church.

Brought in my clothes and ironed until about 9.

City has borrowed wood of gov^t. to supply the people at \$10 a cd.

Friday, January 27, 1865

²²² The original Castle Thunder referred to was Confederate prison in Richmond. (Source:

http://encyclopediavirginia.org/Castle_Thunder_Prison)

²²³ In July 1864, "Acting Assistant Surgeon Iwanoff Willentski, General Hospital, Alexandria, Va., Second Division" contributed a specimen to the Army Medical Museum: A 25-foot long tape worm found in an officer. "Dr. W. first noticed the symptoms produced by the presence of the work while serving in the East with the British Foreign legion...." (Source: Catalogue of the Medical and Microscopical section of the Army Medical Museum, Joseph Woodward and Edward Curtis, 1866,

<http://archive.org/details/CatalogueOfTheMedicalAndMicroscopicalSectionsOfTheArmyMedicalMuseum>)

Coldest day yet. Water froze in my room last night.

Finished ironing. Then Robt Howland & wife from Cayuga Co. & Rachel H. from N. Bedford came. Mrs. J & I went with them to the Soldiers' Rest & to L'Ouverture Hospital. 2000 men from Tenn. at the rest, going to Sherman probably. Their clothes are poor & so dirty.

This P.M. Mrs. Belden went there with me & helped me distribute stationary, pins, buttons, pencils, tracts, &c., also 10 prs. socks & I would like to have had 1000 prs. They hope to draw clothes while here, poor fellows!

Saturday, January 28, 1865

Colder than ever.

Have not been out much, too cold. Wrote several letters. Frances has been to King St. Hos. with Miss C. She has also been with Capt. Ferree & Dr. P to the old buildings on the Wharf.

Capt. F. is indignant that G. sh. rent such buildings to the people. Says he will see that the most needy persons have rations.

Serious affray at L'Ouverture Hos. last night. Two men wounded by white soldiers.

Sunday, January 29, 1865

Milder.

Went to Friends Meeting which was held in the Meeting House. Cor. St. Asaph & Wolfe Sts. for the first time since it has been vacated as a hospital. About 50 persons present. Samuel[?] Janney spoke & prayed. No allusion made to state of the country. Talked like an Orthodox.

Frances has been with Dr. P to make calls. _____

Somehow I have done little today.

Mrs. J here this evening.

Monday, January 30, 1865

Bright. Thawing. Frances had sick headache all night. Went with her on 8 A.M. train to W. She went to G. & I went to office to find parasol. Then went to 207 I St. Could do nothing there. Called to see Mr. Newton. Went to look for stove. Bad walking. Came back on 2 P.M. train. Went to L'O Hos. Paymaster there. Sergt. Wilson gave me an acct. of the trouble Friday night. Went to baker's, &c.

Tuesday, January 31, 1865

Bright, warmer. Spent nearly all A.M. in Clothing Room attending to people.

In P.M. with Miss C. went to L'Ouverture. Cold weather & the fracas Friday night have disarranged things somewhat. Two white women employed there in linen rooms.

Called at Dea. Websters' & at Miss L. Lewis' School. Frances came this eve.

Wednesday, February 1, 1865

Bright. Warmer. F & I went for passes & then to R.R. to have them countersigned & then she left for G. I went to Journal Office. Went to Old Mill, &c., went for ration, then to dinner. In P.M. I packed boxes and worked until I now have sick head ache. Dr. Pettyjohn helped me. Robert

McCarrick here this evening. Amendment to Constitution passed House yesterday.²²⁴ Great rejoicing.

Thursday, February 2, 1865

Bright. Warmer. Sent 4 boxes and 2 trunks to Washington. After dinner went to Quartermasters to ask for wagon to take rest of things tomorrow. Packed trunks & boxes. Mrs. Belden called. Frances came. In evening went to Magnolia & had pleasant visit with Gov. Pierpont & wife & Mrs. Gordon. Talked of the restored government of Va. Gov. is radical enough. Walked home with us. Am tired tonight.

Friday, February 3, 1865

Fine. Finished packing up. At 9 an Army wagon came & I loaded into it 3 trunks & 3 boxes, shelves, bed, 2 chairs, &c. Goods & chattels accumulate, somehow. At 10 A.M. I took leave of the household & went to train, or came to W. & reached house, 207 I St., the same time the goods did. Everything in confusion & topsy turvy & have done but little towards getting settled. Mrs. Coleman called. Things look rather forbidding. Perhaps I shall like it.

Saturday, February 4, 1865

In A.M. snowed. In P.M. fine. Carpenter came & put up shelves in my room, &c. Have put up stove. Fixed up our bed, &c. Frances has cleared up clothing room & kitchen. Looks more like living. I am tired tonight & nearly sick. Last night so much noise & all this day a constant rumbling of Army wagons. I St. seems to be a great thoroughfare for these wagons. 266 weeks since Freda was taken from us.

Sunday, February 5, 1865

High wind, very unpleasant. Did not rise till 9 A.M., spent most of day cleaning up & afterwards felt much better. This evening Mr. Newton read an original essay on Deity. Courtesy obliged me to listen to it but just now I am not in a mood to enjoy it. I went to sleep once & I think he came very near it. He is a Spiritualist. The lecture showed marked ability. Very quiet in this part of W. Very dull I think.

Monday, February 6, 1865

Cold. Frances went to her school. Harry & Sis called. Mrs. Coleman & Mr. Smith called. I went out twice to make purchases. I saw a drone of mules running to & fro. Spent most of the day in regulating our room. Have new table & bookshelves. It looks quite cozy & comfortable now, more so than it really is. The house is very poor & shammy. I fear it will show over time.

Tuesday, February 7, 1865

Snow, hail, rain all day. The sunny South! Frances came from school at 2. Too bad to stay there. I went for bread and kerosene. Spent nearly all day in Clothing room, sorting & arranging my things. Letter from Phebe Cornell. Has sent a box. Too bad to go out today. How the poor must suffer. Our room is very comfortable this evening. Wish everybody had so good a place.

²²⁴ The House of Representatives passed the 13th amendment abolishing slavery on January 13, 1865.

Wednesday, February 8, 1865

Bright. Thawed rapidly. Walking dreadful. Did housework till noon, then went to Mrs. Breed's & to E Brown's school east of Capitol. Wet my feet. Long ride & walked too, & without pay. Letter from Ruth Ann enclosing \$4 for Freedmen. Letter from Elma. Box from Mendon.

Thursday, February 9, 1865

Very cold. Went this morning to 7h St to P.O. & to Office of Chronicle. Cannot do without a paper any longer. Sewed a little. Mrs. Coleman here to tea. Frances has gone out with her. A call from Mrs. Clask of Detroit. She is a friend of Joseph & Ella. Letters from Mrs. Barnes & Cousin Abbie Halston. Fighting near Petersburg.

Friday, February 10, 1865

Very cold morning. Bright. Worked in my room. Arranged kitchen cupboard, &c. Unpacked Mendon box, valued at \$200. Things are settles as much as they can be at present. That is until Frances leaves her school & takes charge of things here. Teachers' Meeting here this evening.

Saturday, February 11, 1865

Bright & warmer. Went to Alex., called at Cor. W & W &c. Saw Mrs. J & Louisa, & Capt. F. & Dr. P. &c. Louisa said "Why, is this you Miss Wilbur? I'm glorified to see you". Called on Mrs. Pierpont & dined at the Magnolia. Mrs. Belden gone to W. - came back at 3 PM. Streets & cars alive with soldiers & officers. Southwestern Army is coming this way to join Grant & Sherman.

Sunday, February 12, 1865

Cold. Blustering. Snow & squalls. Mary Julia spent the day with us. Thankful for a comfortable room, though it was rather smoky this morning. This evening Frances & the girls went with me to the Capitol to a meeting of the American Union Assøe. Commission. Gov. Dennison of Ohio presided. Dr J.P. Thompson & Col. Taylor spoke & then we left. Worth going there to see the Cap. by gaslight. Large audience.

Monday, February 13, 1865

Coldest day yet. At 11 went to Capitol to hear Freedmen's Bill discussed. But after a few words from Sumner it was put over until tomorrow. I am vexed for I cannot go then. Went into House a little while. Met Mrs. Belden & Mrs. Baker. Went into Clark Mills' studio in Cap. Saw his son & Mrs. Ream [?] at work.²²⁵ I was more interested in these persons than in the models. Got back at 3. Frances did not come till after dark.

Tuesday, February 14, 1865

²²⁵ Clark Mills was a well-known sculptor of the time. According to one source ("A Career Modelled on Lincoln: Vinnie Ream Sculptor" by Glenn Sherwood in *The Rail Splitter*, Vol 6, No 2, Ream was a postal clerk; "in 1863, she obtained permission to work part-time and began studying with the famed scuptor Clark Mills at the U.S. Capitol.": (Source: <http://www.railsplitter.com/wordpress/PDF/Vol6No2.pdf>) and was commissioned to create the statue of Lincoln in the Capitol rotunda (Source: <http://www.vinnieream.com>).

Bright. Milder. Attended to washing & cleaning up, which took nearly all day. I sewed some this evening. Am very tired & nearly sick.

Wednesday, February 15, 1865

Pouring rain all day. Ironed this morning & then in spite of the rain I fixed myself for it & went to Capitol to see the funeral of Sen. T.H. Hicks of Md. The whole space above & below was filled. On the floor were members of the House of Reps, Judges of Supreme Court, Chief Justice Sal. Chase, &c. Knights Templars, President Lincoln, Seward, & other mems. of Cabinet, heads of Depts., Clerks from Md., Chaplains, &c. Rev. Dr. Nadal read a eulogy. Flowers on coffin. Seems very impressive & solemn. Great crowd. Music.

Thursday, February 16, 1865

Foggy. Ugly day. Cleaned my room & then put things in rights in clothing room. Very busy till about 1, then in coming down the kitchen stairs I stepped off of two steps instead of one. I fell of course & wrenched my foot badly. I came upstairs & have had it under treatment ever since. It is so unfortunate to be laid up when I want to do so much. Mr. McKim has been here this evening. Frances has been to Relief Meeting.

Friday, February 17, 1865

Very bad day. Rain, snow, &c. F. went to school after putting me in the Reception Room to attend to callers. When I heard a knock I said 'come in' & sometimes they did. It was tiresome work for me to sit all day, but I read the "Schonberg Cotta Family", a fresh, original book. Mr. McKim & Mr [?] called to talk over matters. My foot is better today than I feared it would be but I cannot bear my weight on it & it will lay me up a while. I am very sorry.

Saturday, February 18, 1865

Bright. Wind is fearful. I have written letters & done but little else. Frances went to Mrs. Lincoln's reception this PM. I had intended to go. F. has gone out this eve. I hardly realize that I am in Washington. That Frances is here too, & Mary Julia. Alone this evening in our 7 by 9 chamber. A chattering below and a roaring outside. 268 wks. since Freda was taken from me.

Sunday, February 19, 1865

Bright. Milder. Frances has been to Alex. Long Bridge is broken, cars do not run, boats succeeded in pushing through the ice but took long time. F. did not come till after dark. Rather a long day for me, I have done serious things, written letters, &c. My foot is badly swollen. Sherman's army is marching triumphantly through S.C., have taken Columbia. Has no base, subsists on the country.

Monday, February 20, 1865

Bright. Lame foot is better. Frances has been before school & taken care of it. I am glad of it. I have spent the day in the Reception room & telling people to 'come in' when they knocked. Have written 3 letters. 100 guns were fired this morning for the evacuation of Columbia.

Tuesday, February 21, 1865

Bright. Frances has been out nearly all day. Finds many suffering people. 100 guns fired this morning for the evacuation of Charleston! I have been below most of the day. Sewed a little. Mrs. Coleman & Mrs. Smith called this evening.

Wednesday, February 22, 1865

Washington. 207 I St. Cloudy. A holiday in earnest. I sewed some. About noon Mrs. Jacobs & Louisa came & Frances went with them to the Capitol & heard Freedmen's Bill discussed. Came back & after supper went out to see the Illumination. Public buildings, Hotels, &c. were beautiful, but I saw none of it. My foot is getting better. Miss Evans called, & Miss Kelley. Firing at noon from all the Forts, Navy Yard, &c. in honor of day & also of evacuation of Charleston.

Thursday, February 23, 1865

Rained all day. I have sewed a little. Frances & I waited on the people from 12 till 2, gave away a great many clothing to women & children. Mrs. J & Louisa staid all night with us. They left about 10 this AM in the rain. Frances has not been out. The mud is dreadful. My foot is gaining.

Friday, February 24, 1865

Bright. Frances has been out nearly all day visiting the people. I have attended to the calls here for tickets for wood & soup. Firing at noon. Wilmington is taken. Report that Grant has been repulsed. My foot is very much better. Mr. Robinson called.

Saturday, February 25, 1865

Rainy. Such streets! Frances has only been out to the bakers. I left my sewing long enough to go to Mrs. Lincoln's reception, as I could ride nearly all the way and this is the last one of the season. Sojourner Truth was not allowed to go in to see the Pres.²²⁶ He looked well, but Mrs. L did not. Gas in the Reception Room. Many elegantly dressed ladies. Velvet, silk, cashmere, lace! Such lace apologies for bonnets! Marine Band in scarlet coats. Looked like harlequins. Flowers! Lame foot endured it well.

Sunday, February 26, 1865

Bright, warmer. Cleaned up, rested a little & in evening went to the Capitol to meeting of N. Freedmen's Assoc. of N.Y. Judge Chase presided. Held in Hall of Reps. Floor & galleries full. Chief speakers Hon F. Tompkins of London Bar. & Theo. Tilton of Independent. It was a glorious meeting. Tilton is one of the best speakers I ever heard. The audience was delighted. Rev. H. Garrett prayed. His choir sang John Brown song. Oh! It was a triumph for A.S. folks.

Monday, February 27, 1865

Fine. Warm. I attended to washing & this evening ironed some. Frances has been out part of day & this PM gave out clothing to the people here. Miss Collier from Alex. called this PM. I am very tired tonight. Late when we got back last night, cars were so crowded I rode on platform. Had slight collision, &c. Letters from Laura & Emmaline. Father has rheumatism.

²²⁶ A report of this in Margaret Washington, *Sojourner Truth's America*, University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Tuesday, February 28, 1865

Fine. Attended to cleaning Clothing room. Slow work for me to oversee. I am vexed with Martha, sometimes. Great many calls from the people today. Barrel came from Worcester. Mrs. Fish here this eve. Harry & Mary Julia called. They have moved on to the Avenue, a short distance from this. I have been as far as 7th St. It made some pure horror. Quite tired tonight.

Wednesday, March 1, 1865

Fine.

I have done various things in doors & attended to a great many calls.

Bale of goods came for sewing school.

Frances has been out all day.

Mr. and Mrs. Earle have been here.

Thursday, March 2, 1865

Rain all day.

Waited on people and gave out clothing nearly all day.

Letters from Phebe and Mrs. Graves.

Spent entire evening in posting my books.

Am tired tonight.

This work is tiresome.

Friday, March 3, 1865

Rain in A.M. Mud!!

With F. went to Senate and staid till 4 P.M. So tired!

F. Douglass was in the gallery.

Alma Dickinson was there too, and Theo Tilton.

Considerable confusion.

Debate on commerce with rebels by Grimes, Sumner, Wade, &c.

Great many strangers in town.

Douglass lectured this evening. I did not go.

Mr. Pettijohn here. Am going to the Senate to see Congress adjourn tonight.

Saturday, March 4, 1865

Rain in A.M. Fine P.M.

Went to Senate all last night and left at 2 this morning.

It sat all night, but did not adjourn.

About 10 Frances and I went to the Capitol.

A stream of people were setting towards it regardless of rain and mud.

We found a standing place on the steps of the portico of the Sen. wing for 3 hours.

A grand sight but I cannot describe it.

We could see the President and I heard 2 sentences of the Inaugural!

The crowd was immense. Very good order.

Saw the distinguished persons as they came out near where we stood.

I saw the procession where it started for the White House and met it as we returned in car.
So tired this eve.

Sunday, March 5, 1865

Fine, cooler.

Did not rise very early.

So exhausted that after breakfast I went to bed.

Mrs. J, Louisa, Virginia and her sister called.

This P.M. I cleaned up and felt some better.

This evening with Mrs. Moore I went to hear Douglass in Rev H. Garnett's Church.

He did well. How I enjoyed it. Garnett spoke too.

Full house, some white folks and all shades of color. Held till 11

Sen. Pomeroy, Harriet Tubman, and other notables present

Monday, March 6, 1865

Bright.

Went to P. Office.

Four barrels and box came from Worcester. I unpacked them & Frances & I waited on people till 4 P.M.

There has been a great number of people here & I am tired out.

It makes a very hard day's work.

Sis was here a little while.

She did not go to the Inauguration. Too bad.—

Good news from army.

Tuesday, March 7, 1865

Fine.

Frances has been out nearly all day and comes in tired out.

Then attended to people here and did various things besides.

Mr. and Mrs. Clark and daughter called.—Rested awhile & then F. & I called on Mrs. Earle at Willard's. Then to Dr. Breed's and then to the festival at Rev. H. Garnett's church.

Very nice looking people there, some white and others nearly so. Colored Knight Templars there too.

Tired enough!

Wednesday, March 8, 1865

Fine morning.

Went with Mr. & Mrs. Clark & Lola from Detroit on the 11 A.M. boat to Alex.

Went to Marshall House (& for pass) and to Cor. W. & Wolfe Sts.

Then to Mr. Stuby's school, then to slave pen, then to Soldier's Rest. 1800 men there.

Then to L'Ouverture and went through nearly every ward & to Mr. Leonard's school.

Then to Grace church. So pleasant there!

Then to Christ Church and sat in W's pew. Then took 4 PM boat and reached W. in the rain.

Thursday, March 9, 1865

Cloudy. Warm.

Mrs. Earle & Sarah Barker called. Mr. Clark of D. called.

We waited on the people from 11 until nearly 4. The yard was full.

We gave out 225 pieces and then sent the people away. We were tired out.

F. has not sat up at all this evening. It is nearly 9 and I have just finished posting my accounts.

My head aches. This work is too hard. I fear we will both be sick. Sis called.

Friday, March 10, 1865

Cold. Raw.

In A.M. Sarah Barker came and went with Frances to Geot. &c.

In P.M. Frances organized Sewing School in school No 10.

I had but little time to help her. I attended to various wants of the people. Miss Evans and Miss Collins called.

Teachers meeting here this eve. Miss Kelly called.

Saturday, March 11, 1865

Bright. Cold. Ground frozen. Frances has been to Alex. I went to 7th St and made some purchases. Sewed a little. Constant interruptions.

Dr. Pettijohn and Mrs. Fish called ____ Mary Julia called and she went to Market with me. Box came from Germantown containing 12 oz bot. blackberry brandy.

