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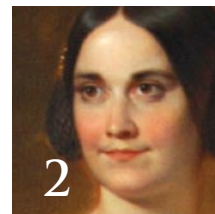
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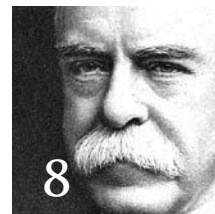
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THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF
ANNA CALHOUN CLEMSON



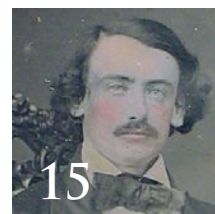
A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS,
WALKER GILL WYLIE



LAURENCE CROMP, CAROLINA HERALD



HENRY TIMROD'S FINAL REVISIONS TO
"ODE ON THE CONFEDERATE DEAD"



WILLIAM DRAYTON RUTHERFORD:
THE HUMAN SIDE OF THE WARRIOR



University South Caroliniana Society
CAROLINIANA COLUMNS Issue No. 23, Spring 2008, Supplement

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THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF

Anna
CALHOUN CLEMSON

BY ANN RUSSELL



(The following lecture was presented at the Thomas Green Clemson Bicentennial Celebration at Clemson University on Oct. 11, 2007.)

I would like to thank the director of the Strom Thurmond Institute, Bob Becker, and Program Coordinator Donna Arterburn for promoting this evening's lectures and providing the setting for their presentation. I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the scholarship of a former colleague and friend, Dr. E.M. Lander Jr., (also known as "Whitey"). His book, *The Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson*, laid much of the foundation for my own book on Anna Calhoun Clemson. In fact, I read Whitey's work over and over again in the attempt to try and understand who all these people were. I think I finally got them figured out right, so many thanks, Whitey. It is indeed an honor for Will [Hiott] and me to appear together tonight in celebration of the bicentennial of the birth of Thomas Green Clemson. Both of us have logged lots of hours in his Fort Hill home, and before that we came out of the same degree program in history at the University of South Carolina. Needless to say, we are quick to add that our blood definitely runneth orange despite our sojourn in Columbia.

ANNA MARIA CALHOUN CLEMSON'S STORY

My father always told me that if I could just find an interest and then get together with other like-minded people, I would have it made. Perhaps those of you here tonight are not as interested as I am in Anna Maria Calhoun Clemson, but I have really gotten into the distaff side of the Clemson story and am delighted to share some of what I have learned with you. I have chosen to tell Anna's story from a topical rather than the more traditional chronological approach from her birth in 1817 to her death in 1875. Hopefully you will find Anna to be a woman whose relationships make for an interesting revelation of her life and its significance. Recognition of Anna not only enhances the history of Clemson University but enlightens our perspective on elite Southern womanhood and the adherence to the conventional feminine attributes of "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity." (As an aside, let me note that this reference is to 19th-century female virtues.) The Southern lady's intriguing image of beauty, breeding, and charm still stands as an enduring impression of the 19th-century South and the bygone glory of the antebellum era.

Visitors to Clemson University today undoubtedly step back in time when they enter the Fort Hill home of John C. Calhoun and Thomas Green Clemson. Were the ghost of Calhoun's beloved daughter Anna to join the tour of this now-historic house museum, one wonders about her thoughts throughout these hallowed halls. The roles she played as daughter, mother, sister, friend, traveler, and wife would surely be recalled by the woman whose privileged life, despite its blessings, displayed hardship and tragedy that she endured with fortitude, triumphed over, and survived. People who gaze upon her portrait in the parlor will see a Southern lady whose legacy is not only the land she left to her husband but the way in which she lived her life. A woman of the 19th century, she represents her own generation but reaches out for all time to those who would read her story.

"Life is a journey," Vice President John C. Calhoun wrote to his 15-year-old daughter, Anna Maria, in 1832, when she was a student at the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, located at Barhamville near Columbia. Anna traveled well the journey her father had defined for her, from the cherished days of childhood to what she termed the "*happy times*" of youth and the often somber realities of adult responsibility. In the literal sense of travel, she made trips to the nation's capital with her father and close friend Maria Simkins and ventured on a northern excursion with other companions, at the age of 19—to Philadelphia, New York City, West Point, and Niagara Falls. With her husband, she went to Havana, to a "miner's hut" in Georgia, to a dilapidated domicile on the Canebrake plantation in the Edgefield District of South Carolina, and then abroad to Belgium. Especially significantly, she went on her own behind enemy lines to a Yankee prison on Johnson's Island, Ohio, to see her captured son, Calhoun Clemson. Returning to her beloved, embattled South at the end of 1864, when the Confederacy was collapsing, Anna and her daughter Floride endured a harrowing homecoming journey to a world forever changed by the catastrophe of civil war.