Box from Worcester with shoes and bedsacks. Dr. Pettijohn and cousin here this evening ____

Sunday, March 12, 1865

Fine. Cool. Went with Miss Ford to N.Y. Av. Church. Dr. Gunley preached. Dry for me and I dozed away under[?]it. This P.M. F. and I went to see Sis and Harry, & then Frances went to see the people. I was too tired to do anything more today.

F. did not get back until nearly 12 last night. Missed the 6 P.M. train.

Senate adjourned last night. Had extra session.

Monday, March 13, 1865

Fine. Warm.

Cleaned my room & waited on people. Not many calls today. Miss Haywick[?] called. Frances has been out. This evening F. & I called at Mr. Lake's and at Mrs. Coleman's Sewing Sch. there in Calvary Ch. Called at Willard's to see Mrs. Earle, Miss Barker, Mrs. Howland, Mrs. Sampson. Pleasant call.

Encouraging war news.

Thursday, March 14, 1865

Very fine.

Superintended washing & cleaning kitchen & 3 P.M. found me about as tired as I could be. Did not help much in sewing school About 5 F. & I went to 87 4th ½ St. to see Miss Evans. Took tea with her and Miss Collier & Miss Howard. I got home at 8 but F. went to E st. meeting.

Wednesday, March 15, 1865

Cloudy.

F & I went to the Philadelphia school. Large & commodious building for school and for teachers, Margaret Robinson there. Friends do nothing by halves.

F has been out nearly all day. I am tired all the time. Ironed this evening. Harry & Sis called.

Frances has gone to Theater with them to see Edwin Forrest as Hamlet.

Wrote to Miss Porter.

Thursday, March 16 1865

Cloudy, warm.

Felt miserable this A.M. Waited on people this P.M. Tired enough. F. has been out nearly all day. Harry & Mary Julia called this eve.

Wrote & straightened up books and papers.

Friday, March 17, 1865

Bright, Windy—

Mrs. Earle and Mrs. Howland called in A.M.—

I went a long walk to see several families on 21st and 22nd St.

F has sewing school this P.M. I was too tired to help. Sewed a little.

Harry & Mary Julia called. Mr. & Mrs. Lake called this evening.

F. has gone to theater with Dr. P.—

Called on 6 families.

Saturday, March 18, 1865

Bright. Windy.

Mrs. Belden came at 10, took dinner & F. and I went back with her to Alex. on 1 P.M. train.

Called on Mrs. Pierpont & Mrs. Gordon. Then on Mrs. Jacobs. Met Miss Howland. Went to Mr. R's schoolhouse, then to L'Ouverture, then to Hallowell Hos. & subscribed for the 'Cripple' for Miss Evans and myself.²²⁷ Back to cor. W. and W. Sts. & then to Wash. on the 6 ½ train. Hardly know why I should be so tired. Mrs. Earle and Miss Howland called.

Sunday, March 19, 1865

Fine.

Did nothing this A.M. Almost sick. Cleaned up & felt better this P.M.

²²⁷ According to Elizabeth Lorang in *Literature and Journalism*, edited by Mark Canada, Palgrave Macmilland, 2013, five hospitals in the Washington, DC, area published newspapers at some point in the war, including the newspaper *The Cripple* “of the U.S. General Hospitals of Alexandria”—in the first issue, “Salutatory” said it was “published by and for sick and wounded soldiers” as a “medium of Friendship and information between the hospitals under the charge of Edwin Bentley.” In the 12th issue, the editor was identified as Leopold Cohen, possibly a U.S. Army Hospital Steward. It published poems, articles and humor, in addition to weekly tabular reports about the number of patients in each of the five hospitals under Bentley’s command, deaths, etc. Civil War Washington (<http://civilwardc.org/texts/newspapers/?sort=titleOther>) has some issues online, weekly from October 8, 1864, to April 29, 1865. On the first page of the newspaper, it notes subscriptions “payable invariably in advance” at 10 cents for one month, 25 cents for three months, 50 cents for six months, and \$1 for one year.

Harry and Sis called. Frances has been out to call on sick.

Flood in Rochester. Lower part of city submerged.
Floods in Penn^a. too. The snow is going off & here it begins to be dusty.

Monday, March 20, 1865

Fine. Warm.

This A.M. called at Mr. Flagler's.—Pa. Av to engage board. To take dinner only at present.

\$3,50 per week.

Cleaned my room.

In P.M. waited on people, sewed a little.

F has been to G. this P.M. Harry and sis called.

Tuesday, March 21, 1865

Warm & pleasant, but rather windy & dusty. This evening it is raining.

This A.M. went to see sis & she went with me to Miss Foshay's school. Children sung very nicely. Stopped to see an artillery drill on 23rd near the armory. Vt[?] reserves out too.

Sewing school this P.M. Went in a few minutes, sewed a little myself. J. Pettijohn called.

F has been to Mrs. Colman's. She starts for Rochester this evening. Called on one family.

Wednesday, March 22, 1865

Bright. Windy.

Too bad to go out but F. has been out nearly all day. I have sewed some.

Mr. Fr. Cope here this evening. Brought a bouquet for our setting room. Am to go with him to Alex. tomorrow.

Had a visit with Mrs. C this P.M. Mr. McKim is not coming at present. Miss Collier called. Sergt Wilson is dead. He died at Grace Ch. Hos.

Boxes came from Phila.

Thursday, March 23, 1865

Sunshine. Wind. Dust. Rain and 2 hurricanes! Met Mr. Cope at boat at 11 A.M. On reaching Alex. went directly to Grantville School. Then called on Mrs. Jacobs. Then to Miss Moore's school for an hour. Met Misses Chase from Norfolk, called at L'Ouverture. Went in rain to boat at 4 P.M.

Mr. C. was to leave W. at 6. I stopped for my dinner. F. has given clothing today and been hard at work.

Friday, March 24, 1865

Windy. Wild. March weather.

F. went out this A.M. and this P.M. Had sewing school. She has gone this evening to reception to Mrs. Southworth's.

J. Pettijohn and D. Pettijohn have been here this eve. D. has just come from South, has been a prisoner 22 months.

I have kept the house and sewed some.

Harry & Sis called this morning. Letter from M. Hathaway.

Saturday, March 25, 1865

Cloudy, cold, raw.

This A.M. visited 37 families. Came back at 1 P.M. very tired. Cd. hardly sit up.

Frances kept home this A.M. and went to Alex this P.M. to attend funeral of Sergt. Joseph H Wilson, 5th Mass. Cav.—

Returned this eve. Dr Heard called today.

Fighting today. Hundreds are at this moment probably passing into eternity.

Sunday, March 26, 1865

Bright. Cold.

Sick all day. Took cold yesterday and overworked.

Frances has been out this P.M.

Battle near Richmond, our troops victorious. Rebs attacked Fort Steadman but were repulsed. 9th Corps suffered most.

Sherman has been fighting also and is successful.

Monday, March 27, 1865

Bright, warmer. Feel better. Attended to washing and waited on people nearly all day. Very tired tonight. Ironed some and spent nearly all evening in posting accounts.

Tuesday, March 28, 1865

Hazy. Warmer.

Toothache last night and did not sleep much. Feel some better today. Cleaned my room and did various chores.—Went into sewing school a little while.

A great many calls.

Read account of flood in Rochester. Nothing like it was ever known before. Row of buildings are destroyed. The city will ask the legislature for help and work to have the draft put off.

Wednesday, March 29, 1865

Bright. Warm. Pleasant.

Went for Mary Julia & she went with me to various shops on the Avenue and 7th St. Bought bonnet & map. Looked at pictures and old China &c. but did not purchase any. Returned at 1. Enjoyed our walk & ride much.

F. has been out this PM. I was too tired to go out again only to dinner.

Thursday, March 30, 1865

Rainy day.

Driving storm this eve. Ironed some.

Waited on people not so many at the levee as usual. Posted accounts, & went to Miss Evans'.

Letter from Cousin Phebe C. and Miss Marie Porter. The first letter from Miss P that I have had. Have only had 2 notes before this.

Phebe will send more things.

Friday, March 31, 1865

Rainy.

Went to 22nd St. visited 5 families. The rain makes their cabins very uncomfortable.

This P.M. waited on people. F. had sewing school.

Anniversary of my dear mother's death. 31 years ago she was taken from us, & 31 years we have been motherless, and the meaning of this word none knows better than we.

Visited 5 families.

Saturday, April 1, 1865

Bright. Windy.

Went to Alex. on 10 A.M. boat. Called on Mrs. Belden. Then on Cor Washington & Wolfe sts.

Capt Ferree procured for Frances and me passes from the Quartermaster.

The ordinary passes are abolished for the present and now secesh as well as others can go back & forth.

I called on Mrs. Pierpont & Mrs. Gordon. Then on a few colored families & Dr. Heard. Back on 5 PM boat.

Sunday, April 2, 1865

Fine Warmer. Did not feel well this morning. But I have had a thorough cleaning up and now feel better.

Took dinner at 1 ½ PM. Went to Dr. Breed's but they were all away.

Written and read a little. Frances has been out. Harry & Mary Julia called.

Reports of a great victory by Sheridan.

Monday, April 3, 1865

Cloudy. Great news!

Richmond taken!

Petersburg taken!

People hardly know how to act or to express their joy. The city has been gay with flags and banners. Crowd at the War Dept. Vice Pres. & others addressed the people. F. & I waited on people till 2, then went out to expand; 207 I St is quite too contracted today. Ever so many guns fired. Called at Dr. Breed's. Mrs. B. is quite feeble.

Tuesday, April 4, 1865

Fine. Wrote report for Asson.²²⁸ Colored women here who has been 18 mo. in the 8th N.Y.

Cav. ___ Maria Lewis.²²⁹ Wore uniform & carried sword & carbine & rode & scouted &

²²⁸ Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society.

²²⁹ Anita Henderson has presented papers on Lewis, for example at the Seventh Conference on Women in the Civil War, 2005, at Virginia Tech, but have not located her or other documentation as of this writing.

skirmished & fought like the rest. She came to W. with the men who presented the 17 flags to the War Dept. We shall see that she has a good place. Illumination this eve. What a splendid sight I ever saw. The Pub. buildings & many others very beautiful. Crowd at Patent Office. Speaking there. Had surfeit of guns & flags & music & shouting & lights. Walked down Avenue and rode back. Street full of folks.

Wednesday, April 5, 1865

Pleasant. I have kept the house & Frances has been out nearly all day. She has been to Alex. with Mrs. C and others. I have written 3 letters.
Rather dull here.

Thursday, April 6, 1865

Cloudy. Rained a little this A.M. I went to see Mrs. Colman who has just got back from Rochester. Then I called at the Employment office: 383 11th St.
Have waited on people. This P.M. not as many here as usual.
Frances has been out this P.M.
Fruit trees in blossom.

Friday, April 7, 1865

Cloudy. Warm. Went to see Mary Julia.
Then to M St. near Rock Creek & visited 16 families. None very sick, some poor enough but not the extreme destitution that I have seen before. Sewed some. Went into sewing school.

Visited 16 families.

Saturday, April 8, 1865

Bright. Cool.

At 9 A.M. went to Navy Yard with Frances, Miss K. & Miss A. & J. Ford.
Saw copper rolling & tack machine. Saw cannon made & balls & anchors.
Went on board iron clad Montauk here for repairs. Saw guns taken at Ft Fisher & and from reb. ram Atlanta & from B. runner Princess Royal & one from the Merrimac & Decatur's 2 guns, &c. &c. Came back tired enough. Mrs. Colman came and I went with her to see Sis. Called at Dr. Breed's.

Sunday, April 9, 1865

Cloud. Cool.

Went with Miss Heacock on 10 A.M. train to Alex. to Friend's Meeting. Called on Mrs. Jacobs & took dinner with her. Called at Grace Ch. Hos. & L'Ouverture & on Mrs. Holt & came back on 3 P.M. train.
Union forces in Alex. made great demonstrations Tuesday eve.
This evening Frances & I went to Garnett's Ch. Heard Mr. Loguen²³⁰ & others. Very interesting meeting. Came back in rain but we did not mind it.

²³⁰ Possibly Jermain Wesley Loguen, a New York minister and abolitionist who had been born into slavery.

President came back this eve.

Monday, April 10, 1865

Rainy. Awakened early by a heavy gun, followed by 199 others.²³¹ Lee has surrendered his army on Grant's terms. There is great excitement.

Waited on a few people. Frances has been to Alex. & Mrs. F. came back with her. Then Miss Collier came this evening. Have been to Garnett's church, heard Garnett, J.M. Langston, Sergt. Wm. Whipper, Dr. Smith, Prof. Johnson, Loguen, & Judge Day & Miss Edmonia Highgate. A very interesting meeting. It lasted till 12 o'clock, a sort of jubilee over the good news.

Tuesday, April 11, 1865

Cloudy & wet.

Felt almost sick this morning. Slept awful while cannon were thundering & all kind of street noises were in their zenith. Out of spirits today. Miss C left this A.M. F had Sewing S. & then went out with Mrs. F.—A company of young women started for Philadelphia & one stole a cloak from our room but she was overhauled at the Depot. Pub. Building—
Pub. Buildings illuminated. We have been out as far as Willard's.

Wednesday, April 12, 1865

Cloudy. Wet evening.

Overhauled everything in clothing room. Did various chores. Frances has been out with Mrs. Fish nearly all day.

Letter from Miss Evans. Letters from Somerset, full of unpleasant news & I was needing something encouraging just now. I am not half well & am quite dispirited.

Thursday, April 13, 1865

Cloudy. Called on 16 families in A.M. Went out again in P.M. Ironed. About 8 went with Frances to see the Illumination. The grandest of anything yet. It was a general thing. We went from the Ave. to 4 ½ St. then to Patent & P.O.

War & Navy Depts. very beautiful. President's House. Treasury and State Depts. All the Hotels & Headqrs. of Military & nearly all the stores & dwellings presented a beautiful sight. There were fireworks too. It was a general jubilee.

Friday, April 14, 1865

Fine. Sumter anniversary.

I went to Alex to a celebration. Took 10 A.M. train. Sorry Frances cd. not go. Called at Magnolia House & at Mrs. Belden's & at Mrs. Jacobs _____

The procession moved at 3 P.M. There were Cav. & Inf. & Art. & Firemen & Cold. Home Guard & various things. It was really very fine. Perfect order & well-timed. Gen. Slough commanded. Staid in evening to see Illumination, but only a few buildings were illuminated. Secesh houses all dark as could be.

²³¹ For a compilation of the response in Washington and other cities on hearing the news of Lee's surrender, see <http://www.nytimes.com/1865/04/11/news/front-page-1-no-title-rejoicings-elsewhere.html?pagewanted=1>

Saturday, April 15, 1865

Rainy day.

How can I write it? The President was shot last night in the Theater and died at 7.22 this morning! Sec. Seward had his throat cut in his bed, but is alive yet!

Hard to believe at first. The bells have tolled since noon. Flags are at half-mast. Stores are closed. Houses draped in black. Soldiers make secesh put black on their doors. No boats leave for W. today. No one allowed to go without pass from Congress[?]___ & I am shut up in Alex. Dined with Mrs. Belden. Tea with Miss Collier. Robt. McCarrick called.

Sunday, April 16, 1865

Bright. Windy.

Slept with Mrs. Fish & breakfast. Called on Mrs. Dogan, Aunt Lucy and others. Every colored faces is sad. "Uncle Sam" is dead & many seem to know they have lost a friend. Every cabin, shanty & shed where they live has something black upon it. It is a touching sight.

With Louisa went to Hos. Came back to W. on 3 P.M. train. Brought Gen. Payne and several other rebel officers. Shabby looking set. 100 rebs. brought in from Fairfax. The air of W. seems full of treason. Want to see Sis but did not. Very tired.

Monday, April 17, 1865

Fine.

Frances has been out among the people most of the day. I cleaned myself, picked up things, & regulated room. Harry and Sis called. I called there with Miss H. Saw two men under arrest, supposed at first to be the murderers.

No further development today.

About 3 P.M. went with Dr. and Mrs. B. to Oak Hill Cem. Pleasant ride over Rock Creek. Green fields, flowers, &c.

Letters from home. All well.

Took walk. President House looks like a sepulchre draped with black.

Tuesday, April 18, 1865

Warm.

We have taken a last look of Abraham Lincoln!

F. and I went about 9 A.M. Fell into the line wh. was formed 3 abreast. At about 10 o'clock were admitted. We were not allowed to stop a moment in the East Room, but took in all I cd. while passing through.. The President looks very white but natural. The room is draped & the Catafalca is in good taste. Colored people admitted with others. A sad multitude at 5 went to see the crowd again. Saw Gen. Grant & various smaller fry.

Wednesday, April 19, 1865

Cloudless. Warm.

A memorable day. It seems like a dream. The funeral procession on Pa. Av. as we looked towards the Capitol from the Treasury was a grand almost a sublime sight. The entire length was filled with people. The street with the procession and the sidewalks with spectators. A sad &

mournful multitude. Probably 2/3 of the spectators were colored & they also occupied a place in the procession. The scenes of today I shall never forget.

Thursday, April 20, 1865

Rained since 10 A.M. Uncomfortable for the people at the Capitol but thousands have been there & waited for hours to obtain a last look of Abraham Lincoln____ I went in about 9 and observed all that I could. The Rotunda is draped & the pictures are covered. A solemn looking place. No canopy over the coffin. A guard of honor surrounds it. And then lies there remains of a truly great man_____

Called on Mrs. C. & at Mrs. Slade's. Bought pictures of the president and preserved[?] pieces of cloth & trimmings of the coffin.

I cannot set myself to work today.

Friday, April 21, 1865

A.M. Rainy. P.M. Cloudy.

Frances & I went to depot but too late to see the Funeral Train wh. left at 8 for Baltimore. Called at Mr. Lake's and at Mrs. Coleman's. Went to Mr. Alexander & got piece of covering of the funeral car.

I have a piece of the car also.

I saw on the Avenue the 1st Div of the 19th Corps just from Shenandoah Valley. This corps is to break up now.

There is a deep feeling here against secessionists. I think there will be an outbreak. It is time for Union folks to bestir themselves.

Saturday, April 22, 1865

A.M. wet. P.M. fine and warm. Went to see Mrs. Coleman. She gave me a very little of the President's hair, wh. is a valuable relic.____

I have cleaned my room & did a few chores, but have no heart to write a letter or go to my usual work.

Frances went to Alex. this morning & has not returned.

Aunt Lucy and Ednah came about 6 & Aunt L is to stay here tonight. Letters from Mr. McKim. 277 weeks since Freda was taken from me.

Sunday, April 23, 1865

Cold & raw.

Frances came back on 7 A.M. train.

Went with Miss Moore to hear Mr. Channing. His discourse contained some beautiful thoughts, also some profound ones on the National Calamity. But his delivery is bad. I did not cry of it & I nodded a few times.

Harry & Sis have been here this P.M.

Eve^s__F is giving Geo. Harris a lesson.

Gen. Sherman has offered terms to Johnson's Army! Am unaccountable proceeding!

Monday April 24, 1865

Fine. F has been out nearly all day. Aunt Lucy went back to Alex. this morning. I have attended to calls and waited on the people. Quite a number here. Went with Eda Gray to see Aunt Sukey Stewart, once the slave of President Madison lived at the White House when the British entered W. and the President's family fled.

Bought herself 15 years ago. President Madison's wife sold Eda when she was a child.

Tuesday, April 25, 1865

Bright. Hot.

Went to Mason's Island in army wagon drawn by 4 mules, to accompany 4 persons old, sick and disabled who will be likely to be better cared for there than they could be here.

About 400 persons on Il. now. Things are neat & comfortable to what they were formerly. I enjoyed the ride but was very tired after I came back. Ironed this evening.

Wednesday, April 26, 1865

Bright. Warm. Charlotte came this morning. Saw the funeral yesterday in N.Y.

F and I went with her & Sis to see Mrs. C.

Then I visited 13 families, also Aunt Sukey Stewart.

9th Corps passing through today. I saw Gen. Wilcox & his staff, just from Petersburg. One year ago they went through W. & Alex. on their way to front.

Been to Mary Julia's boarding place this evening. Frances is to stay there tonight with C. Report that Booth is taken.

Thursday, April 27, 1865

Bright. Warm. Wind. Dust.

Went to see Aunt Sukey. Regulated clothing room. Martha cleaned it.

Mrs. Coleman called. Went to Sis' boarding place twice. She & her mother left on 7.20 train. We went to depot with them. Took walk in Capitol gardens.

Booth has been taken in Md. by 25 of the 6th N.Y. Cav. & detectives. Was shot in a barn & lived 3 hrs. One of the captured was here this P.M. and told us all about Paredy. Harold an accomplice was captured.

Friday, April 28, 1865

Bright. Windy Warm. Went on 10 A.M. train to Alex. With Mrs. Colman called on Mrs. Holt & at L'Ouverture, on Miss Collier. Took dinner with Mrs. Jacobs. Called on Mrs. Belden.

Came back on 3 P.M. train, waited on people.

Very dusty & unpleasant & I am somehow very tired. Box from Phebe. Mounted guards all along the street. They had been withdrawn.

Army is disbanding.

Saturday, April 29, 1865

A.M. Wind, dust. P.M. Rain. Frances & I went to Dr. Garrett's & Dr. Breed's. Then to colored Hos. Large new buildings. 100 patients.

Then S. New Eng. Establishment, workshops, store, &c. Dust almost intolerable.

All the artillery of the 9th corps has passed 207 I St. Our room is about as dusty as the streets.

A fine rain this P.M.
Johnson has surrendered. Our army is being disbanded.
F & I called on Miss Stevenson at Ebbitt House.

Sunday, April 30, 1865

Bright. Cool.

Did not rise early. Got well rested.

Washed dishes, swept room & cleaned myself.

Various little chores to do. Intend to go to Philadelphia tomorrow morning. Shall try to get some clothing to take to Richmond.

Monday, May 1, 1865

Rainy morning, then cloudy. Took 11.15 train to Phila. Reached P. about 6. Pleasant ride.

Country is beautiful, so fresh & green & sweet. Emblems of mourning all the way, especially in Baltimore & Wilmington.

Went to Mrs. H. Ivans, but house was full, then to 2 other places. At the 4th place 914 Spruce St. Mrs. Snodgrass took me in. An attic room, but it was well enough. House so high I cannot see the street.

Will try to rest & hope for best.

Tuesday, May 2, 1865

Fine. Called on Dr. Evans 635 Walnut. Then at 424 Walnut. Mr. McKim absent. Went to Independence Hall. Saw Mr. Hunt & B. Coates & Dr. Parrish.

Went to Marmaduke Cope's & to E. L. Smith's. To Cope's again. Saw Mrs. Griffing.

To 914 Spruce to dinner. Then to Miss Robinson's school & to S. Cox's. Went on 5 P.M. to Germantown. Everything so pleasant. Cordially welcomed by M. Robinson in her beautiful home. Spent evening pleasantly. Am to go back in morning.

Wednesday, May 3, 1865

Fine. With M. Robinson & niece I took 8 A.M. train for P.

Did not feel well.

Called at S. Barker's. She is out of L. Went to 914 Spruce. Mr. Cope called. Went with him to 424 Walnut. Saw Mr. McKim and Mr. Coates. All think it well to go to R.²³² Will give me boxes to take. Sister F. can go too. Satisfactory so far.

Went to Miss R's school. Then to Jane Johnson's and dined there.

Rested nicely.

Then took 4 ½ train to Falls station to Mr. Abbott's. Am to spend the night at Mr. Richard's.

Such delightful places!

Thursday, May 4, 1865

Cool. Bright. Rested well.

²³² Marmaduke Cope and others were Quakers in the Philadelphia area. They helped support Wilbur's trip to Richmond.

Miss Evans came. So glad to see her. Took leave of Mrs. R who is very kind. Went to Mr. A's and after dinner Mrs. A & Miss Evans & Miss Collins went with me to Laurel Hill Cemetery & to Mt. Vernon Cemetery. Cardoll monument. Remarkable. Took leave of Mrs. Abbott, but Misses E. and Collins went to City with me. Called at S. Coxe's & at J. Johnson's. Saw Harriet Stokely. Then to Cor. 5th and Cherry. Met S. W. Cope and Committee. Will give me a box. Looked into stores on 8th ___ 9 P.M. at 914 Spruce. Very tired. I must leave tomorrow.

Friday, May 5, 1865

Cloudy but pleasant.

Rose early, put up my things, ate breakfast & went to Chestnut St. Went into Independence Hall. Looked into stores. So many beautiful things! Walked on 8th and Arch Sts. then to see Gen Grant's house. 2009 Chestnut St. Rode to Spruce. Short interview with Mrs. Smith. Mrs. Snodgrass will accept no pay for my board. Very kind in a stranger. Tom took satchel to car. Then I took 1.15 train for Washington. Very pleasant all the way. Reached 207 I st. about 8 ½ P.M. Glad to see Alvira here. Things as usual.

Saturday, May 6, 1865

Fine, quite warm. Cleaned my room. Then Alvira & I went to 7th st. and to Cav. Church. Mrs. C away. Came back & took dinner & washed dishes.

Then F and Alvira and I went to National Observatory. A beautiful place. One of the finest panoramas from the top I oversaw.

Immense telescope which revolves with roof.

Looked through smaller one at the Forts Arlington, Freedmen's Village. Goddess of Liberty, &c. Grounds very beautiful. Tired enough.

Sunday, May 7, 1865

Fine. Frances & Alvira have been to Alexandria & had a good time. I have cleaned up & regulated books & papers & wrote in Journal & wrote letters & have been very busy all day. Called to Soup[?] house to see sick child. Harry called here.

A busy day for me.

Letter from my friend A. Carpenter.

Monday, May 8, 1865

Fine day, rainy evening. Sorted clothing. Packed box for Richmond. Attended to washing & ironed some.

Washed dishes.

Waited on people.

Mrs. Coleman and Mrs. Belding called. F and Alvira have been out this evening. Box of clothing from Philadelphia came for me to take to R.

Tuesday, May 9, 1865

Rainy. Rose at 5 and went on 7 A.M. boat to Alexandria. Called on Mrs. J & Louisa. They intend to go with us to Richmond.

Called on Miss Collier & Dr. P. Called at Magnolia H. Saw Gov. & Mrs. Pierpont & Mrs. Gordon. The Gov. gave me a letter to Mr. Dana, Ass^t Sec. of War, which I intend to present tomorrow. Have sewed some & ironed & am very tired.

Wednesday, May 10, 1865

Cloudy. Dismal. Cool.

Went to War Dept. but cd. not get access to Sec. Dana. Sent in letter, saw Gen. Hardee. Would not give me full transportation. Mrs. Jacobs went with me to see Mrs. Dana.

F & Alvira & I went to Treasury. Saw Dr. P. & Mrs. Smith. Went round by White House, but visitors are not admitted now. Then to Ordnance Dept. Very unsatisfactory day. Been at work ever since & am very tired. F. and Alvira have been out this P.M.

Thursday, May 11, 1865

Cloudy. Hot, until the shower towards night.

This A.M. I went to see Mrs. Dana. Her husband can do nothing for me. Went to Gen. Hardee. Got free transportation for boxes & F & I at half rates. Can do no better & must accept it.

Iron[?] then, have worked in clothing room, fixed my trunks, &c. Am very tired.

Frances & Alvira have been to the Capitol.

Dr. James P. called this eve. Rainy.

Friday, May 12, 1865

Bright. Cool.

Packed box for Richmond & worked all A.M. in C. room.

Went to 6th St. wharf. Boats leave at 3 P.M. for Richmond. Intend to go next Monday.

F & Alvira went to Patent Office this A.M.

Frances has had Sewing S. & has been to Hospitals since school. Strange she is not tired out ____
Trial of Conspirators has commenced.

Saturday, May 13, 1865

Fine.

This morning Alvira & I went with Mrs. Colman to the White House to see Mrs. Keckley²³³. We saw her in the Red Room. She appears like a perfect lady. She is a remarkable woman although she has been a slave. We saw the E. Room just as it was left after the funeral & the Green Room & Blue Room. All look dreary & dismal. This P.M. did various chores. Mrs. C. here. Alvira went to Navy Yd. This eve she and F have gone to see Mrs. Swisshelm.

Sunday, May 14, 1865

Fine. Very.

I called at Dr. Breed's. Then Alvira & I went to Dr. Garnett's Ch. 5 babies were christened. Some of them white apparently. Many of the people were nearly white.

I have done various chores preparatory for leaving tomorrow.

Jeff Davis has been captured by 4th Mich. at Irvinville, Ga.

²³³ Elizabeth Keckley entered Mary Todd Lincoln's life as her seamstress. She was active in freedmen's relief.

Alvira is here & may go with us to R.

Monday, May 15, 1865

Fine. Rose early. Sent boxes to the boat. Alvira H. & Mrs. Jacobs gone to Richmond by way of Baltimore. Left things in satisfactory state & Frances & I left 207 I St. at 2 P.M. Paid half fare on Escort. Capt Renee. \$3.75 to City Point. Poor accommodations. Got State Room with difficulty. Took our supper on deck. No cabin. Chilly but fine night. Frances, Louisa J. & M. Stevenson & myself in our State Room. 3 berths but glad to get so much. But we are "On to Richmond".

Tuesday, May 16, 1865

Fine

Slept pretty well. F sat up & slept. At 6 were at Old Point for 2 hours. Went into Fortress Monroe. Met Mrs. J. and Alvira from Balt. _____

Saw Rip Raps, Hampton. Iron clad Newport News. Ruins of Jamestown and Fort Powhatton.

Took our breakfast on deck. A breezy picnic. Strawberries. James very crooked. Saw Harrison's laundry. Stopped at City Pt. on Monitor. Saw Dutch Gap Canal, Crow's Nest, Howlett's House Battery. Wrecks & torpedoes & Forts. Dismounted guns. Ft. Darling. Green fields, quiet.

Reached R at 6. Crowd of folks. F & Alvira & I went to Spotswood. The rest stopped at Mr. Forrester's.

Wednesday, May 17, 1865

Hot.

Slept well. Went to Pro Mar's. Saw Mr. Chase. Offers room for my boxes. Mr. Coan thinks clothing is not needed. Streets full of rebel soldiers. We went to the Capitol, saw the different rooms. Went on the top. Fine view. Went to Jeff. Davis' House _____

Went to Castle Thunder, brought away irons. Went to Libby Prison. Saw where Col. Straight and others escaped. Came back very tired. F. & Alvira continued their walk.

Am to go to Mrs. Carter's tomorrow. Our bill here 1 ½ da. \$18. Saved all we cd. on Alvira's account for she is to leave tomorrow morning. This is our first day in Richmond.

Thursday, May 18, 1865

Fine. Alvira left at 5. Mrs. Colman came. Moved to Cor. Franklin & 14th. Went to Jeff house & Capitol. Mrs. Wells & brother & J. Winston went with us to City Jail and Whipping Post. Cells and dungeons bolts, bars, & irons! Horrid place!

Went to Lumpkin's jail. He showed us the place & we told him what we thought of him & his business. Saw some of his slaves. He is a villain.²³⁴ Went to Auction House of Hill & Dickinson. Saw Hill & others. Plain talk with them. Those with us were delighted to hear us talk to those traders.

Took long walk to Poor House. Such horrid things as I have seen today.

Friday, May 19, 1865

Hot. Hazy.

²³⁴ At some point during this visit, JW acquired a set of leg shackles from Richmond. They are at Cornell University (http://rnc.library.cornell.edu/abolitionism/slave_life/Life_in_Bondage.htm).

Richmond.

Frances, Mrs. C., Mrs. J & some friends have been to Manchester to see after Mr. Gladwin's doings.—They have headed him off I think. I went to Rockett's to see Q.M. about Boxes. Moved them to Chris. Com. Rooms. All of us took tea at Mr. Forrester's. Drank chocolate from Jeff. D.'s cups & ate ice cream & strawberries from his saucers. Sat & looked at his house & tried to realize where I was.

Spent evening pleasantly. Interesting family. Mr. F. a slave.

Such horrid things as I have heard and seen. I find myself asking "Where is God?"

Saturday, May 20, 1865

PM. Showery. Richmond.

Frances & all of them left at 5 A.M. ___ Rose early & went to room where my Boxes are. Went to Chris. Com. Rooms. Came back too tired to go out again. Tried to rest. So noisy here. Clatter of horses feet on the pavement & clanking of sabers. Band & stamping & yelling at theater.

The colored people are abused by the soldiers & they are mortified and disheartened. The rebs look on & say "We told you so. See what you get for wanting the Yankees to come."

Sunday, May 21, 1865

Hot. Cloudy.

Went to P.O. & round by the Capitol. Soldiers of 6th corps all about. Went to Monumental Ch. & then to the African Ch. Rev Robt. Ryland pastor 15 years & preached Slaveholder's gospel.

Several Northern men present & spoke but not much to purpose. Satan came also in the shape of Rev. A. Gladwin.

Much singing ___

This evening several member of Choir came to sing for me. Always been slaves. We talked as well as sang.

Guards stop all the colored people they see & ask them for passes.

Monday, May 22, 1865

Rain all night.

Freshet. Water rose 5 ft higher than ever before to 2nd story windows. Dreadful to hear the screams of people in night.

Mrs. Carter & Mrs. Jennings went with me to Danville Depot. Found several destitute families. Several bridges burned. There are areas of ruins & rebs have to thank themselves for it. Met one of the most disgusting human beings I ever saw & also E. O. Nolting, Belgian Con. Had some plain talk. Showers. Went with Misses Foster & Kennedy to City Jail.

Gladwin here this eve. But he will not come again.

Tuesday, May 23, 1865

Cool. Fine.

Went to D. Depot and took those families to my room & clothed them. Rested till 3. Then went to Poor House with Mrs. Carter & Mrs. Jennings. Such wretched sights ___ Saw a burial at Slave burying ground. Sad sight. Saw where magazine was that exploded. Every brick is in atoms. This happened on morning of surrender. Several persons were killed & houses destroyed.

What a scene! Fires in the city. People panic struck & fleeing. Rebel soldiers running away. Union troops coming in. Colored people wild with joy & excitement on the day of surrender.

Wednesday, May 24, 1865

Cool. Bright. Richmond.

Went to Rocketts to get wagon of Q.M., then to Co. 18th & Carey & had boxes taken to Alms house.

Sixth Corps is moving through. Such commotion! Wagons, pack mules, pontoon train, cattle & straggling men. Soldiers reviewed by Gen Halleck. Going to W.

This morning when to place where rations are issued to whites & colored & saw how it is done.

Went to San. Com. Boat. Officers not civil even. Could get nothing for the poor.

Thursday, May 25, 1865

Cool. Fine. Went to Mr. Lucas' School in St. Phillip's church. Very nice school.

Went to poor house. Had room fitted up for my goods & cleaned. Unpacked boxes. Gave out 130 pieces. Poor creatures had seen no new clothes for several years. They were delighted.

Took dinner with the Lieut. & Suny.[?], &c. Worked till 4 P.M. Came back in Ambulance or I sh. have been tired out. A great work to be done there. Gov. Pierpont was expected this evening, but has not come yet.

Friday, May 26, 1865

Rain all day.

Uncle L. Wilbur came this morning.

I was not well but feel better tonight.

Have done some writing.

Gov. Pierpont & family & staff & suite of friends arrived at Rocketts at 6.

A cavalcade went to meet them. I saw the procession as it came back to town. Wet & muddy & dismal looking.

A company was at the house to receive them. Gov. P. has come to establish civil govt.

Saturday, May 27, 1865

Rained nearly all day.

Sat by fire this evening.

About 3 went to Poor House. Gave out some things. Bad enough in women's sick room, but in the men's room it was horrid. I have felt sick ever since I was there. Almost discouraged with things there. They are in such a wretched filthy condition & nothing to use.

Soldiers enough there but 27 more have been sent to do nothing.

Lieut. N seems to do very well.

Sunday, May 28, 1865

Cloudy. Richmond.

Went to Jeff. D's church, St. Paul's Episcopal. Heard Minnegerode. When he prayed for Pres. of U.S. &c., there was some laughing Minnegerode some squirming. Large crowd, citizens & Union officers. In P.M. went to Meth. Sp.[?] with Mrs. Wells. Black minister from Baltimore

held forth. No information nor instruction in his remarks. Blind leading the blind. The white pastor Mr. *[Transcriber's Note: blank space in the page]* has preached for them 10 yrs. A very disagreeable man. Looks like Wolf in sheep's clothing.

Monday, May 29, 1865

Fine.

Called at Governor's & saw Mrs. Gordon.

Went to African Bapt. Ch.

All the schools met.

Gentlemen from North spoke to them. 1500 chil. present. Amos, Vassar, Mason, Bent, Van Hict, Col. Fay, Harris, &c. There was singing & other exercises & it was very pleasant.

In P.M. went to Poor House. Such distress! Wearing bundles of rags! Do not go to Governor's Reception.

Tuesday, May 30, 1865

Fine. Warm.

Richmond.

At 9 Mr. & Mrs. Wells went with me to Poor House. Rode there & back.

Went into all the rooms.

Gave clothing to sick, blind, dumb, armless, toothless, and lame. Such distress. Makes my heart sick.—Mr. D. called. Mr. & Mrs. Wells went with me to Church Hill. Fine view. Old church.

Saw a May Party. Queen crowned. Danced round May pole. Union Band played for them.

Secesh boy troubled about my badge.—I am very tired.

Wednesday, May 31, 1865

Hazy. Hot.

Mr. D. called. About 11 went to Poor House. I worked for several hours & gave out 40 pieces.

Gave pins & combs. Walked back. Do not like the way orphans are disposed of.