Floride Clemson



Calhoun Clemson

A DUTIFUL DAUGHTER, A DEVOTED WIFE

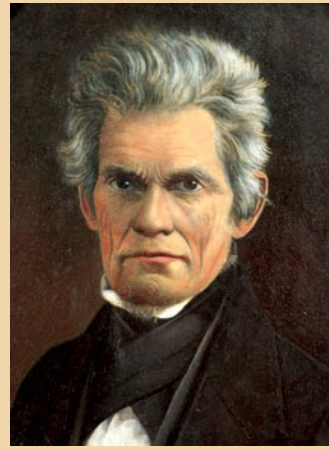
Unique in her individual identity, Anna was nonetheless like others of her privileged class for whom reality was a life of duty not decoration. Whether maiden or mistress, Southern ladies such as Anna responded to the demands of men. Pleasing first a father and then a husband, she exemplified behavior befitting those of a supposedly subordinate gender in a patriarchal society. Raised by statesman John C. Calhoun to be a dutiful daughter, she did not question the wisdom of the man she adored, and she enthusiastically endorsed his views and values. A staunch defender of the South's "peculiar institution" of slavery both at home and abroad, she spoke her convictions with skill and clarity. The daughter of an antebellum slavery advocate, Anna could have done little else but espouse the Southern view shared by her fashionable peers. As a slave owner herself, she showed genuine concern for the welfare of those she thought inferior.



Thomas Green Clemson

Educated in the same way other elite young women were in the South—to be accomplished in aesthetic sensibilities as well as knowledgeable in academic studies—Anna was further fortunate to be at her father’s side in the political arena in Washington, D.C. The close companionship between Calhoun and his daughter, who was both a confidante and the copyist of his papers, could well have continued had her intelligence and charm not

captivated the worldly, well-educated, confirmed bachelor Thomas Green Clemson of Philadelphia. Apparently quite smitten by Anna’s purity and loveliness, he wooed and won his “very much beloved dear Anna,” who was willing to give up her father, the “cherished object” of her life, for a choice she thought to be “the best” in the matter of a husband. The candlelight wedding of 21-year-old Anna Maria Calhoun and Thomas Green Clemson, 10 years her senior, was solemnized before a large gathering on the evening of Nov. 13, 1838, underneath a beaded crystal chandelier in the parlor of her family’s Fort Hill plantation home. Father William Taylor Potter, Rector of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in the nearby town of Pendleton, officiated at the ceremony. With her marriage to Clemson, Anna was committed as a wife to the traditional duties of domesticity, which were held in esteem in the 19th century. Caring for her family was the focus of her life just as it was that of her mother. Floride Calhoun, a former Charleston belle, who had “danced at St. Cecilia assemblies, worshiped at St. Michael’s, [and] summered at Newport,” was the one responsible for raising Anna to be a Southern lady. Anna’s dutiful nurturing of her own children was indeed a reflection of her mother’s life.



John C. Calhoun



Floride Calhoun

A LOVING SISTER, A CHERISHED FRIEND

Floride Calhoun gave birth to 10 children and, of the seven that grew to adulthood, Anna was described by Calhoun family friend James H. Rion as “a child who inherited more of her father’s great talents than any other of his children.” However, her sphere as a woman was limited by the patriarchal society that promoted the potential of male over female. Under her father’s tutelage and her mother’s supervision she could shine as a Southern lady, but she would never be allowed to assume authority over her five brothers, considered to be members of the superior sex. Always one who cherished family life, she especially doted on her brother Patrick, a West Point graduate, and was particularly attentive to the special needs of her semi-invalid sister Cornelia. In essence, she was a good sister who took her role as a sibling seriously, but loyalty to her husband superseded all else in his rift with her older brother Andrew over money. Ironically, the ruined relationship between Anna and her brother would ultimately be resolved in a different generation by the marriage of her granddaughter to Andrew’s grandson in 1895.

Anna was surely as close to her dearest friend, Maria Simkins of Edgefield, as she was to any of her siblings. Southern ladies such as Anna and Maria lived in a world where the formal and often stiff interaction between men and women was offset by the mutual affection expressed by women. The spontaneous and playful nature of relations between young women contrasted sharply with their distant contacts with young men. While heterosexual desires were inhibited, a close relationship among females was not considered taboo in 19th-century American society, which recognized such intimacy as socially acceptable. Maria’s tragic death in childbirth at the age of 27 preceded Anna’s departure for Europe in the fall of 1844. Anna’s friendship with her “dearest Maria” not only enriched her life’s journey but memories of their love were etched in her mind and lay hidden in her heart.