Mrs. Cooper here from Alex. Going for her daughter in N.C.

Went to Pro. Mars. & got pass for her. Mr. Woodfolk called. Rested awhile & then took long walk with Mrs. Wells to a sick girl who has had 9 masters & has been whipped. Met another nice woman who has been to the whipping post. The poor things. Tired out to night.

Thursday, June 1, 1865

Hot. Hazy. Richmond.

Fast day.

Walked too much yesterday & am almost sick today. Have not been out only to P.O. Wrote 3 letters. Streets full of people and various places closed. Thomas to supersede Halleck.

President's Amnesty Proclamation does not [?] all the rebs. Letter from Frances. Sorry I was not there to the Review. Mrs. Colman ill.

Friday, June 2, 1865

Hot.

Saw Capt. Brown, Superintendent^{ent} of Freedmen for Va.

Gen. Howard is in town. Called at Mr. Forrester's. Came back & wrote awhile. Then called to see Mrs. Pierpont. She showed me the house. Extra Billy²³⁵ & his spouse did not leave it in good order. At 3 called for Mr. Dudley & went to Poor House. Mr. Lucas & Miss Kinney there. To have a teacher from Phila. The distressed woman is dead. Lieut. Norfolk is relieved and Lieut. J. J. Smith succeeds him. Rode back.

Saturday, June 3, 1865

Very hot. Bright.

At 10 ½ A.M. Mrs. Jennings & I rode to Poor House & worked there till 3 P.M. Went into every room & saw nearly every person. Am convinced that the Irishman who carries the whip has whipped women & children. When into every white room also.

A school will be opened on Monday.

And I hope a woman will come also. An orphanage will be established also.

Sunday, June 4, 1865

Very hot. Bright.

Went with Mrs. Jennings to go[?] St. John's Church on Church Hill. (passed by 3 slave pens on our way) The church is very old & dedicated with the name of Patrick Henry. In the midst of an old grave yard. We went into a Catholic Church & saw a christening.

Wrote letters.

Monday, June 5, 1865

Very hot. Bright.

Rose at 3. Waited for Mrs. Wells & at 4 started for Petersburg. Walked over pontoon bridge 2 mi. to Manchester.

Nothing of interest on the way.

Reached P. At 7. Went to J. Cabon's. Walked about city. Houses ruined by shells. Went to Court House & jail. Saw prisoners in rooms & in dungeons. Filthy place. Whipping post & gallows.

Worse than anything I have seen set. About 4 ½ P.M. went to see "Works." 7 persons in wagon boards. Old house. Went in wrong direction. Shower. Stopped awhile. Changed horses. Rode till after dark. Old church. Jerusalem plank road.

Tuesday, June 6, 1865

Fine. Pleasant.

12 of us started at 9 to go to fortifications. 2 mi or more. Saw Crater & Mine-called "blow-up". Sergt. Bird knew all about it & explained to us. Went with us. Found relics. Half-mile further to Fort Damnation (rebel). Further on in Fort Hell (Federal). Breast works between the two & pickets only a few rods apart. Almost incredible. I have walked on trenches where the dead are buried & saw bones lying on surface and clothing too. Walked back another way (long). Oh, so tired. But I wd not have missed it. Left at 5 P.M. on train. Colored women ordered out of passenger car. When will it end?

²³⁵ General William "Extra Billy" Smith

Wednesday, June 7, 1865

Hot.

Quite prostrated this morning & lounged about till one. Then went to Exchange to see 2 Col^d men hung up by wrists. Never saw men tortured before. I could not endure it. Went to see Capt. Brown. Gone to Norfolk. Saw Maj. Gen. Ord. Told him. Said he would attend to it immediately. Came back. These 2 had been taken down & another tied up. But he was taken down after a few minutes. I saw officer of the day ride away & think Gen. Ord did attend to it. This has distressed me more than anything I have seen before. Mr. Lucas, Miss Kennedy & Mr. Dudley called.

Thursday, June 8, 1865

Hot. Very.

Went to Poor House at 9 and staid till 1. Mrs. Forrester went with me. She is shocked at what she sees there.

Lieut. Porter is in command.

Little Rosa dead.

Calls from Mr. Van Vliet of Tribune, Mr. Stukney & Dr. Piersons.

Went to P.O. and to Park. Saw Mr. Chase & Miss Stevenson, &c.

In eve meeting of Col^d men to give in testimony. There is dark feeling about the present state of things.

Friday, June 9, 1865

Hottest day yet.

Mr. Dudley called. Disturbance in streets last night. Rode to Alm H. with Mr. & Mrs. Wells. Visited nearly all. Packed box. Been so shocked. Dr. H. whom I have regarded so highly was intoxicated & placed under arrest. Sad sight. Rode back. With Mrs. J. called on Gov. P. Very pleasant call.

In evening, Henry Jones called. Arrested & stood all P.M. lame. Went to Mrs. F's again.

Cannot go to 7 pines tomorrow.

Moonlight. Cool. Pleasant.

Saturday, June 10, 1865

More comfortable.

Rain about 4 P.M.

At 8 left for Poor House with Mr. & Mrs. Wells. Bought berries &c. enough for all the sick. Mr. & Mrs. Wells have done Christian work today.

This morning I called on Capt. Brown & Dr. Loughran.

Miss Stevenson & Kennedy called.—

After shower, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Jennings & I took walk. Went to Dick Dickinson's jail. Saw his family & saw two officers disgracing the federal uniform. Called on Mr. Stewart. It is so noisy here!

Sunday, June 11, 1865

Cooler.

Went to Old African Ch. Thought I was hearing a secesh preacher but it proved to be Rev. M. Turney of Wash. Impressed humility upon his hearers. How absurd!
In P.M. with Mrs. Carter I went to Penitentiary and Co. Tredegar Iron Works. Got relics ____
Went to Gambler's Hill. Fine view of city & country. Saw Belle Island only a little way off.
Passed Gen. Lee's House.
In evening singers came. Mr. & Mrs. Wells called. Am very tired tonight.

Monday, June 12, 1865

Very hot.

Ambulance did not come. Mr. Kaighn of Phila came. Went to Mr. Lucas' school. Then to Gen. Turner to get permit for school at Poor H. Saw Capt. Gibson & Capt. Brown.
Called at Mr. Forrester's. Went to city jail with Mrs. F and J. Kaighn.
At 5 went to Poor House. 3 died yesterday. Some rooms are in a dreadful condition. In evening took long walk to Mr. Osburn's. Little girl played melodeon.
Gen. Ord is removed.

Tuesday, June 13, 1865

Sultry. Rain in P.M.

At 8 ½ went with Mr. Kaighn to Poor House. Mr. Lucas & Mr. Jost there. Opened school. 45 scholars. Looked quite nice. Did various things & bid them goodbye! Not expecting to go there again. Called at tent of Union Com. Then at Capitol & got Free Trans. of Capt. Scoville.
Packed trunk. Called at Mr. Forrester's to say good bye & then to Capt. Brown's. He insists upon my staying a day or 2 longer. Says there will be a change soon. Sec of War has been informed of affairs in relation to negroes.

Wednesday, June 14, 1865

Very Hot. Sultry. Rain at night.

This A.M. rested. Went to P.O. and Spotswood [?]. This P.M. called at Mr. Forrester's. Then to see Capt. *[Transcriber's Note: crossed out and replaced with "Col"]* Brown.
He says passes are done away with. Now colored people will breath freely once more. Capt. B. says he will get back the children who have been hired out from Alms House & restore them to their mothers. A new order of things has been started & now I feel free to go. It seems that my mission is finished & I do not regret coming to Richmond.

Thursday, June 15, 1865

Misty. Richmond.

Mr. Wells called. At 5 Mrs. Carter & Jennings & Mr. Matthews went with me to boat Escort (no, Red Jacket to City Point.) On board were officers (Union) & white secesh refugees going to Fortress Monroe. One woman a violent rebel. Towards night at Ft. M. quite chilly. Water rough. Stopped half hour.
Crowds of soldiers white & colored ____ Exchanged words with 2 persons on trip. Dr. Prentiss and Capt *[Transcriber's note: blank text]* of Va.
Began to feel sick and retired to good state room before dark.

Friday, June 16, 1865

Cloudy.

Cool until we reached W. at 10. Slept well in spite of noise &c. Capt. Pearce kind to give me good room. Pleasant all way to W. Then it was hot & bad smells. [?]bon contaminates whole region.

Frances had gone to Alex. but came back at 1 P.M. Things about as usual here.

Mr. Colman called. Have tried to regulate things since unpacking my trunk. Hardly know how to go to work again. Have been gone 4 weeks & 4 days & am glad I went to Richmond.

Saturday, June 17, 1865

Very hot.

Picked up things a little and then with F and Miss Danby called to see Gen. Howard Chief of Freedmen's Bureau, Office cor. 19th and I.

After waiting 2 hours had a pleasant interview with the General ____ Saw Capt. Wilder. In P.M. went to Navy Yard with F & Miss D. & Mrs. Fish & Miss Kelly.

Went on board the Monitors Saugus & Montauk.

Called at Express Office & at Mrs. Coleman's. Dined there. Saw Sojourner Truth—bought Photograph of S. T.

Sunday, June 18, 1865

Very very very hot.

Wrote 2 letters & did but little else.

Towards night called at Dr. Breed's.

F. has been out twice. Suffered very much from heat today. Our house is so small & unsheltered. We could not stay in it through the summer, I think.

Monday, June 19, 1865

Hotter than ever.

Got ready at 8. Went for Mrs. Coleman & got note from Judge Day to Judge Holt & proceeded to the Penitentiary. Thought I might as well see the court prisoners. [*Transcriber's Note: sketch of seating of courtroom*]

MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1865.
 Hotter than ever.

Got ready at 8. Went for Mrs. Coleman & got note from Judge Day to Judge Holt. & proceeded to the Penitentiary. There he might as well see the Court Prisoners to

Dan Smith
 Harwood
 Bayne
 atwood
 Langford
 Spang
 McMillan
 Arnold
 Guard between each. (3 rows.)
 Table.
 Judge Holt
 Col. Simpson
 Gen. Kim
 Gen. Howard
 Gen. Mullaney
 Hunter
 Gen. []
 Hartranft
 Clinton
 Harris
 []
 Heard

Argument against jurisdiction of Court. Read by Clampit.

Tuesday, June 20, 1865

Very hot. Showers.

Helped wash. Cd. not hang out clothes. Tried to write. Hard work to do amid the racket & interruptions to wh. 207 I st. is exposed.

Frances has been out. Letter from Mrs. Jennings. Things are some better in Richmond.

Row on our st. last night. Quite near us, but I was not disturbed.

Wednesday, June 21, 1865

Cloudy. Sultry.

Frances has been to Mt. Vernon & had a pleasant time.

I have been to Chronicle Office & P.O. & to Mrs. C's. Written nearly all day. Report to Phila.

Dined at Miss Flagler's. Letter from C. Post. Paper from Richmond.

John Mitchell has been arrested and sent to Fort Monroe.

Thursday, June 22, 1865

Not quite so hot.

Finished report to Phila & wrote to Dr. Rhoades. Did various chores. Martha did the ironing. Our kitchen so hot I cannot work in it.
But few persons call for clothes.

Friday, June 23, 1865

Bright. Hot.

Cleaned my room. Then Frances & I went to Treasury & to Medical Museum & to see J. Wetherbee.

Then fixed my bonnet & did various chores. Frances has been to W. Monument & to Hospital & has had sewing school.

Mr. Hazen called. Harry called. Capt. Adam Billings called. A scholar of mine in Rush of 2nd Mich Regt.

Saturday, June 24, 1865

Hottest day yet.

F has been to Capitol. Mr. & Mrs. Fish here.

I have sewed some. Put away specimens & did a few other chores. Could not go out, only to dinner.

Mr. John Wetherbee called this evening.

Sunday, June 25, 1865

Very hot.

Did not rise early. Wrote to Mrs. Jennings & to Mrs. Wells.

Wrote in Diary.

Went to dinner at 1 ½ PM. Frances has been out some _____

S. Carolina Gentlemen have had interview with Pres. Johnson. He thinks Southern men know how to treat negroes better than Northerners. I am not quite satisfied with Andy. The rebels and copperheads like him too well.

Monday, June 26, 1865

Rainy P.M. Cooler.

Letter from Mrs. Marsh. Have written to her.

Times from Richmond. Rebellious Editorial. Military have threatened to suppress this paper.

Two women sent from R want clothes of course.

Have Gov. Pierpont's message.

6th corps passed today.

Tuesday, June 27, 1865

Fine. Cooler

Went to Alex. on 8 A.M. boat. Dined with Mrs. Belding. Went to L'Ouverture Hos. About 300 patients now. Buildings supply the place of tents & the grounds are improved. But many things may go wrong yet. _____

Called on Fanny Lee at slave pen. Took tea with Mrs. Jacobs. Saw other members of the household— Went to Mrs. Belding's for the night.

Wednesday, June 28, 1865

Hot. Came back to W. on 8 A.M. boat with Miss Collier & Miss K. At 11 ½ AM these & Miss Chamberlin & F got wagon from H.Qrs. & we went first to Arlington House. Saw the Soldiers burying ground and the Contraband Ground. Then out to Ball's Cross Roads & Columbian Pike & Munson's Hill & off west of Alex to 10th N.Y. Cav. Great many camps all about the country. Went to Alex. & left Miss C. & K. & got back to W. at 6 ½ P.M. Interesting ride. 30 or 40 miles. Went round about way. Tired.

Thursday, June 29, 1865

Hottest day yet.

Miss Heasick called. Harry called. He is going to Rochester tomorrow. I have written nearly all day. Finished copying notes into Diary.

Frances has taught school for Miss Kelley. Harry here this evening. Serg. Stammard of 2^d Mich here. Made long call. Encamped near here.

Petersburg News is suppressed—

Conspiracy trials closed.

Friday, June 30, 1865

Very hot.

Have done various chores. Too hot to go out. Martha has finished cleaning my relics from Petersburg & I have put them all away.

Letter from Mary, all well & happy. Hot there too.

Did nothing this P.M. but wrote to Wm. Penn.

Regiments pass here every day, going to their homes I suppose.

Heavy shower this PM.

Saturday, July 1, 1865

July 1st. Not so hot as yesterday. Frances has been to Alex.

I have written letters & done but little else.

Sunday schools are making preparations to have picnic on 4th.

Heavy shower toward evening. Cooler, Frances does not come.

Sunday, July 2, 1865

Fine. Cooler.

Frances came about 2 P.M.

I have not done much today. Only been out to dinner.

Looked over papers, &c.

Monday, July 3, 1865

Fine.

Went to L St. bet. 21 and 22^d & made about 20 calls. The people are more comfortable than they were last winter (in these houses). But the stench & filth in this locality is awful. This evening F. & I went to camp of 2^d Mich. in Kalorama Grounds near S. Pox Hosp. There is the tomb of Joel Barlow. "Patriot, poet & philosopher." He wrote "Hasty Pudding." —In graveyd. on 20th St. in the grave of Lorenzo Dow. Maj. Boughton came back with us.

Tuesday, July 4, 1865

Bright. Hot. At 11 A.M. Frances & I went to the meeting of the colored people on the grounds S. of the White House. About 7000 present & they had a fine day of it. Right smart of whites there. Wm. H. Day was the orator. Rev. J. Pierpont made a poem. Speakers Sen. Wilson, Gen. Gregory, &c. It was a glorious meeting. S. Schools present. I got back at 4.—In evening F. & I went to see Fire Works. The finest I ever saw. 300 rockets, 100 shells, some of the fires[?] were very grand. 20,000 people assembled.
I am very tired tonight.

Wednesday, July 5, 1865

Hottest day yet.

Too much for even me. I cd. not walk this P.M. Every room in our little house has been like an oven.

I have enough to do to occupy every hour while I stay here, but really I cannot work.

Thursday, July 6, 1865

Hottest—

I have written to Phila. Towards evening Frances, Miss Revere & myself went to Camp of 8th Michigan, wh. is best a short distance from us. These men all wish to go home now that the war is over. They have served 4 yrs. It seems wrong to keep these veterans & discharge late recruits. The evening is delightful.—

Conspirators have been sentenced. 4 to be hung tomorrow. 4 to imprisonment for life. 1 for 6 yrs.

Friday, July 7, 1865

Very hot.

Had ironing done, very uncomfortable here. This evening I called to find Mrs. Jacobs at Mrs. Brown's[?]. But she was not there. I saw Edmonia Lewis.

The 4 conspirators were eventually hung about 1 P.M. An effort was made to get a reprieve for Mrs. Surratt. All buried near the gallows. Large no. of persons witnessed the execution. Miss Harris is being tried now for shooting Burrows.²³⁶

Saturday, July 8, 1865

Hot. Hazy.

²³⁶ This would be Mary Harris, tried for murder of A.J. Burroughs. See Lee Chambers' Schiller, "Seduced, Betrayed, and Revenged: The Murder Trial of Mary Harris" in Michael Bellsiles (ed.), *Lethal Imagination* (New York: NYU Press, 1999).

Have not done much, wrote a little.

Towards evening Frances & I went out. First to Freedmen's Hospital. 116 patients. Pretty well cared for.

4 Govt. doctors for the City, considerable sickness.

Passed Mrs. Suratt's house on our way to Mr. Lake's. Had pleasant call.

Called on Mrs. Munson. Came home at 10. Fine evening.

Sunday, July 9, 1865

Went to 19th St. Col. Baptist Church. Heard Mr. Anderson. Nice looking congregation, Frances has been to Dr. Gurley's.

Toward evening went to old burying ground head of 20th St. Saw grave of Lorenzo Dow, died 1834, age 57—

Then went to Camp of 2^d Michigan, Saw Sergt. Stannard [?], &c.

Cool & comfortable this evening.

Monday, July 10, 1865

Cool.

Went to look for pictures. Bought Alms house of Richmond, Va. Called on Mr. Baker.

Went to City Hall. Saw Miss Harris & her friends. Could see but little & hear nothing, so it didn't pay to stand long in a disagreeable crowd.

Wet P.M. Wrote to Mrs. Wells & worked at Report.

Tuesday, July 11, 1865

Cool—hot showers.

Worked at Report.

Wrote letters.

Cleaned my room.

Wednesday, July 12, 1865

Cloudy, rain in A.M. I was quite ill this A.M.

This P.M., Louisa Jacobs came. Went with her to Depot. She & her mother have started for the North. Will not return to Alex. I shall miss them.

Frances & I went to Armory Square Hospital. The best arranged & best provided for of any that I have seen. Officers in Armory Building.

2 colored patients.

Thursday, July 13, 1865

Very fine, cool.

Feel some better.

About 11 went to School Examination in Wesley Church. About 200 from the 6 schools.

Appeared very well. Clergyman made remarks.

Col. Eaton spoke also.