Anna Calhoun Clemson with her two oldest children, Calhoun and Floride

LIFE ABROAD

Anna Calhoun Clemson's reluctance to go abroad in 1844 was not typically shared by other elite women, many of whom enthusiastically embraced the cultural phenomenon of European travel. However, Anna found her husband's diplomatic appointment to the Belgian Court, with its obligatory ceremonies and etiquette, to be more of an annoyance than anything else. As the mother of two small children at a troublesome age she expected to have "more of the fatigues & disagreeables of travel than the pleasures." Nevertheless, in support of Clemson's desire to live in Europe, she readied her family to leave their recently acquired Canebrake plantation in the Edgefield District. She dutifully followed her husband as all wedded women of her day were wont to do despite the sometimes perilous path of the journey such as, in Anna's case, sailing back and forth across the Atlantic. However, it was not the distance of the destination but the demands of Clemson's depressive disorder that made the journey with her husband the most difficult one that Anna ever made. While living abroad, she had admitted in correspondence to her brother Patrick that Clemson was sometimes "cross" in spells of gloom, though she still felt that she could humor his fits and that he had much improved since the time of their marriage when he was liable, she said, to the "blues" and "dyspeptic & ailing." Believing that his ill health was related to habitual despondency, she had tried never to worry him and to amuse him when his spirits were low. The condition of dysthymia, from which Clemson apparently suffered, caused a chronically depressed mood that adversely affected his behavior with regard to such medical symptoms as "subjective feelings of irritability or excessive anger," "poor appetite," and "feelings of hopelessness."

FAMILY TRAGEDIES



Bust of the Clemson's youngest child, Nina

During the years following the Clemsons' return to America from Belgium, Thomas Clemson's increasing irascibility made life difficult for those around him. Unfortunately, in Clemson's case, without the medical care that is now available for a depressive personality, the seriousness of his misunderstood condition worsened. His irate behavior caused personal distress, even disability within his family, despite all that Anna could do to keep the peace she prized dearly.

Grateful to have her own homeplace in America, Anna designated the farm her husband purchased in Bladensburg, Md., in 1853, to be called simply, "The Home," and she proceeded to cope with the demands of life there. In 1855, the birth of a little girl they named Nina brought great joy

to the often-troubled Clemson household for the three years of her short life. The child's sudden death from scarlet fever shortly before Christmas in 1858 provoked such a despondency in Clemson that Anna's mother, Floride Calhoun, urged her daughter to do all in her power to prevent her husband from committing suicide. Apparently the severe emotional stress caused by his daughter's death had brought about a clinical condition of double depression that made Anna's own unbearable grief even more difficult to endure.

GATHERING WAR CLOUDS

Thomas Clemson accepted the offer of Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson in January of 1860, to head the Patent Office's agricultural department. Anna felt that the occupation would be a great thing for her husband, and he, in turn, was much pleased at the compliment. However, the election of antislavery Republican President Abraham Lincoln in November of 1860 alarmed Anna as to what action would result. Although acknowledging Southern honor to be at stake, she worried that the alternative to drawing back was a dreadful one, and she looked upon it as "the beginning of the end." The dire prediction from her father on his deathbed in 1850, of the union's disintegration, transpired a decade later as South Carolinians seceded in the interests of what historian Walter Edgar has termed "the good order and harmony" of their lives threatened by abolition. Clemson resigned his government position on March 9, 1861, following the formation of the Confederate States of America in February. The promise for the future, which Anna had felt when her husband received his government appointment in January 1860, was now overshadowed with peril as war erupted in April 1861, dividing the country for four years and separating families such as the Clemsons. Clemson and his son, Calhoun, left Maryland in June and ultimately joined the Confederate forces, although Anna and daughter Floride did not go South until near the end of the fighting. Six months after their return to the South, Anna and Floride were eventually reunited with the Clemson men at Mrs. Calhoun's "Mi Casa" home in Pendleton.

AFTERMATH

Finding the region in ruins and the Pendleton community impoverished, Anna now emerged with other elite Southern women as a leader in the South's first generation of female activists. Involved in worthy causes and accepted in the public sphere by virtue of their gentility, these ladies forged a future for themselves and their families in the defeated South. Beside her husband, Anna worked impressively among all those living around them.

Despite the constant care required by Mrs. Calhoun, dreadfully ill with cancer until her death at Mi Casa in late July of 1866, Anna supported her husband's interest in the promotion of scientific education in the South. She made their home a focus of life in Pendleton, providing hospitality to those who shared his vision of an animated system of agriculture as the main remedy to the distress which the region was suffering.



The Calhoun Mansion, built 1804, Clemson College, S.C. (Image from South Caroliniana Library, Visual Materials)

LEGAL BATTLES

According to the terms of Mrs. Calhoun's will, Anna was named her mother's principal heir with the right to dispose of her inheritance as she saw fit in "a last will and testament duly executed by her." She was the first recipient of three-fourths of the bond and mortgage claim on Fort Hill owed to her mother by her brother Andrew's estate. Her daughter Floride was the recipient of the fourth part of the Fort Hill property title. Andrew, who had died in March of 1865, left close to a \$40,000 debt on the Fort Hill property that he had purchased from his mother in 1854. In March of 1866, Mrs. Calhoun had sued her son's heirs, her daughter-in-law, and her grandchildren. The court's decision to foreclose against them

had brought about a legal battle for reversal that would keep the ownership of Fort Hill in litigation centered on Anna and the Andrew Calhoun family until 1872.

The disputed estate of Floride Calhoun was by no means the only concern for the Clemsons in the aftermath of the war that had wreaked such havoc in the South. Thomas Clemson continued to speak out on the subject of scientific education and its importance for agriculture. However, by 1870, he was utterly discouraged by his inability to promote the establishment of a school in upstate South Carolina.

JOYS AND SORROWS

Anna was sympathetic to her husband's goal and understood the discouragement he felt. At the same time, she was pleased that Floride, who had married Gideon Lee Jr., of New York, in 1869, was happy in her new life in Carmel. The birth of a baby girl, Floride Isabella, in 1870 not only brought much joy to the family but also strengthened the bond between Anna and her daughter.

Sadly, on July 23, 1871, the untimely death of 28-year-old Floride Clemson Lee from, it seems, tuberculous peritonitis, left a grief-stricken family to mourn her loss. It also left a child who would never know her mother. Stunned and shocked at the demise of their daughter, the Clemsons were further devastated by the sudden death of their 31-year-old son, Calhoun, who was killed in a train wreck only 17 days later on Aug. 10. Referring to the tragic accident in a note of sympathy, Clemson family friend and Charleston financial agent Henry Gourdin said simply, "Humanity cannot comprehend the justice of such terrible calamities."



Fort Hill, interior

A SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTION

Anna, now alone beside her husband, faced a man grown old and bitter. Disheartened by his earlier failed efforts to establish an agricultural school for South Carolina and now despondent at the death of his children, Clemson depended upon his wife to sustain his sagging spirits. His dream of a school now became increasingly important to Anna, who began to think of it as a merited monument to her father and their son. Despite the legal controversy that prevailed with her brother Andrew's family over her inheritance of the property from her mother's estate, Anna knew that the land needed for such an institution would be hers when the matter was settled and she took possession of Fort Hill. Making her last will and testament within two months after her son's death, Anna left ownership of all present and future property in her own estate, as well as the right to give away said inheritance, to her "beloved husband."

Litigation involving Anna and Clemson, acting as her trustee, in connection with her brother Andrew's family over the estate of Floride Calhoun was settled by an auction of the Fort Hill property in nearby Walhalla on Jan. 21, 1872. Mrs. Calhoun's executor, lawyer Edward Noble, secured Fort Hill for Anna by his bid on the property with the mortgage willed to her as its principal recipient. Her deceased daughter Floride's fourth part of the Fort Hill deed had passed to her own child, Anna's granddaughter. Except for insignificant court costs, no money was involved as Anna inherited her three-fourths share of the estate and Floride Isabella Lee, her mother's one-fourth. The following year Anna and Gideon Lee, as his daughter's guardian, officially apportioned the property with Anna receiving 814 acres, including the Fort Hill home where she and her husband were already living, and young Floride 288 acres. With Clemson as the heir to Anna's real property and estate, the opportunity for him to establish the agricultural college that he had long desired was thus made possible by the bequest of his wife, signed and sealed on Sept. 29, 1871.

When the Clemsons moved to Fort Hill in June of 1872, their central concern was promoting interest in the school they both desired to see established. On Aug. 9, 1874, Anna personally

selected a committee to issue a circular calling for statewide support of a plan to build on land at Fort Hill a scientific agricultural institution whose existence would commemorate the career of her father. "No nobler monument could be raised to the great Carolinian," the circular asserted, "than such an institution on the spot where the tradition of his great and beautiful life would be most strongly felt."

ILLNESS AND DEMISE

Anna complained little about her health problems. She was much overweight and suffered from neuralgia and heart trouble that would take her life suddenly as it had that of her brother Andrew. At age 58, Anna, on Sept. 22, 1875, succumbed to a heart attack as she had predicted she would.