Col. Schneider there, Maj. Doughton & Maj. Gould came back with us & called. Letter from Mary J. Milstead. All well.

Julia Arness is dead. She was a namesake of mine.

Friday, July 14, 1865

Perfect day.

Went to Alex^a. on 12 M boat.

Called at Mrs. Beldings & at Cor. Washington & Wolfe Streets.

Then went to L'Ouverture Hosp. Saw many things which are very wrong. Discussed them with Dr. Rowen.

Returned on 5 P.M. boat, delightful trip.

Felt very well all day, but have headache this evening.

Saturday, July 15, 1865

Cloudy.

Sick last night & I do not feel well today.

Went to Miss Harris's trial, very tiresome. Staid but a short time, they will not hang her but call her insane.

Called at Judge Day's & at Mr. Baker's officer. Met Mrs. Belding & her sister & said goodbye.

I must not go out again today.

Miss Moore left this morning.

Sunday, July 16, 1865

Cloudy & showered in P.M.

I have been sick all day. I have done nothing.

Frances away last night. Miss Lane & I were alone.

Monday, July 17, 1865

Cloudy A.M. Fine P.M.

Feel better.

Rose early & have done various things. Martha washed.

I called to see Col. Eaton. 1st of July 4.20 persons in W. & Freedmen's Village drew rations. Not so many now.—

Called at Ex. Office & Gardiner's Rooms & bought pictorials—

Miss Revere left. Frances has been packing up. But I have not begun yet.

Letter from Lieut. Porter.

Tuesday, July 18, 1865

Fine.

Miss Lane left this morning. I rose early.

Worked until 11 A.M.

Then went with Mrs. B. & her sister & Mr. Baker to Col. Home, Georgetown.

Long walk from cars.

Went to 4th Auditor's office for Mrs. Peters. ____

Since 2 P.M. have helped Martha. No trunks packed yet.

Letter from Richmond. Mrs. Wells been ill. Things go on very well.

Wednesday, July 19, 1865

Hot, sultry.

Made preparations to leave, packed trunk, &c. &c.

In P.M. went with B. Tabor to see Gen. Howard.

In evening long call from Sergt. Stannan.

Very tired tonight.

Thursday, July 20, 1865²³⁷

Hot. Bright.

Arranged things to leave.

Went to 6th St. & Av., bought tickets from B. to R. \$11.45.

Engaged Express wagon.

Called at Mr. Baker's office for umbrella.

Finished packing, took dinner at Miss Flagler's.

I started at 5 ½ P.M. for Depot, left W. at 7.

Cars not crowded. Very comfortable. An hour at Baltimore. Left at 10 P.M.

Friday, July 21, 1865

Cloudy, warm.

Very little sleep last night. Feel tired & wretched today. Reached Elmira at 12. F. had headache, got cup of tea. Felt better but she is nearly sick.

Country looks beautiful. Crops fine.

Elegant car from Elmira, reached Avon at 6. _____

I called at Mr. Winans and rode home with Ezra & Emmaline. F. came in express with baggage. ___ Found father & wife well. Things look as usual. Tired enough.

Saturday, July 22, 1865

Perfect day.

Unpacked trunks.

Some of our China broken. Too bad! Put away & arranged things. _____

My room precisely as I left it nearly a year ago. _____

All the house is in good order.

So quiet here! So unlike the room and torment of W. And yet I am not anticipating much pleasure.

I ought to appreciate my home. For what would I do without a home?

Sunday, July 23, 1865

²³⁷ July 20, 1865, Washington, D.C., is the date/place of JW's submission to the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society (pp. 5-26): "I had thought it would be an easy matter to give a report for the year just past, but the moment I look back, I have before me such a multiplicity of strange events, all more or less connected with the subject which has engrossed my time and labors, that I am bewildered with the recollection." She described Alexandria, Washington, and Richmond, quoting at length a "statement of grievances" to the President prepared by a Freedmen delegation.

Perfect day.

Do not feel rested yet. Slept a while after breakfast. Cleaned myself & felt better.

Father & wife have been to meeting, Frances is not well. We have done but little today.

Cousin Jephtha called.

Very quiet here.

Monday, July 24, 1865

Fine. Cool.

Rose early.

Washed & did other chores.

Wrote 5 letters.

Frances and I called at Mr. Thomas Wiand's and Mr. Henry Wiand's.

No news.

Tuesday, July 25, 1865

Windy.

Ironed & wrote Report. _____

Dea. Watson & wife called.

Mrs. Perry & daughter called.

Wednesday, July 26, 1865

Windy.

Wrote Report.

Cousin Elisabeth from Dutchess Co. came about 1 P.M. _____

Rev. Mr. Lusk called. Looked over curiosities, &c.

Letter from Dr. J.E. Rhoades

Thursday, July 27, 1865

Hot. Cloudy.

This A.M. Frances & Cousin Elisabeth & myself went to Uncle Ephraim's & took dinner.

Then went to Uncle Jephtha's to tea.

Left cousin E. at Leland's.

Country looks so pleasant now. Such a contrast to Virginia, the old God-forsaken state.

Friday, July 28, 1865

Warm.

Finished my Report to Society. Wrote to Dr. R.

Cousin Elisabeth left this morning. Mary L. called & Adelbert also.

This P.M. Aunt Harriet & cousin Harriet & Mrs. Wiand have been here. Good visit with them.

Rains tonight.

Saturday, July 29, 1865

Warm.

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1865

Frances went to Rochester this morning.
I have labeled relics & put away various things.
This P.M. Jane Watson called, also Mrs. Perry.
Lovely here now.
F. is gone.

Sunday, July 30, 1865

Cooler. Bright.

Went to Bap. Church this A.M. Heard Rev. Lusk. Small audience. Many faces looked quite familiar.

Don't think I received much benefit.

Monday, July 31, 1865

Cool. Bright.

Rose early.

Cleaned my shooting irons & other relics.

Helped wash.

Swept & regulated things.

Called on Mrs. Perry.

Tired tonight.

Tuesday, August 1, 1865

Fine. Cool.

Ironed & did various things about house. Intend to go to Somerset tomorrow, to Rochester first of course.

It looks like a task.

Father is quite unwell.

Ann Whitmore called.

Wednesday, August 2, 1865

Cloudy. Warm.

Went in stage to W. Avon.

Called at Mr. Winans.

Reached Rochester at noon. All well. Dined at Charlotte's.

Went to see Mrs. Marsh.

[Transcriber's Note: Written along right margin] Gone to Mich.

Went to see Miss Porter, took tea with her.

In evening called on Mrs. Coleman.

Rochester looks shabby.

I miss the tall, old trees & antique houses of the Southern cities & more than all I miss the black faces of men, women & children in the streets.

Thursday, August 3, 1865

Very hot. Bright.

Staid at C's last night.

Bought some books for Inez & Susie. I left in 11 A.M. train, dusty, uncomfortable ride. Reached L. at 1, went to American & rested & at 4 went in Nye's Express to Morgan's. Unpleasant ride, sun, wind & dust; & so hot! Long day. Grass & trees look as if they were burnt. Tired enough tonight. Morgan & E. have been to L. & got home at 8.

Friday, August 4, 1865

Cool. Cloudy. Slight rain in P.M. _____

I have spent day in sewing & visiting.

Towards night with Morgan & E. went to Mar.[?] Badgley's. Saw R. Story & wife from Dutchess.

Too much like doing nothing for me.

I could not be contented here very long. No news. No excitement. A humdrum life, death, monotonous. Even the "Blue Ontario" has lost its charm.

Saturday, August 5, 1865

Cool breeze from Lake. Cloudy P.M.

I have sewed all day & so not feel very well. I need exercise.

It's very dull here. Alfred called & grandmother came.

Sunday, August 6, 1865

Somerset N.Y.

Rainy. At Morgan's.

Did not go to church.

Read Cecil Dreeme by Theo. Winthrop.

Towards night went to Alfred's with Morgan.

Angelina looks lonely.

Somerset life would not satisfy me.

Wrote to Miss Evans & Miss Moore.

Monday, August 7, 1865

Cloudy. Windy. Sunny, Hot. Cool, &c.

Sewed all day.

In the P.M. R. Story & wife & daughter, Mrs. Badgley came.

Received some calls in the evening.

Nothing quite satisfactory.

Tuesday, August 8, 1865

Somerset N.Y.

My Birth Day. But what of it? It has been like many other days lately. Bright & cool & warm & cloudy.

I am either 50 or 51, nobody really knows which, & it makes no difference perhaps. Nobody cares for my birthday. Neither do I particularly.

This P.M. have been Marshall Badgley's. Good visit enough.

Sewed nearly all day.

Wednesday, August 9, 1865

Very fine.

Sewed in A.M.

In P.M. went with Alfred & Anna to Picnic near the Lake. All the town was there.

Returned soldiers were to be welcomed. Children to be organized[?]. D[?] were to ventilate their patriotism & Lawyers to make speeches & oceans of good things to be devoured. All of which was accordingly done. A fine time of course. ____

On our return, we called at Morgan's.

Cool evening here.

Thursday, August 10, 1865

Rainy A.M. Fine P.M.

Sewed in A.M.

In P.M. went to Olcott to visit H. & Mary Mathews. Went with Angeline & Alfred & Elizabeth & Morgan & Julia & Frances.

After we came back, I called at John's.

Cool evening.

Friday, August 11, 1865

Somerset.

Cold. Cloudy.

Sewed in A.M.

In P.M. went with Alfred & Angeline to Daniel Wing's. I wore a cape a shawl & a cloak, also a crownless bonnet. I took cold in my head.

It seems a necessity to go through with this round of visiting. I hope the visited enjoy it more than I do.

I wish I could be interested in everybody, but I was not made to do so.

Saturday, August 12, 1865

Cool. Bright. Lake blue, see opposite shore plainly.

Marked linen this A.M.

Sewed rest of the day.

Julia Frances very ill this P.M. More like Cholera than bilious colic.

Dr. Houghtalin here.

Has practiced in Hampton Hospital.

Sunday, August 13, 1865

Somerset N.Y.

Perfect day.

Been in house all day. Dull enough. It seems as if I was wasting my time some how. I am of no use here & give no particular or pleasure to any one.

Julia Frances is better. Numerous calls today. Alfred & Angelina, &c.

Monday, August 14, 1865

Cool. Bright. At Morgan's.

Sewed nearly all day, for Elizabeth.

Julia Frances better.

Letter from Richmond. Colored people all sent from Alms House to Point of Rocks.

Soldiers and citizens use colored people badly.

Tuesday, August 15, 1865

Fine. Warmer.

In A.M. sewed for Elizabeth.

In P.M. went with Alfred & Angeline to James Patten's & came back to Alfred's.

Wednesday, August 16, 1865

Somerset.

Fine, beautiful sunset.

In A.M. sewed.

In P.M. went to Solomon's.

Alfred gone to Rochester.

Letter from Ella. All doing well.

Thursday, August 17, 1865

Cool. Bright.

At Alfred's.

Elizabeth spent day here. I have sewed for her. ____

I intend to leave tomorrow morning for home.

Friday, August 18, 1865

Hot. Dusty. Need rain.

Went to Lockport with Morgan & Elisabeth & Alice.

Dined at American, stopped at Holley on 2,48 train. Met Frances.

Went to Mr. Rice's. Mrs. Rice gone to R.

Everything is drying up, even the trees.

Mrs. Colman's mother, Mrs. Danforth was buried this P.M., she was 78. _____

An excellent woman.

Saturday, August 19, 1865

Very hot, dry, dusty.

Reached Rochester at 10 A.M. F. came at 2 P.M. Went back to Depot for Satchel.

Went into various stores. Cannot satisfy myself over assortment of goods.

Called at Charlotte's & at Mrs. Coleman's.

Walked to Henry B's. to stay all night.

Called at Miss Porter's.

Report not printed yet.

Sunday, August 20, 1865

Windy. Cloudy. Cooler.

Left Henry's at 3 P.M.

Called at C's.

Frances most tired out.

I went to John Rapalje's to stay all night. Good visit.

It seems pleasant to meet old friends again.

Monday, August 21, 1865

Cloudy. Sprinkled.

Made some purchases. Did a great deal of walking & am quite tired.

Went to Mr. Howell's to stay all night. Very pleasant visit.

It is 7 years today since Theodore died.

Charlotte has been to Mt. Hope ____ I could not very well go. ____

Tuesday, August 22, 1865

Comfortable day. Finished my shopping & was ready to go home, but Mr. Cornell came from Mendon & I went home with him to make Cousin Phebe a visit.

Rain enough in M, everything looks fine.

John Cornell & wife here this evening.

Wednesday, August 23, 1865

Fine. Cool.

Cleaned myself & feel refreshed.

Visited rest of day, Phebe has pleasant home.

At evening called at Solomon Howland's. Saw Margaret his wife, a beautiful woman. All these people are Friends & are interested in my work. _____

They gave me a most cordial welcome.

Thursday, August 24, 1865

Fine, cool enough to sit by fire.

This P.M. have visited at John Cornell's.

Several persons present, all interested for Freedmen & I have had a deal of talking to do.

I have enjoyed it very much because they have.

Friday, August 25, 1865

Fine, cool.

Mrs. Cornell & Phebe & John Cornell & Judith went to M. meeting in Wheatland & I rode with them to Scottsville Station & took the train for Avon & reached home at noon. Have had very good visit.

Find things at home about as usual.

Letters from Henrietta & Miss Graves & Dr. Rhoades & Mrs. Belding & Mr. Baker & Miss Moore.

Saturday, August 26, 1865

Fine, cool,

Did a few chores.

Made a bonnet of black lace, trimmed with yellow & black ribbon, 2 yellow roses & black lace inside.

Towards night called at T. Wiand's and Rush Chapel's.

Letter from Mary Van B. She has been ill.

Frances does not come as we expected.

Sunday, August 27, 1865

Fine. No rain yet.

Went to Baptist Ch. Heard a missionary to the boatmen on Gen. Valley Canal.

This P.M. went to Cousin Wm. James Harris's ___ good visit.

Eliza Stall & Inez walked home with me.

The "Missionary" stays here tonight.

Monday, August 28, 1865

Bright. Warm.

This A.M. washed, have done various chores.

Quite tired tonight, Aunt Caty. & Ezra called. —

Tuesday, August 29, 1865

Bright, no signs of rain.

Ironed & sewed.

Wednesday, August 30, 1865

Hot, dry.

Aunt Eliza came in morning & cousin Elisa & Peter came at noon. Took dinner with us. Tea also, very good visit with them. _____

Ann Whitmore came to sew in P.M.

Frances is coming tomorrow.

Read to father this evening.

Busy day, very tired tonight.

Thursday, August 31, 1865

Excessively hot. Bright.

Went to W. Avon for Frances. Came up with Picnic at 11. Called at Mr. Winans. Frances did washing, & at 6 P.M. I took her to W. Avon, she went on 7 P.M. train.

Ann W. sewed for me.

Read for father this evening. Busy day, very tired tonight.

So hot & no rain yet.

Friday, September 1, 1865

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1865

Very hot. Cloudy, about 2 P.M. had a nice shower.
Hope it will rain more, so much needed.
Ann W. finished sewing,
Read some this eve.
Letters from Miss Collier who has already returned to Alex^a, & from Cousin Kate M., Aunt
Phebe Swarthout is very feeble & Uncle C. is poorly. ____

Saturday, September 2, 1865

Very hot. No rain.
Did some housework & sewed rest of the day.
Finished black & white plaid dress & cape.
Read a little.

Sunday, September 3, 1865

Very hot.
Shower about 1 P.M.
Father & I did not go to church. ____
Father is quite feeble. I feel quite anxious about him.
I felt miserable this A.M. The heat prostrates one.
Wish cooler weather, hope to feel better. ____

Monday, September 4, 1865

Very hot. Slight shower towards night.
Washed this A.M. & this P.M. have labeled specimens, relics, &c.
Very tired tonight.

Tuesday, September 5, 1865

Very hot, cloudy.
Ironed all A.M. So tiresome! In P.M. labeled specimens & relics.
Letters from Elizabeth & Anna Barnes & Mrs. Jennings & S. J. W. Tabor.
Sister E. & M. start for west today, Anna B. is coming to Rochester. Mrs. Jennings has gone to
Richmond.
Fourth Aud.[?] says there is 60\$ due Mrs. Peters from her husband. Some trouble to get it.

Wednesday, September 6, 1865

Rain last night & this morning.
Very fine & pleasant day.

Have written 6 letters & as a consequence my arm & hand ache.
I cannot work lately without feeling bad effects from it.

Thursday, September 7, 1865

Very fine.

Mrs. Howe helped me about cleaning my room & various things, good day to work & feel satisfied with my day's work.

Am very tired tonight.

Letter from M. Hathaway.

It is so lovely here.

Friday September 8, 1865

Rain, cooler.

In A.M. did housework.

In P.M. arranged plants for several friends.

Letter from Harry, Mary Julia has a boy born last Friday. 1st inst. Name Theodore Harry²³⁸ & sends, by proxy, greetings to his Great grandfather, Stephen Wilbur, & to his Great Aunt Julia, do.

Saturday, September 9, 1865

Warm.

Thunder shower last night. Fine A.M.

Showery P.M. _____

Called at Mr. Cook's. Met Mrs. Bush of California. Left R. 12 yrs. ago. Pleasant call. Went & came in stage. _____

This P.M. visited at Henry Wiand's.

This eve, read for father.

Sunday, September 10, 1865

Cloudy, comfortable.

Went to church. Heard Henry Morehouse preach, very good discourse.

So hot can do nothing this P.M.

Cousin Jephtha called.

Monday, September 11, 1865

Heavy rain.

Washed & hung clothes, but tonight brought them in wet. Did various chores.

Intend to go to Rochester tomorrow.

It does seem so lonely here!

Letter from S.A. Ferris.

Tuesday September 12, 1865

Very hot. Bright.

²³⁸ In the 1870 census. Theo Millstead [sic], age 4, is listed as living in Rochester with grandparents Charlotte and Louis Griffin; the household also included at that time Frances Hartwell, JW's sister. In the 1880 census, T.H. Milstead, age 14, was also listed as living in Rochester with the Griffins, along with T.E. Wilbur, age 28, stepson (referred to as Neddy by JW in diary), and a servant Kate Lynch. In neither census was he reported living with his parents.

Left at 10. Called at Mr. Winans. Reached R. at 12. Called at C's.
Mary Julia has a nice baby named Theodore Harry.____
C. & Neddy left for N.Y. this evening.
I called at Miss Porter's and she went with me to E. Bell's to see Anna Barnes.____
Went to J. Rapalje's for the night.

Wednesday, September 13, 1865

Oh, so hot! Bright.
Called at Mr. Howell's. Called at No. 12 school saw Mr. Adams. Called at Dr. Kendrick's.
Called on Miss Walker. Took dinner at C.'s. Called on Marvin Green, once a scholar of mine,
now a Banker in Rochester
At 4 P.M., took train for Macedon.
Went to Peter Thurston's for the night. Good visit. Such a hot day, am quite tired.