There was little comfort for Clemson, who buried his wife beside their son in the churchyard at St. Paul's. The grieving husband's despair was movingly expressed in a letter to his friend, Henry Gourdin. "How disconsolate and wretched I feel," Thomas Clemson wrote, "it is impossible for anyone to imagine."

Among the many messages of sympathy that Clemson received, the one that must have meant the most to him came from James Rion, the Calhoun family friend who would later become his financial advisor and lawyer. "You have lost a wife, who was in every sense of the word a companion for you," he wrote, "not only worthy of affection but of the highest esteem. Her good nature, high spirit, elegance of manners, extensive information and reading, fine intellect, and all the more valuable female accomplishments, fitted her to be a wife worthy of any man that ever lived."

A JOINT LEGACY

On April 6, 1888, Thomas Clemson's death, at the age of 80, left a legacy to the state of South Carolina that was made possible by his wife's bequest of property to him. So his establishing the school they both desired enabled her to join the ranks of other strong Southern women whose positive influence reached beyond their own lives.

In the eloquent words of Richard W. Simpson, Clemson's lawyer and the first chair of the Board of Trustees of Clemson Agricultural College, "Mrs. Clemson was among women what her distinguished father was among men. Her love for her home and country were superb, and to this noble, generous and yet gentle woman, South Carolina is as much indebted for Clemson College as [it is] to the distinguished husband, Thomas G. Clemson."

The history of Clemson University today is not complete without recognizing this Southern lady, whose family's Fort Hill home is now preserved for generations to come as a National Historic Landmark in the heart of the school's campus.

—Ann Russell holds a doctoral degree in history from the University of South Carolina and is a member of the University South Caroliniana Society's Executive Council.

Unless otherwise noted, images are courtesy of Clemson University Historic Properties.

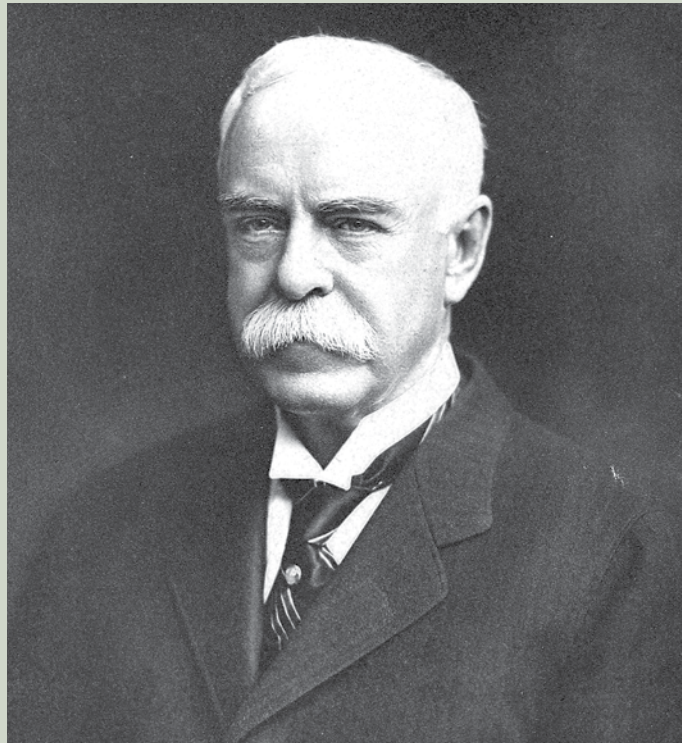


Administration building, Clemson College, S.C. (Image from South Caroliniana Library, Visual Materials)

Walker Gill Wylie

WALKER GILL WYLIE

A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS



Walker Gill Wylie

BY STEVE GRIFFITH

While South Carolinians are proud of their history, venerate their heroes, and jealously guard the names of those who made South Carolina famous, it is inevitable that some of her famous sons and daughters become lost in history. Many of the famous were those who held high political office. Businessmen and doctors are perhaps less remembered, and some great men and women are simply overshadowed by others of their time.

Walker Gill Wylie falls into both categories. He was a giant of his time; yet, today he is little-known. He was indeed a man for all seasons who, during his lifetime, was known, admired, respected, and appreciated for his accomplishments around the world. He was a soldier, an engineer, a physician, a surgeon, a teacher, an entrepreneur, and a very successful business man. While Lake Wylie, a hydroelectric reservoir between Rock Hill, S.C., and Charlotte, N.C., bears his name and he is recognized in the South Carolina Hall of Fame in Myrtle Beach, few people today would be able to identify who he was or what he did.

EDUCATION AND FAMILY

Walker Gill Wylie was born in Chester, S.C., in 1849. He graduated from the University of South Carolina in 1868 just after it reopened its doors to students following the Civil War. He took all of the courses offered and received essentially a civil engineering degree. In 1871, he received an MD from Bellevue Medical College in New York City, where he lived for most of the remainder of his life.