Thursday, September 14, 1865

Awful hot all day.
Cousin Mary L. went with me to Lorenzo Hathaway's. Called at John Lapham's and saw Carrie
W. from Alex.____ Saw Eliza B. Willetts.
Visited all day at L.H's. Saw Joseph Macomber & wife, Joseph Hathaway & others. Talked a
great deal.
Suffered from heat, although the house is shady & pleasant.

Friday, September 15, 1865

Not quite so hot. L. Hathaway took me to Station Macedon.
I wd. like to have made a longer visit in Farmington.____
Took dinner at C's, called at John's & at Mr. Hobbie's.
Went to Mr. Angle's for the night, good visit. Company there. Mr. Stevenson & others.____

Saturday, September 16, 1865

Hot, bright.
Went to B. Wing's with Cousin Eliza, good visit with Aunt Elizabeth, she is very smart & well.
With Eliza, called at C. Bradstreet's, took tea there. ____
In evening at Benjamin's.____ Davis talks like a Copperhead, sorry he talks such a course.

Sunday, September 17, 1865

Sun, wind, dust, & heavy rain in the P.M.
Went to city with David. Heard Mr. Holland in Atheneum Library. Preaching sounded as of old.
I enjoyed it, subject, sleep.
Mr. H. has grown old, but he is earnest & fiery yet.____
He has got the Unitarians together & a church is being built.
Went to E. Bell's to see Anna Barnes.

Monday, September 18, 1865

Fine.

Went to Mr. Marsh's. Then to Miss Porter's. Met Mr. Holland there. Took dinner & finished my business with Miss P.____ Society will employ me a year if their funds hold out. Report is to be printed.

Called on Mrs. Curtis & on Amy Post. Went to Mr. Adams for the night, good visit.
Went with Mr. & Mrs. A. to concert in Washington Hall.

Tuesday, September 19, 1865

Fine.

Called at C's. She went out with me to select fur. I brought a collar & Muff. Mink furs for \$65

Called at Amy Post's & at E. Willis's.

Went to a Ladies Soc. & presented the cause of the Freedmen. I think they will help us.

In the evening Frances & I went to Mrs. Colman's, then to C's for the night.

Wednesday, September 20, 1865

Fine, lovely day.

Did last chores, took leave of friends, & left Rochester on 10,25 train.

Called at Mr. Winans. Saw Maj. Ira Winans.

Got home about noon. All well as usual.

I am very tired.

Mother went to Mrs. Dalley's. I have done chores, read for father & wrote 2 letters.

Hear that Freda is well.

Thursday, September 21, 1865

Very pleasant.

Did some housework, sewed a little. Read some.

Discouraged with Pres. Johnson. We are sold surely!

We are Tylerized!

Freedmen's affairs look discouraging.

Friday, September 22, 1865

Pleasant.____

Did housework, &c.

In P.M. had visit from Mrs. Winans & Mary & Anna.

In evening the Misses Watson's called.

Saturday, September 23, 1865

Fine, warmer.

Did housework & arranged plants, nearly finished them.

Cousin Emaline called.

Father & Mother have gone to Mt. Morris & I have been alone nearly all day. Nellie Perry called.

Frances came about 8. Mr. Winans brought her from Avon.

Sunday, September 24, 1865

Fine morning. Showers in P.M.

Did not go out. Did various things.

Frances wrote & regulated her things.

This evening we called at Mr. Wiand's.

It seems so lonely here.

Monday, September 25, 1865

Very fine, perfect day.

Frances & I left at 10 & rode to the old place. Quite changed there. Called at Mr. Dailey's. Took dinner at Harvey Bigelow's. Heard from Freda. She is well but I am not satisfied with what I hear of her.

Frances left in stage at 5 P.M.— Father & Mother came about 7 ½ P.M. Father quite unwell.

Letters from Mrs. Jennings & Miss Collier.

Tuesday, September 26, 1865

Perfect day & a busy one for me.

Father was very sick all night. I went for Dr. Jenks & he is more comfortable today. He is very feeble.

I have washed & ironed & done various chores besides. Am very tired tonight.

Aunt Eliza & Uncle Jephtha & Aunt Caty[?] have called.

Wednesday, September 27, 1865

Very fine.

Father is gaining.

I have been looking over things, unpacking & repacking chests[?] &c.

I have sewed a little & read paper to father.

It does not seem now as if should get ready to go next week.

Indeed, I shall not leave until father is much better than he is now.

Thursday, September 28, 1865

Perfect weather.

Father is improving.

I have been to Mr. Winans nearly all day & had pleasant visit.

Mrs. Winans went with me to the burying ground. Our lot looks neglected. There are weeds & stickers & my mothers broken headstone. I think none of our family have visited it since Frances & I were there last fall nearly a year ago.

I met Revilo, but he wd. not speak to me.

Friday, September 29, 1865

Very fine. Warm.

Father better, harnessed the horse for me. Dr. Jenks here, looked over specimens.

I called at Uncle J's. Went to Uncle E's & spent P.M. Good visit.

Nearly every body gone to County Fair.
Letters from Sister Mary and Miss Moore. Mary is not well.
Folks at 207 I st. quite unsettled. Things changing.

Saturday, September 30, 1865

Cloudy, slight rain, cooler.

Did various chores, sewed a little.

Called to see Nellie Perry.

About 8 P.M. Frances & Charlotte came. They walked up from West Avon, all well.

Frances has given up going to Washington for the present.

Letters from Mrs. Newton hoping she will come back. She feels disappointed.

Sunday, October 1, 1865

Fine till 11 A.M. cool, windy.

F. & I went to take C. to the Cars.

We went to the burying ground & remained there awhile. I just called at Mr. Winans, then went to Depot till cars left.

This P.M. wrote & done various things.

We expected Angeline & Elizabeth yesterday but they did not come.

Father is quite well.

Monday, October 2, 1865

Cloudy.

Washed & ironed & did other work besides.

Am very tired tonight.

Frances left at 5 P.M. She feels badly that she cannot go with me to W. & so do I.

Tuesday, October 3, 1865

Cold. Cloudy.

Did various chores.

This P.M. Mr. and Mrs. Dailey and Euphemia & Mattie have visited here, & also Mrs. Webster.

I have letter from Angeline. She is not coming at present. I am greatly disappointed. Somehow I feel badly about leaving home.

Great deal of sickness in Somerset.

Wednesday, October 4, 1865

Rainy.

I have spent most of the day getting things ready to pack tomorrow.

Mrs. Winans called with a large bundle for Freedmen.

I called at Mrs. Perry's & have read some this evening.—

I have written to Mary & Wm. Penn.

Thursday, October 5, 1865

Cloudy. Cool.

Very busy day for me. I have packed trunks & put things in shape to leave & done many, many chores.

I am tired tonight.

Frances has sent my Reports, &c. & now I am about ready.

It seems quite an undertaking; although I am used to the route.

Many changes may occur before I return to my home again. But I will hope for the best. _____

Friday, October 6, 1865

Fine day.

Left home at 10 in stage. Father & Mother looked so lonely when I left! At Avon met Miss Porter.

Agnes Jones, colored is to go with me. Left Avon at 11:45. At Elmira 4½. Objections to Agnes riding in the same car with me. Saw Geo. Goines & a Soldier who served under Napoleon.—Filthy Depot.

Went to Hotel for a cup of tea. —Left at 5 ½ P.M.

Quite cool. But few in car.

Saturday, October 7, 1865

Very fine. Glorious morning. Uncomfortable night. No fire in car & we nearly froze, so cold we were sick. Very severe frost. Like light snow. —Lunch at 6. Agnes not well.

Country looks beautiful.

Baltimore at 7 ½ A.M. Elegant, new Depot. Took a cup of tea in Parisian Dining room.

___ Reached W. at 10 1/2. Dust awful. Found[?] all right at 207 I st.—Walked with Agnes till I was tired out. My room awful dirty. Martha cleaned it little.

Sunday, October 8, 1865

Fine, hot.

Swept & dusted & mopped yesterday & swept & dusted & mopped today. Unpacked trunks & worked hard till 2 ½ P.M.

Then went to S. School on 23rd St. —So tired! But I must write this evening.

I have agreed to take the sewing school. I wish Frances was here to attend to it.

Shall sleep at 207 I St. at present. Close quarters, must occupy room with another. Oh, the dust, & the vile smells!

Monday, October 9, 1865

Cloudless, dusty, hot, wind.

One of the most disagreeable days I ever saw.

Went out at 10 & got back at 2. Called at Dr. Breed's & Mr. Lake's & at Mr. Baker's Office.

Saw Mrs. Belden who has just got back to W.—Walked till I was nearly tired out & then I rode.

Dust shoe deep & Oh! so hot!

Cleaned my room to keep out dust & it is like an oven. I do not see how people live here.

Fixed Reports to send off.

Tuesday, October 10, 1865

Very hot, not a cloud.

Dust is awful.

Went to White House, in the E. Room, and Conservatory. 1st U.S.C. Regt. passed in review. Pres. Johnson came out and made a speech. Great crowd. Colored element delighted & white affected variously. I went to Campbell Hos. where the regt. is quartered & a banquet was prepared for them, great crowd there, enjoyed themselves exceedingly. Sojourner Truth in costume. Red, white & blue.

141 in hospital. (sick)

Wednesday, October 11, 1865

Not quite so hot. A few clouds.

Went on 8 A.M. boat to Alex^a. An entire turnover. All been ejected from Cor. Washington & Wolfe. Some have quarters at L'O, but have orders to leave there. Houses all being given up to former owners. Rebs. in the ascendant. Lunched with Miss Collier & heard lots of news.

Called on Mrs. Leftwite [?] & Robinson's School & Grantville School & Aunt Cicely & Fishes & Dr. Heard at Hospital.

60 patients, not well provided for. Must try to do something for them.

Thursday, October 12, 1865

Wind & dust. Bad day.

At 10 ½ A.M. called for Mrs. Belden & went to Capitol to attend trial of Wirz²³⁹. Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace presides. Col. Chipman Judge Ad & Maj. Hosmer asst. — Seemed to take it easy. Wirz lay on a sofa guarded by 2 soldiers, a hard looking man. — Witness for defense, R. Kellogg, Maj. French, Dr. Roy, Dr. Bates, Maj. Proctor & Armstrong.

Nearly all Southerners. Proceedings interesting. Mean to go again.

This evening prepared work for Sewing School.

Friday, October 13, 1865

Cloudy. So cool we have fire to sit by.

Overhauled every thing in Clothing room & took inventory of things. Tired of dust. — Have cold. Went to Georgetown & saw Misses Chamberlin, Camon[?] & Kelley at their school. Since then fixed work for Sewing School.

This evening Mr. Baker & Mrs. Belden called. Tomorrow is the last day of defense. I mean to go. Then they adjourn 2 wks. to prepare arguments.

Saturday, October 14, 1865

Rainy. Very welcome.

Called for Mrs. Belden about 11 and went to Wirz trial.

Heard Mr. Boate examined by Mr. B. & cross ex. by Chipman. Exciting scene. Judge advocate & Mr. Baker gave each other the lie [?]. Pres. Gen. Wallace, very overbearing, threatened to expel Mr. B. — Courtroom cleared 3 times. Would not give Mr. B. 2 wks. to prepare his argument

²³⁹ The commander of Andersonville prison, "the only Confederate soldier charged with war crimes during the Civil War." (http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/Wirz_trial.html)

& he gave up the case. Chipman to take both sides, adjourned till Oct. Of course Wirz will be convicted.

Since I returned did various chores.

Sunday, October 15, 1865

Rainy. Cool.

Have not been out. Regulated all my trunks & various other things.

Got 30 Reports ready to send away.

Wrote 2 letters.

And now another week has gone. I do not feel settled, for it is not certain that I remain at 207 I street.

Monday, October 16, 1865

Bright. Cold.

This A.M. did various things. This P.M. called on 4th and at Treasury & on Mr. Berry & on Mrs. Belden who went out with me.

Heard letters from Niagara women to Wirz & his wife & Mr. Baker & Judge ad. (real rebel letters.)—Letter from Frances, Father is quite well.____

Letter from Mr. Marshall written July 16 to inform me of my friend, Mrs. Marshall's death on the 17th of June. I was shocked by not surprised for her health had been feeble so long. Not lost, but gone before.²⁴⁰

Tuesday, October 17, 1865

Bright cool.

Called on Dr. Reyburn of Freedmen's Bureau, in relation to L'Ouverture.

Arranged S. School matters. Saw my first school this P.M. 47 scholars. 5 teachers besides myself very pleasant. Those girls have improved in every way since last spring.____

This evening wrote as usual.

Wednesday, October 18, 1865

Cloudy, rainy evening.

Went to Capitol with Mrs. Belden. Mr. Hays read the defense of Wirz, revised & approved by himself & then the Court adjourned till Friday when the Judge ad. will give his argument and close the case.

Mrs. B & I went to Ford Theatre & obtained a piece of the President's Box.____

Since then prepared work for Sewing School.

This evening wrote & read.

Heard from home.

Thursday, October 19, 1865

Cloudy. Sun eclipsed.

²⁴⁰ From a poem by Caroline Norton, 1808-1877

Mr. Redpath called, went with him to Miss Ford's & Miss Grove's school. Then to the Boston school, cor. 19 and I. All appeared well.

Then went to cor. M & 14th to the establishment of the N.Y. assn. 4 or 5 long school rooms, the scholars appeared very well. Went to the Industrial school & to see Capt. Spurgin.²⁴¹ —Called at Mrs. Breed's & Mr. Buckingham's.

Bought gaiters[?]. Letters from Elizabeth & C. Post.

Friday, October 20, 1865

Bright, high wind, dust.

Went with women to their abode on L. St, just come to W. very destitute. Had a few things for them.

Sewing School this P.M. Went off very nicely. Fixed work.

This evening went to Soldiers meeting at National League Rooms. Speakers were Sen. Lane, Col. Baird, Maj. Blackman and others. ___ All disapproved Andy Johnson's mode of reconstruction & his pardoning so many traitors. Good meeting for Washington.

Saturday, October 21, 1865

Bright, windy.

Dr. Rhoads called this morning. Glad to have me stay until F. comes. ___ At 9 called for Mrs. Belden, but she didn't go with me to the Capitol. I heard Judge Advocate close of his argument & then the courtroom cleared.

Misses Ford and Lavere went with me to Congressional Burying ground. Interesting spot. Spent 2 hours there. Went to Poor House; also a prison. Long walk back to car. Long ride to 207 I.

Tired & hungry. Put up mementoes gathered there.

Sunday, October 22, 1865

Perfect day.

Went with Miss Ford & Miss Lavere to church & heard Mr. Shipperd[?] of Chicago. Not deeply interested, fault in myself probably.

Called at Mr. Lake's, they were absent. Rode back.

In P.M. wrote to Frances. In evening went with Lavere to Seaton Hall to hear Mr. Whiting on Spiritualism. He improvised a poem and sung two original songs. ___

I was somewhat interested, but slept through part of it.

Monday, October 23, 1865

Perfect day. Warm.

Called at Mrs. Wormley's, Mrs. Brown's, Mrs. Garnett's on account of woman for Matron.

Went to Industrial School.

Then called on 11 families mostly on 21st street.

²⁴¹ W.F. Spurgin is listed as local superintendent, July 1865-October 1866 for Washington and Georgetown subordinate field offices in 2002 Archives document "M1902: Records of the Field Offices for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870" (<http://www.archives.gov/research/microfilm/m1902.pdf>)

Not many sick, only one house owner. Difficult to get work. New people coming in all the while, what will the poor things do? I am afraid they have not seen the worst yet, for winter is coming. Received a good, kind letter from Judge Underwood.

Tuesday, October 24, 1865

Bright. Cool.

Called on Col. Eaton. Can give me no quarters.

Visited 12 families. Some very destitute, sick. No fire. What will the poor things do!

Sewing School this P.M.

Rev. J. E. Vassar called, just from Fredericksburg, great suffering there. Wishes me to go there, may do so.

Mrs. Earle called, very glad to see her.

Mrs. Chus[?] & Miss Cryer called. Offers herself as matron in L.O. Hospital.

Wrote 3 letters this evening.

Wednesday, October 25, 1865

Very fine.

With Mrs. Garnett & Miss Cryer, I went to Alex^a. on 12 o'clock boat. _____

Called on Mrs. Fish & Mrs. Leonard & Mrs. Mitchell. Visited Hospital.

Disappointed in not seeing Dr. Heard & Miss Collier.

Things in an unsettled state in Alex^a. _____

Returned in 4 P.M. boat. This morning called on Mrs. Earl at Willard's.

Not quite satisfied with my day's work.

Thursday, October 26, 1865

Very fine, warm.

Visited 12 families. Some of them comfortable & others very destitute. Great want of employment. _____

With Miss Moore went to New Eng. Home. Going on finely. Have good accommodations.

Saw Mr. ^a Mrs. Earle. Went way down the Avenue for Miss Kelly.

Came back very tired. This eve. Have been to see Misses Chamberlins.

Busy day. Barrel from Worcester.

Friday, October 27, 1865

Cloudy, warm.

Waited on several people, unpacked barrel. Nice things. Went to foot of 19th to see sick woman & babies. _____

Sewing School this P.M., very pleasant school.

Called on Mrs. Holy. Saw the Tunissans[?] as they rode by.-----

Mr. Vassar called, insists upon my going to Fredericksburg.

Letter from Mrs. Jennings. She is doing well in Richmond. Has flourishing School.

Saturday, October 28, 1865

Fine day, warm, rain last night, no dust now.
In A.M. made bedtick & worked in kitchen with Martha.
In P.M. called on Dr. Reyburn & talked over various things.
Made some purchases. Went home with Martha. She lives in a miserable place. Rent \$6.
Visited 3 families.
Letters from Mrs. Booth. Will send box from Po^{keep}sie. Read W. Phillip's Lecture "South Victorious." Capital.

Sunday, October 29, 1865

Bright, cool, windy.

Went to Church of Epiphany. Heard Dr. Hall, fine church, elegant people. Not much edified. Light so dim & religious that the reading was done by the aid of gas; perhaps this accounts for my nodding.

This P.M. arranged plants from Congressional Cemetery.

This evening went to Seaton Hall. Heard Mr. Whiting & was not much unified by this inspirational medium. I was hardly interested because I am so stupid, I suppose.

Monday, October 30, 1865

Very fine.

Did a large share of my 3 wks. washing. Worked in kitchen with Martha who is so slow & slack.

Waited on several people. Miss Crier called. _____

Went with Martha to engage a room, Rent \$5,50 on 3^d floor. —

Went to Bureau with 2 women whose children are withheld from them by their former owner near Dumfries.

Ironed part of my washing & am very tired to-night.

Tuesday, October 31, 1865

Rained nearly all day.

This A.M. prepared work for S. School.

This P.M. Sewing School.

Dr. Breed called.

Letter from Mrs. Wells, Richmond. She thinks the colored people are getting along very well.

Papers from Mrs. Jennings. —

Funeral obsequies of Col. Ulric Dahlgren. Oration by H.W. Beecher.

I could not go on account of S. School.

November 1, 1865

Very fine.

Called at Mrs. Brown's, Mrs. Breed's, Mrs. Garnett's, Mrs. Day's, "News Boys' House"²⁴², Mr. McClellan's & on Mrs. Belden, who went with me to Smithsonian Institute. Obtained some relics.

²⁴² A "Home for destitute Newsboys," similar to one that had opened in the 1850s in New York, was approved by Congress on March 3, on the site of "Judiciary, or Armory Square," as cited in Glover Park History: Industrial
270 1865

Came home & then went to 227 to see Mr. Shiperd. Then to see man who had both feet cut off for running away. Then to a family who were slaves of Mrs. Pres. Madison.

Letter from Cousin Phebe. Will be here last of this week.

Miss Collier here tonight. Good visit with her.

Thursday, November 2, 1865.

Rainy.

Worked in house most of the day.—

This morning saw Gen. Grant riding alone in an open buggy in the rain without an umbrella, & smoking away for dear life, but looking as quiet & calm as if the most humble person in the city.

No other [?].

Letter from Mrs. McKim thanking me for my Report.

Letter from Capt. Donovan; 10th, Va Dist. about people in Fredericksburg, saying 'Come.'

Letter from Nellie Perry, well at home.

Friday, November 3, 1865.

Cloudy.

Did various things, then went to Depot to meet Cousin P. Cornell & husband & John C. but did not meet them. Came on an earlier train & found them here when I got back. After lunch I went with them to White House & to the Capitol. Repairs going on. Came back tired.

They have gone to Willards & I intend to go out with them tomorrow.

Miss A. Ford very kindly attending to my S. School.

Saturday, November 4, 1865.

Rain all day.

At 9 A.M., went to Willard's and about 11 with cousin Phebe went to Patent Office and spent about 2 hours.

Dined at Willard's.

Conversation with a mysterious lady and gentleman. Southerners I think, gave my opinions freely about Freedman's affairs.

About 4 came back to 207 I.

Wrote this evening one month from home.

Sunday, November 5, 1865.

Cloudy, high wind, cold.

Phebe, William and John came & I went with them to Friend's Meeting on I st.

Hicksite, of course.

Stilliman Powell, Perry John & E. Willis spoke. P. John spoke at length. Very good meeting.

Phebe & husband & John have gone. Sorry they cd. not stay a few days longer.

Pleasant call from Mr. & Mrs. Belden & Mr. Baker.

This evening went to hear Cora L.V. Scott, spiritualist. Very interesting speaker. Large audience.

Monday, November 6, 1865.

Cold, bright.

Visited 14 families on 18th street. Most of them comparatively comfortable to what they were last winter.

Waited on several persons. Had some clothing for them. Several just come from country.

Attended to cleaning yard.

Went to see Dr. Reyburn. Says the old and helpless must go to Freedman's Village. Only give rations to sick.

Very busy day.

Letter from Aunt Mary & \$10. Letter from Miss Collier.

Tired tonight.—

Tuesday, November 7, 1865.

Cold, raw, bright.

Went with E. Brown to see Mrs. Keckley²⁴³ to get place for her. Then went to Capitol with Mrs. Belden and Miss Bassett. Obtained pieces of the new carpets of the House of Senate chamber. Had sewing school this p.m. ---Then went to find place for E. Brown to stop.

Then went to N. Eng. Home. Coming away I met Mrs. Earle. Got back cold, tired and hungry. So the day goes. Must write to Frances this evening.

Wednesday, November 8, 1865.

Very fine.

Before breakfast went to see sick woman.

At 10 went with Mrs Hill to Alex^a. Saw Dr. Heard. Mrs. Hill will be matron if they will pay her \$12. Dined with Mrs. Fish. Did not see Miss Collier. Called at Mrs. Seaton's and on Virginia Lawton & at Miss Dogan's, &c.

Saw many people that I know, bought pictures for Aunt Eliza.

Left on 5p.m. boat. Wirz is to be busy on Friday.

Thursday, November 9, 1865.

Very fine, warm.

Went to Dr. Reyburn to see about Mrs. Hill.

Mrs. Earle called.

Went to Mrs. Thomas to see about Elizabeth Brown. Can find no place for her yet.

Called at Dr. Breeds. Visited 10 families at foot of 19th. St. Many have chills and fever. Came back tired out & sick of filth and bad smells.

Various people have called, old men, &c.

Friday, November 10, 1865.

Fine, cooler.

²⁴³ Possibly Elizabeth Keckly, Mary Todd Lincoln's former seamstress and confidante, who was active in Freedmen's aid.

Cleaned my rooms. Then went with Elizabeth Brown (Boston) to Capt. Spencer[?] to get a situation.

Then to Mrs. Barnard of the Industrial School who carries on dressmaking. She will employ Elizabeth & I think E. will do well. Glad she has got so good a place.

Sewing School this p.m. – a hard busy day, & I am tired again tonight.—
Letter from Frances.

Saturday, November 11, 1865.

Very fine, cool.

Fixed my lace bonnet. Then went to Soldiers Free Library to meeting of teachers and others who are laboring for the Freedmen. About 100 persons in all. Addressed by Gen^l. Eaton & Mr. Kimball of the Bureau & others.

Very pleasant.

Called at Mrs. B's office, saw Mr. and Mrs. Belden. Heard particulars of Wirz execution. Mrs. Baker gave me note from Wirz, a lock of hair, piece of gallows. Horrid.

Sunday, November 12, 1865.

Very fine, cool. Frost last night, froze in the kitchen. –

This a.m. went to hear Cora L.V. Scott, Her utterances were exceedingly beautiful but nothing but what a mortal might utter. No one could hear her without feeling a new impulse to do right. A nice time this P.M. & evening to write.

Monday, November 13, 1865.

Fine, warm.

Went out at 10 & visited 16 families on 21 & 22^d sts, near river. Some quite comfortable. Some wanting work. Many have chills. Some tidy places.

Called on Mrs. Holy. Came back heated, tired, hungry & headachy.

Sewed till dinner. With Louise called at Miss Thomas. –

Came back, Mrs. Hill called. Is not going to Alex^a. Dr. Heard has not treated her well. I am so vexed.

Tuesday, November 14, 1865.

Very fine, warm.

Waited on several people. Fixed work for S. School. Mrs Earle called.

Mrs. Cooper & boy called.

I called on Gen. Eaton. Bureau has clothing, I shall probably get some for F.burg.

Sewing school this p.m. Very busy day.

In evening went to Freedmens's relief meeting. Union of societies proposed. Rev Shiperd addressed meeting. Very good ideas of things. – not much else done.

Wednesday, November 15, 1865.

Fine, warm, dusty.

Visited 19 families on 21st & bet. 21st & 22^d. Several free families who live very nice.

Came back tired and with headache.

Paid at rate of \$6,40 for wood and \$7 a cord for sawing and splitting. Outrageous but I must submit.

Fixed up things in clothing room.

After dinner went to Mrs. Swisshelm's. Pleasant call. Saw Mr. and Mrs. Hold, Miss Hall.

Letter from Aunt Mary & Miss Booth – the young woman on cor, intoxicated.

Thursday, November 16, 1865.

Very fine, quite warm.

Started at 8 ½ a.m. & visited 16 families.

Went to see Mrs. Barnard, Boston girl has left her, I fear she will not do well.

Transcriber's Note: Blot over word] Miss Carter, Dr. Abbott, and called at Miss Stewart's Infant school & Mrs. Thomas's. Went to see Dr. Reyburn & told him how Dr. Heard had treated Mrs. Hill and myself.

In evening with Miss Levere[?] went to meeting of Assⁿ at Post O. Hardly paid for the trouble & expense. Ladies do not seem competent for the task[?].

Friday, November 17, 1865.

Foggy morning, fine day, warm as summer.

Visited 11 families S. of Avenue, near Observatory. Walked in Obs^y grounds. –

Went to a most filthy locality. Horrid smells, made me sick. —

Sewing school this p.m. Hard day's work.

Weather anything but invigorating.

Went to U. Church. Heard Michael Hahn, ex Gov. of La on matters pertaining to South. He says slavery is not abolished in Miss. & Louisiana.

Saturday, November 18, 1865.

Very fine.

Rose early. Went on 9 a.m. boat to Alex^a. –

Called on Mrs. Heard. Dined with her and Dr. Told him how Mrs. Hill felt & gave him to understand how I feel about Mrs. Hill's case.

Called on Miss Collier & Mrs. Fish, & went through wards. Mrs. Heard & Dora went with me to Museum. Spent an hour or so, unrolled the old flags & examined dust covered relics until I was satisfied. Obtained a few.

Sunday, November 19, 1865.

Fine day, cloudy morn.

Went to hear Cora L.V. Scott, subject of discussion 'Atmospheres'. Very good. She is a beautiful speaker, but I doubt whether I have been much benefited.

This p.m. wrote letter & did various things.

Letter from Frances. She intends to be home this week.

Letter from Vassar. Hursey[?] for me to come to Fredericksburg but I cannot go till F. comes and I can get some more goods.

Monday, November 20, 1865.

Cloudy, cooler.

Started 8 ½ o'clock & visited 20 families. Found a slave of Geo. W. Parke Custis, and then of Gen. Lee. Ephraim Derricks is his name. He lives at Arlington in winter. I finished S. of Avenue today (visited in all 120 families) by visiting house on cor, 27th and K, the house where Washington stopped the last time he visited Washington. It is tenantless now.

I was afraid to go all over it for I was alone, & I fear some door might close behind me which I cd. not open again.

Tuesday, November 21, 1865.

Rainy day.

This a.m. did various things.

This p.m. had sewing school. I like to attend to this school, it is interesting. A box of materials came today.

At 4 ½ P.M. went to Ch. Of Epiphany to see Miss England married to Mr. Bonsall. She is one of the Penn, Assoⁿ teachers.

A busy day & I am tired tonight.

Letter from Miss Evans, she will come to W.—

Wednesday, November 22, 1865.

Cloudy, cooler.

Waited on a few people, sewed all day in my room. —

No particular news & nothing of particular interest today.

I wish Frances would come. I ought to go to Fredericksburg now if I go at all.—

Thursday, November 23, 1865.

Cloudy, raw.

Worked in house until eleven. Then called on about 3⁰ families on 17th & bet. 17th & 18th on E St. Found a great deal of filth & destruction, & saw more idle people than I have seen formerly. These families live in a house once owned by John L. Adams, Pres.

Visited Julia Ann Check one of G.W. Parke Custis slaves. She was sent to Richmond by Lee & hired out there. Made her escape 2 yrs. ago with difficulty. Washes for living, smart, simple woman.

Friday, November 24, 1865.

Bright cool.

Spent A.M. mostly in fixing work.

This P.M. had sewing school.

Letter from Mrs. Coleman. Box from Mrs. Booth.

Last evening Mrs. Belding called, & Miss Levere and I went to a meeting at Mrs. Bigelow's of Ladies League. Did not amount to much. Hope Frances will come tomorrow. Would like to hear from her.

Saturday, November 25, 1865.

Very fine.

Called on Mrs. Balding, then went to teachers' meeting & Soldiers Free library.
Looked into various places on Penn. Ave. Tired when I came back & have not done much since.

Frances has not come yet.

The household is having a spiritual séance in the room below me so I have been alone & quiet but I wish they wd. break up for it is bed time.

Sunday, November 26, 1865.

Cloudy morn, bright P.M.

Called for Mrs. Belding & we went to St. Aloysius Church (Catholic). Large & fine interior, services long & tiresome, such a mockery of worship! Such mummery! Such paganism! How can sensible people believe in such a religion?

Pleasant walk & rode too. Have not done much since.—

Wrote to Nellie Perry.

Monday, November 27, 1865.

Bright, high wind.

Helped Martha wash. Cleaned my room. Ironed & did various chores. Such a busy day. Calls of various kinds. Three new people from below Richmond, just found out they are free. Had nothing to bring with them. Need everything.

Letter from Frances, intends to start next Wednesday.

Tired enough tonight. —

Tuesday, November 28, 1865.

Fine.

Fixed my bonnet, fixed work for S. School. This p.m. attended Sewing School. Have had *[Transcriber's Note: ink stain covers numbers]* scholars, I like to teach this school.

This evening finished up work.

The Misses Chase Perkins called. Nice girls.

Wednesday, November 29, 1865.

Snowed all day but melted as fast as it fell. Streets all slush.

I have fixed work for S. School.

Wrote report of S. School. Wrote letters.

Letter from Angeline. Clothing will be sent from Somerset, I have asked them to send it to W. —
A cold disagreeable storm, how the poor must suffer in those miserable cabins!

Thursday, November 30, 1865.

Bright A.M. cloudy P.M., snow has all gone.

Went to Depot at 10 ½ a.m. Did not see F. get off the train, came back disappointed but found her here, bag & baggage. Left them well at home. Brought apples, pie, cakes, chicken, pickles. Had one good dinner!

Package from Rochester. Put away & regulated things.

This evening wrote letters.

Friday, December 1, 1865.

Fine, cool.

Made a few calls on the people.

Went to the Freedmen's Bureau. Had interview with Drs. Horner & Rayburn. I obtained clothing for Fredericksburg. Will be sent next week.

Frances and I called on Mrs. Belden. Then on Mayor Wallach at City Hall. Can do nothing outside of Poor House & that is "filled full".

Went to Teachers Meeting. Women will not take part. I am vexed with them, no wonder they are thought fools by the men.

Saturday, December 2, 1865.

Fine, comfortable.

With Frances & the Misses C's I went to the Navy yard to see the rebel ram Stonewall. Two cases of yellow fever & deaths last night. Visitors were not allowed to go on board today. A formidable looking craft.

Then we went to Insane Asylum. Interesting visit. Feel well paid for the effort we made to go there. — came back to N. Yd. & saw the Ordnance Museum. A cannon used by Cortez in conquest of Mexico cast in 1490.—

Saw Gen. Grant's two sons.

Sunday, December 3, 1865.

Fine, so warm we have had windows open all day.

Frances has been to see Miss Kelly. I have not been out & have not done much.

Can hardly realize that it is winter.

Intend to go to Capitol tomorrow.

Monday, December 4, 1865.

Fine, warm as summer.

At ½ past 10 Frances & I went to the Capitol & directly to the Gallery of the House, wh. was filled by 11 a.m. At 12 the clerk called the members to order & read the names of the members from the loyal states & Territories, then stopped. Brooks of N.Y. asked to have Tenn. called & La. & Va, & made an excited speech. — S. Colfax was elected speaker 125 votes & [?] 25. C. took the oath & then administered it to all the members. Other officers elected. Very, very tired tonight.

Tuesday, December 5, 1865.

Warm, cloudy.

Packed trunk & arranged things to leave.

Went to Capitol. In Senate a few minutes. Then in House a little while. Elected Chaplain, nothing interesting.

Walked back, did some chores.

Must get all ready to leave tonight, am to start at 6 in the morning for F. Wonder if I shall get up in time. Do not like to go off alone.

Wednesday, December 6, 1865.

Fine A.M. – misty.

Left Washington on 7 a.m. boat Key West. Good accommodations, polite officers.

Reached Aquia Creek at 10 ½ a.m. Wharves burnt. Traces of War all the way to F. Cars reached F. at 11 ½ . – I went to Miss Ferr[?], then to Colored School, old White school. Saw Capt. Bohonon,²⁴⁴ went with me to fine boarding place. Took a room at Mr. King's. – went to old warehouse where the sick are. Wretched state of things. Called on a few families. Man showed us house where Mary Washington lived & died. Mrs. Salisbury[?] called with me to see house.

Thursday, December 7, 1865.

Bright, cool. Thanksgiving.

Went to Bap. Ch. Few persons present. Mr. Williams southern discourse. Went to colored church.

Called to see a forlorn old women, turned off to die.

After dinner went with Capt. Bohonon & Lieut. Benson & 3 Ladies in ambulance over the river to the heights where Potomac Army lay in '62 & '63. When F. & I went there, a rough road, but it has become a grand ride of several miles. Called at Mrs. Princess.

Have had fine view of F. and the heights beyond, what a scene of ruin and desolation the city presents!

Friday, December 8, 1865.

Cold as winter, bright, ground froze. Went out at 10 with Mrs. Wright & Mrs. Downer[?] to see the old and sick. Found several destitute persons.

After dinner went out again with Mrs. Downer[?]. Called on a number of families, not as many people nor as much destitution as I expected. Visited some ruined houses. Got considerable information from Mrs. D. Herself & children slaves till Richmond went up. Visit to the warehouse. Dark, cold, smoky place.

Saturday, December 9, 1865.

Very cold. In P.M. snow.

Called on Mrs. Stratenbury. Met Mrs. Stockwell from R'd.

Boxes came from W. With Mr. [?] went to Maj. M's office. Have seen Capt. Granden, chief officer of Dist. Capt. [?] telegraphed him to come here. Been with him to the warehouse. They have tried to get another building. Not easy to be done. He sees it is a shame to have things so. – Opened one box & sent some blankets to Hos. to keep the poor things from perishing. Rains this evening.

Sunday, December 10, 1865.

Very bright, snow all gone.

²⁴⁴ Capt. D.W. Bohonon is listed as Superintendent in Fredericksburg, August-November 1865 in NARA Summary of M1913 (Records of the Field Offices for the State of Virginia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, a summary based on the 203 rolls of the M1913 microfilm collection. The summary lists other records of interest in the post-war period. Available at: <http://www.archives.gov/research/microfilm/m1913.pdf>

Went to Pres. Church [?] Then to the colored ch., 3 ministers there. Bad walking.
At 3 p.m. went to baptism at R.R. Bridge, 15 persons, colored of course, baptized in the Rappahannock. A large crowd of white and colored.
Twenty[?] boys amused themselves with monballing[?] people.
Every time a person was impressed there was a shout of laughter. When they dispersed there was & [?] people I have not seen before. —Well, well.

Monday, December 11, 1865.

Cloudy, warmer.

Wrote to sister Mary, then went to office, opened boxes & Mrs. Wright helped me. Gave out about 80 pieces.

Went to White Hospital to see rooms that we hope to get for the sick now at warehouse. Dr. Bates is willing, but Dr. Page said “ he’d have nothing to do with them”. He was uncivil & impolite. Then saw Gen. Harris, he says we can have the rooms & Dr. Page may himself leave before he knows it. Maj. Morse has many difficulties to contend with. – called on Mrs. Stoutenburg & went to warehouse.

Tuesday, December 12, 1865.

Rainy, a.m.

Wrote to Frances & father & Miss Jennings.

Went to the Hospital, could see no Doctors. Met Gen. Harris who went with us to Hospital. Says we must have accommodations there, I sent over blankets &c. & tomorrow the people must be moved.