Wylie was a member of the Presbyterian Church. Politically, he was a Democrat. Golf and hunting were his chief recreations, and collecting Chinese porcelain and oriental rugs were his hobbies.

Wylie was married in Northampton, Mass., on June 13, 1877, to Henrietta Frances Damon, daughter of Edward Dane Damon, a merchant of that city. They became the parents of five children: Juliet, who married Alexander Dickinson; Lucille Damon, who married Eskel Berg; Sims Gill; Edward Alexander Gill; and Walker Gill.

In 1910, Carolina awarded Wylie its McMaster Gold Medal as the alumnus of the college who had done the most for humanity.

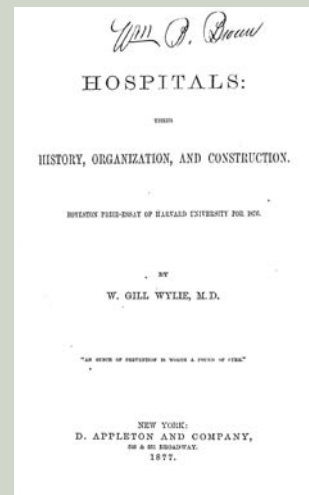
MEDICAL CAREER

Wylie had an honored and distinguished career in the practice of medicine. He became one of the leading surgeons in the nation. His pioneering accomplishments in surgical procedures helped to revolutionize the profession in the final decades of the 19th century.

When Wylie began to practice at Bellevue Hospital in New York City, he was active in forming the State Charities Aid Association. The nurses, mostly men, then employed for the care of the sick, by their ignorance, indifference, and even brutality, nullified in great measure the best directed efforts of the physicians. As a member of the Charities Association, Wylie volunteered to visit England and the continent to study the system of nursing education and the most modern hospital operations there. He also corresponded with the famous Florence Nightingale. Upon returning to the United States, he presented a report that helped establish the Training School for Nurses connected to Bellevue Hospital—the first of its kind in the United States. He actively encouraged women to enter the nursing field and recruited them from his native state to attend the nurses' school at Bellevue. Many did.

In 1876, Harvard University awarded Wylie its prestigious Boylston prize for his essay on hospital organization, "Hospitals, Their Organization and Construction," which set the standard for the future building and management of hospitals in the U.S. For a number of years, Wylie assisted Dr. J. Marion Sims in his hospital

work in the field of abdominal surgery. In 1882, Wylie was appointed visiting gynecologist at Bellevue Hospital. The same year, he assisted in organizing the New York Polyclinic and was named professor of gynecology there. Later, he operated a private hospital in New York City known as The Samaritan. In January 1885, Wylie read a paper on salpingitis, a pelvic inflammatory disease of women, reporting about 14 cases operated upon, with only two deaths. This essay attracted marked attention, not only in this country, but abroad, as he differed with all eminent authorities on the subject. Physicians advise that even today his feat would be remarkable.



BUSINESS INTERESTS

Not only did Wylie bring new ideas into the medical community, by the mid-1890s he was also taking new ideas into the world of engineering. Turning water into electricity was a suggestion that brought loud rounds of hoots from the general public in those early years. That was just the stuff that progress was made of, according to the Wylie approach because doing the improbable was his assignment in life.

James Buchanan Duke was Wylie's partner in creating the Duke Power Company, now the Duke Energy Corporation. Duke became a multimillionaire before the end of the 19th century. He made his money in tobacco, but by about the turn of the century, he was looking for something else to do. Wylie was just the man Duke was looking for. Wylie's revolutionary ideas of building hydroelectric dams and running high-powered electric lines to the point of use convinced Duke to finance Wylie's new scheme. Together they created an enterprise of immense worth. Wylie's ideas and Duke's money made it happen.

In 1896, Wylie became interested in hydroelectric power development in South Carolina. Together with his brother, Dr. Robert H. Wylie, he was involved in the building of a hydroelectric power plant located at Portman Shoals on the Seneca River approximately 11 miles west of Anderson, S.C.

Walker Wylie described his involvement in hydroelectric power in an address to the employees of the Southern Power Company, the predecessor of the Duke Power Company, on Dec. 28, 1912, when he was president:

Sometime during 1895 or 1896, Mr. William C. Whitner, who was a graduate engineer of the University of South Carolina, went North with Mr. John Roddey of Rock Hill, S.C., to interest me and my brother, Dr. R.H. Wylie, in a steam plant, which was used for supplying the city of Anderson, S.C., with water and lights. My brother and I took a large amount of bonds and stock in their company.

MEMORIAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

J. MARION SIMS, M. D.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I am happy to say that Dr. J. Marion Sims has left an autobiography of several hundred pages, giving a full account of his life and work up to 1863; and that he left in manuscript a revised and more or less completed work on "The Surgical Diseases of Women," both of which are soon to be published. What I have to say to-night, up to the time when I first met Dr. Marion Sims in 1868, has been taken directly from the manuscript of his autobiography.

In his autobiography, after some preliminary remarks, he begins: "It is a trite saying, that 'every life is a poem, be it long or short.' Mine has been a real romance, full of incident, anxiety, hope, and care; some disappointments and many successes, with much sickness and sorrow; but it has also been full of joy, contentment, and real happiness.

"I was born in Lancaster County, S. C., January 25,

* Read before the Medical Society of the County of New York January 28, 1884.

In the meantime, Mr. Whitner realized that the steam plant needed to be supplemented with some hydroelectric power, so he began to work out a lease arrangement with the McGalls, in order to install a small plant of 100 horsepower, in the back of their grist mill, located on Rocky River, six miles from the city of Anderson.

This was in the year 1893, and electrical machinery for such work was in the experimental state, and it was quite a difficult problem to decide just what to use. But young William Church Whitner was convinced that high voltage should be employed to as great an extent as possible. He was also able to convince the directors of the Anderson Electric Light and Power Company, as well as my brother and myself, that it was feasible. We purchased from the Stanley Electric Manufacturing Company of Pittsfield, Mass., a 120K.W. alternating current generator wound for 5,000 volts, with all necessary apparatus.

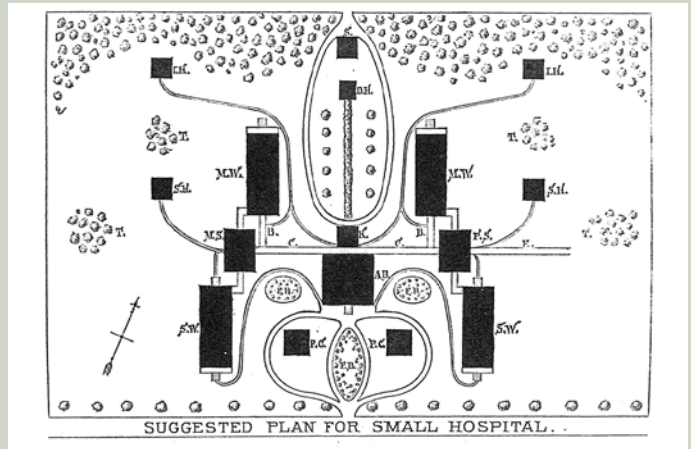
This plant was completed and put in operation by May 1895, and the power furnished from it was used for lighting the city of Anderson and for pumping water for the waterworks. The stockholders of the company were so pleased with the results obtained after operating this plant a few months, that they authorized an increase in the capital stock and bonded indebtedness for the purpose of developing the Portman Shoals property. Whitner decided to use machines wound for 11,000 volts, but no such generators had ever been built. He was finally able to get the Stanley Electric Manufacturing Company to agree to manufacture two 900 horsepower generators, wound for 10,000 volts. They were the first alternating current 10,000 volt generators ever built for commercial work, and, of course, they were regarded as more or less of an experiment.

The plant was put into operation November 1897, and used continuously for many years, thus demonstrating the feasibility of high voltage alternators.

The success of the plant (which was the first long distance hydroelectric transmission plant in the South, for furnishing individual customers, as well as manufacturing concerns), brought about the undeveloped water powers of the state prominently to the notice of the public, and many were surveyed and bought by enterprising investors.

Anderson, S.C., was known throughout the country as the “Electric City.” It was from his success there that Whitner went to Rock Hill, S.C., to design and begin operation of the great hydroelectric plant on the Catawba River for the Wylies. Whitner selected the site because it was only six miles from Rock Hill and 18 miles from Charlotte. Subsequently, the Catawba Power Company was organized under the laws of South Carolina and Walker Gill Wylie became its president.

Wylie hired a young engineer, Dr. William S. Lee, who had just graduated from The Citadel. It was the Wylies’ plan to utilize the entire fall of the Catawba-Wateree River to build a number of



dams and run high-tension electric lines to the place of use. At that time, this was a revolutionary idea, since power plants were usually small and located close to the point of use. The idea of using an entire river basin on which to build dams was unknown. It was an ambitious and audacious plan. The first dam was built at India Hook Shoals on the Catawba River between Rock Hill and Charlotte. This is the dam that forms Lake Wylie.