I have been to Bap. Ch. this evening & heard Dr. Broadies[?], a shining southern light, rather tedious to me. Slim attendance.

Wednesday, December 13, 1865.

Cloudy, colder.

Been to office twice for clothing & to the Hospital nearly all day.

Fixed room well as we could, beds, &c.

Brought from warehouse 2 women, one man & one child. Made them all clean & they look comparatively comfortable now. Feel that I have accomplished considerable today.

Am tired tonight. Two bbls. have come from Richmond.

Thursday, December 14, 1865.

[Transcriber’s Note: Entry is very faint]

Bright, cold. Fred.burg

Went to office, gave out clothing to [?]. Went to Hospital twice & Warehouse, former like a [?] compared with latter place. Sick look really comfortable.

Called on Mrs. Stoutenburg & Mrs., Dr. Bates.

Called to see Mrs. Buck, a secesh of the first water, in a relation to an old woman once their slave. What people! Called on [?] & Evaline Dourier.

Busy day, tired out.

Friday, December 15, 1865.

Very cold, bright.

With Jane Wright I visited the battlefields & fortifications. She has always been here, saw the fighting, was an excellent guide. Went to the Ice House where so many bodies were thrown & where Marghem[?] was buried in a trench & to the 'Stonewall' behind wh. the rebels fought & to the heights where the batteries were placed. & to Mayre's house & to Mr. Brice's &c.— got back at 1 P.M.

After dinner went to monument of 'Mary Washington, a little out of town— tired enough tonight. Perhaps I walked too much. Very cold.

Saturday, December 16, 1865.

Awful cold last night, & today, bright. Went to Hos. twice, to warehouse twice. Went out towards Falmouth, called on poor white. Called twice at Mr. Jeffrey's. Mrs. Soutenburg and I called on several families & on white Mrs. Jenkins who sung and danced while the City was being shelled. Called on Miss C. Temple, an humbled aristocrat. Nice lady.

Went to office & gave out some clothing. The poor must have suffered last night.

This has been a busy day & my feet are tired tonight. It is cold yet.

Sunday, December 17, 1865.

Pleasant, milder.

This a.m. went to hear Dr. Broaddus, very good discourse & a goodly number present.

Did not go out this p.m. [?] read Paradise & the [unclear] to Miss Kate & [unclear]. –

This evening spent with Miss [unclear], all the rest went to Ch.

Wrote to Frances.

Intend to go to Richmond tomorrow.

Monday, December 18, 1865.

Cloudy.

Went to Hos^{pl}. Quite comfortable there. Got ready for R. & left on the 12^o clock train.

Traces of war all the way from Fredericksburg to R.

Stations Milford, Ashland & Hungary. Reached R. at 3 ½ p.m. Went to Mrs. Jennings on Leigh St. She lives in house with Mr. Dobney. Met Aunt Minty Foster whom I knew in Alex, & such hugging I have seldom had. A history of the persons who live in this house wd. make an interesting volume.

Tired & cold tonight.

Tuesday, December 19, 1865.

Cloudy, Not pleasant.

Went to see Col. Brown & Dr. Delamater[?]. Talked of Fred. burg affairs. Dr. Harris going to F. to fix up Hosp^{pl}.

Called at Governor Pierpoints. Cordial greetings.

Then to Mr Stockwell's in 1st Af. Church. 600 scholars, no whip is used, good order, fine school. Went to Forrester's & to Mrs. Carters. All glad to see me. Then to find Mrs. Peters. Long walk, very tired. Jails & Slave Pens look quite familiar.

Talk of Negroes rising on Christmas. How absurd!

Wednesday, December 20, 1865.

Cloudy, warm.

Went to school with Mrs. Jennings, 200 scholars, 5 col^d. teachers.

Called at Mrs. Carters.

Then to the Governor, Miss Gordon went with me to the Capitol. Saw the Senate & House of Delegates, but little speaking, behaved very well. To Gov^s, to Lunch. Present Col. Lewis, Sec. of Commonwealth.

Dinner at 6. In meantime helped dress doll for Nannie[?], concluded to stop all night. Very pleasant visit.

Reports that Negroes are to rise on Christmas.

Thursday, December 21, 1865.

Richmond, Va.

Bright, very cold.

Called on Mrs. Carter & Mrs. Wells. Then went to Sarah Smiley's[?]. Had dinner.

Then to Chimborazo, 1300 colored people in three barracks, doing well. Schools, chapel, market, only 100 draw rations.

Then back to Mrs. F's & Mr. Wells went with me to Howard Grove Hos,— 250 persons here.

Saw some of the [?] House women. They "were mighty pleased to see me". Cold & forlorn there.

Mrs. Colton, Matron – I have walked 5 or 6 miles today.

Friday, December 22, 1865.

Richmond, Va.

Bright, very cold. At Mrs. Carter's last night, rested well. Walked on Main St. to see what was going on. Buildings going up. Things look lively. Went to Mr. Forrester's & looked over my boxes. Packed one for Fred,burg, took all the P.M. to do it. Back to Mrs. Jennings tonight. Tired enough. Walked & talked with a girl in a "Confederate Bonnet". I meet various specimens of humanity, I hardly realize that I am in Richmond.

Saturday, December 23, 1865.

Bright, cold.

With Mrs. J. I walked to Camp Lee. Here is the orphanage in charge of Anne Gibbons & daughter of Phila., 80 orphans. Have itch & scurvy. Rooms cold. —Guards get drunk. Ladies afraid, thieves & murderers all about them. Rode back to town 2 mi. in Gen. Lees ambulance & with Miss Susan &c. Walked to S. Smiley's. then to Mr. Forrester's & got the clothing off my hands. Hard walking up & down these hills. —Back to Mrs. Jennings. People buying Christmas things.

Sunday, December 24, 1865.

Rained all day, icy, awful walking.

Cleaned up & wrote a little.

Went with the [?] people to Mr. Samson's to dinner. They sent carriage for us but we walked back at 6 p.m. —Had Turkey & oysters & many other good things.

Rested & visited this evening, Mr. Oliver here.

It has not seemed like Sunday.

I wanted to go to 1st Af. Ch. but it was too wet.

Hope for better weather tomorrow.

Monday, December 25, 1865.

Foggy A.M. then bright.

Firing guns began at midnight. Fire crackers all day, a regular 4th of July.

Walked down Broad St. to see. Called at Gov. Ps to see C. Free. Then to Mr. Forrester to see C. Free & to Mrs Cs. Then to Meth. Church. Christmas tree & presents for S.S. scholars. Speaking & singing, &c. Nice time. — Back to Mrs. J's then to Gov. P's to dinner. Very nice. Mrs. Willey, Mr. Stearns & wife & Mr. Roza[?] & Mr. Brooks & Col. Lewis present. I enjoyed it very much. All loyal Union folks.

Tuesday, December 26, 1865.

Foggy, misty, bright, warm.

Visited awhile with Gov. & family & took leave. —

Went to see Col. Brown. Then saw Mrs. Manly for Mrs. Peters, - took leave of the Forrester's, Carters, &c

Called to see Lieut. Merrill, 811 colored persons now draw rations but no whites.

Back to Mrs. J. —fixed things to leave tomorrow.

Walked with Mrs. Dabney, party of young folks here this evening. Very nice company & very pleasant times. Left at 1 ½ a.m. — I went to bed at 2.

Wednesday, December 27, 1865.

Cloudy, rain. —

Slept about 2 hrs. last night. Rose early & hurried away. Mrs. J & Bush[?] Foster went to car with me. Mrs. Carter met me there with luncheon. Said goodbye & left at 7. Reached F. at 10. Met Dr. Harris going to R. Went to Hos, things as usual, much as I left them.

Went with Maj. Morse to see the Church wh. is nearly ready for Hos.— Then went to office & sorted clothing.

Called on Mrs. Stautenburg & Mrs. Wright & husband. Tired tonight.

Thursday, December 28, 1865.

Foggy a.m. —Bright, warm p.m.

Went to office & gave out 170{?} garments. Called at Miss Temple's.

At 3 p.m., rode with Miss Ann Cruse in buggy 3 mi. to Mr. Morrison's. Roads very bad but enjoyed the ride over the battlefields.

Maj. Morse, Maj. Johnson & Mr. Cruse escorted us on horseback. Mr. M & family suffered much during the war.

We took supper & left at 7. Fine moonlight, view from heights very fine. Safe back at 8. Miss C is a good driver. I was disappointed that we did not break down.

Friday, December 29, 1865.

Fine. —Fredericksburg.

Went to Hos. 3 times & arranged things to leave.

Then to office & gave out 150 pieces – then put up all that is left. Mrs. Stautenburg will distribute them.

Called on Mrs. & Dr. Bates.

Mrs. S & Miss Bell here this evening. Pleasant visit with them & the family. I like all these people very much. They have made me feel at home, & although they do not care much for the nigger I shall always think of the family with pleasure. They are very loyal.

Saturday, December 30, 1865.

Surprised to see a deep snow this morning. It snowed fast till noon.—Train left at 11.

Packed my things. The family all devoted this last hour to me. I took a regretful leave. Mr. Couse went to the Depot with me.

The scenery was magnificent. The pure snow rested on every tree & shrub & twig. Like fairyland. —At Aquia at 12, on C. Vanderbilt reached W. at 3 ½ P.M. —oh such streets. But I reached 207 I at last, all safe. Found Frances well & things very much as usual.

Sunday, December 31, 1865.

Cloudy, snow remains. Streets in dreadful condition.

Frances has been away. I have been very busy regulating things after my 25 day absence & am tired too.

Miss Heard[?] called but I cd. not go to the Home with her. —

207 I. St. Washington! But I have not the least idea of being here a year from this time.

I shall borrow no trouble but let the future take care of itself. There is much work to do here & what

[Transcriber's Note: Entry continues into the Memoranda section of the diary]

Memoranda

[Transcriber's Note: Page 1 of Memoranda section]

I find to do I will do with my might. I have clothing to distribute. The winter has come & there is much wf. *[Transcriber's Note: ink blot covers word]* among the Freedpeople & I think it a privilege to be here & administer to their wants.

One year ago found me in Alex. —A week ago a disgraceful affair happened there.²⁴⁵ Young rebels dressed in gray, armed themselves, hurrahed for Jefferson Davis, and then attacked any colored person they saw in the streets.

[Transcriber's Note: Page 2 of Memoranda section]

The military was called out. Several men were killed by the rebs, but they, or some of them been arrested, & I hope they will be punished as they deserve.—

²⁴⁵ This incident could be explored in Alexandria Gazette or other newspaper of the time.

It is 6 years today since my darling Freda was taken from me & that wretched day will never be forgotten. She is now nearly 10 years old. Oh! That I could see her! But it is a long time since I have even heard from her. Ah! She has forgotten me probably.

[Transcriber's Note: Page 3 of Memoranda section]

Alfred Van W. has just sold his farm & Angeline will undergo a great deal of discomfort before she is settled again.

How rapidly the years will round! But they involve many changes. The progress of events is encouraging. I will take heart & labor on & it may be I shall do some good to my fellow creatures. At least I will try.

Julia A. Wilbur

[Transcriber's Note: "Cash Account" pages (one per month) used for notes—starting with CASH ACCOUNT. JANUARY page]

"We manage about cats as we do about Congressmen, generals & other public officers. If they will do the work we want done & do it well, we have to take them, though they may abuse their wives, tell lies & be otherwise abominable. We execrate their moral character, but we need their special ability, & we use it, not endorsing them thereby.

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. FEBRUARY page]

"My Religion is known to God & myself. Its evidence before the world is to be known in my life; if that has been honest & dutiful to society, the religion which has regulated it cannot be a bad one".

Jefferson.

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. MARCH page]

L'Ouverture Hospital Alexandria Va. 1864 & 1865

Charles B. Wilson

Hindoo from Madras, has brother in Eng. C. went there when 10 yrs old.
Shot through left hand & chest.

Indian. Pete Mitchell

Machias Maine

Infl^m, lungs

In.

Marcus Lardo

1st. Mich. Sharpshooter

arm amputated

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. APRIL page]

In. Joseph Shedo

284

1865

1st Mich. Sharpshooter
Shot in hand.

In. George Eskabog
1st Mich. Sharpshooter
Wound in head & eye

Charles Frances, 9th Mi, Inf,
Wounded in hand.
Helped make canoe.

In. Joseph Waukass
1st Mich Sharpshooter
Shot in hand.

In. Mark Priskey
Shot in shoulder
1st. Mich. Sharp S.

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. MAY page]

In. Benj. Tuckey
Cattaraugus C.
10th. N.Y. Regt.

In. Joseph Jemison
Cootnawaga C.E.
in white Regt.

Grandson of Red Jacket, Great Grandson of 'Mary Jemison'. His wife is Catherine, Queen of Squaws, Iroquois nation & her tribe, none of higher birth than she.
He made me a Canoe & wrote a song for me.

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. JUNE page]

Addresses
Joseph Dupee
1st Mich. Col. Vol.
Co.[?] 9th Corps.

Joseph H. Wilson
Commission[?] Sergt.
Co.F. 5th. Mass, Cav.
Ejected from street car & injured. Died 2 wks afterwards.

S. W. Fairfax. Sergt.
Campbell Sergt.

Joseph Hood Sergt.
30th. Md.
Wm. P. Thompson Sergt, Baltimore
Alfred Carroll 29th. Illinois,
John Smith, Sergt., Conn,

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. JULY page]
John Brown do. 30th Conn.

Jefferson Floyd, Ohio, arm injured.

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. AUGUST page]
Richmond Play
Dec, 26th, 1865

Come all you young men in your youthful days. Come look to the Lord in your sinful ways.
Then we will be happy, then we will be happy, when we are going home,
Come under, come over my honey, my love, come under, come over, my handsome dove.

The day is far spent & the night's coming on, so let go your arm & go jogging along.

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. SEPTEMBER page]

Then we will be happy,
Then we will be happy,
When we are going home,
Come under, come over my honey, my love, come under, come over, my handsome dove,
My heart is gone a weeping over Galilee
My honey, my lover, my handsome dove,
I've caught you as a prisoner,
My honey, my love, my handsome dove,
So place your arms around her
So hug her neat & kiss her sweet,
Come under,

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. OCTOBER page]

Come over my honey my love, come under, come over, my handsome dove,
&c, &c
Then we will be happy, then we will be happy, when we are going home.

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. NOVEMBER page]

Mr. Forresters children are
named

Lucretia
Richard
James
Willie
Mary
Alexander
Charley
Exsy
Johnny
Catherine
Robert.

Mr. F's brother
Geo. Forrester & family in Washington

[Transcriber's Note: CASH ACCOUNT. DECEMBER page]

Fireworks on Fourth July 1865. 300 rockets & 100 shells, some of 16 in. caliber were discharged at intervals.

Rockets & candles, 34 pergola[?] lights. Maroon Battery 34 times, American Flag & July 4, 1776 cadence[?]

Full sun, waltzing piece. Rose Windmill, Pyramid of Roman Candles, Waterfall, Maltese Cross, Spiral pyramid, Free Masons apron, Revolving sun, Yew Tree.

Pyramid of Serpents,

[Transcriber's Note: SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNTS. page]

Grindstones
Star piece
Promethean Vase
Polka Quadrille
Knot, Cross of Honor
Saturn & satellites
National Boquet
Jewelled Cross
[?]
Lincoln
National Coat of Arms.
Washington
Goodnight.

[Transcriber's Note: MEMORANDA. page]

In 1860 Georgetown had	
Whites	8866
	6798
Free Colored	796
Slaves	577
Total	8733

In 1860 Alexandria had	
Whites	9857
Free colored	1415
Slaves	1386
Total	12654

[Transcriber's Note: MEMORANDA. page]

In 1860 Virginia had	
Whites	1047411
Free colored	58042
Slaves	490865
Total	1,196,518

In 1860 Dist. had	
Whites	60764
Free colored	11131
Slaves	3185
Total	75080

Washington had	
Whites	50139
Free colored	9209
Slaves	1774
Total	61,122

Beyond 1865

The diaries of Julia Wilbur continue almost to her death in 1895, and I hope that some or all of them will be transcribed to make them more accessible in the future.

In the meantime, Wilbur submitted reports for the Annual Reports of what became the Rochester Ladies Anti-Slavery Society and Freedmen's Aid Society in 1866, 1867, and 1868, when the organization saw its operations start to wind down.

For the 1866 report, her "Washington, D.C., July 1866" entry (pp. 6-32) briefly looks back at the previous four years, then described the Freedmen situation in Washington, Alexandria, and Fredericksburg. In accounting for donations and disbursements, she noted "Several boxes of shoes were received by Mr. A.E. Newman, from the "Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association," and distributed by me. This Association also sent at my request a box of shoes to Alexandria. These were a great help for shoes were not issued by the Government to the destitute in Alexandria, as was done in Washington." In another section of the report devoted to Alexandria, she described labor, schools, L'Ouverture Hospital, and the Slave Pen. ("The Slave Pen, to which your attention has been called in former reports, is not longer used as a prison. Government having no further use for it, it has been closed for several weeks; and now those traders in human flesh, "Price, Birch & Co." are disputing about the possession of it. I wish it had been leveled to the ground when our troops first took possession of Alexandria.")

She also, more generally, discussed family reunification, employment, and the Freedmen Bureau, among other topics. Regarding criticism of the Bureau, she observed, "Now if the whites behave so badly with the Freedmen's Bureau in operation, we can easily imagine what the situation of the Freedmen would be were the protection of the Bureau withdrawn."

For the 1867 report, her "July 1st, 1867, 343 Twentieth Street, Washington, D.C." entry (pp. 7-27), acknowledged the lessening of support for the Freedmen. She reported how many Northerners instead say the African Americans should come north to work (mostly as servants) and described the opportunities and challenges in this arrangement for all parties. The report included a section on Alexandria, in which she commented that the lack of work, transfer of authority of L'Ouverture Hospital to the chief medical officer of Virginia ("head quarters at Richmond"), death of relief worker Mary Collier, and other factors made life difficult. She closed the report by stating the need for her services "for another year at least."

For the 1868 report, her "East Avon, N.Y., July 1868" entry was apparently written while in New York. She noted that she taught sewing in Georgetown, in part, "to lessen the expenses of your Society." It was a harsh winter: "The Potomac was frozen over most of the time" and Freedmen who had left the city returned. She described the segregation that would make the country for a long time: separate cars on railroads and streetcars, separate schools, and the like. "I also find the Freedmen's Bureau, except the educational departments, will be discontinued after the 1st of January, 1869. I suppose other arrangements will be made in the mean time as

regards the poor. But it is idle to speculate as to what those arrangements will be. *Politics* are both intricate and uncertain. In view of all that has passed, I know we have no reason to be discouraged. But it seems a long time to wait for the consummation of our hope—a hope that freedom from persecution will sometime be enjoyed by the colored race.”