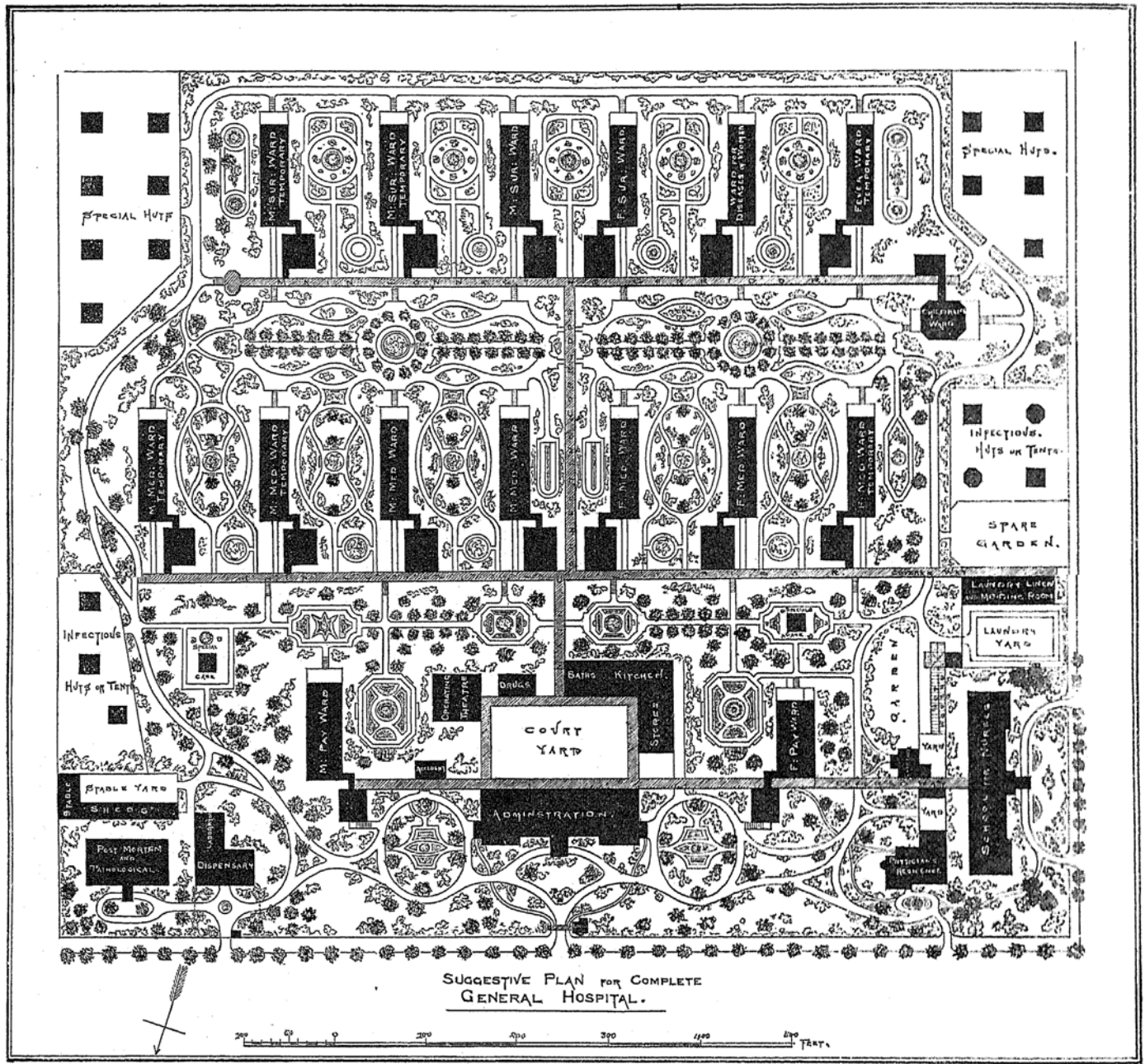
Again turning to Wylie’s speech of Dec. 28, 1912:

I explained to Mr. Lee at that time that if he succeeded with the Catawba plant, his reputation as an engineer would be made, and I explained to him at that time the scheme I had for building dams all along the Catawba so that we could utilize a large part of the 700 foot fall which occurred through its length of 130 miles from Camden, S.C., to Hickory, N.C. I also explained my scheme for keeping silt scoured out of canals and ponds.

The completion of the Catawba plant in the following January and the distribution of the power to Charlotte and other points marked the beginning of our comprehensive hydroelectric development. My brother and I put \$350,000 of our own money into the scheme, and this seems to have convinced the bankers that we were in earnest in the matter.

About this time I met Mr. B.N. Duke, and had the good fortune to successfully perform on him an operation for appendicitis. When this development was first started, Mr. Duke sent an engineer, Mr. Hayes, to examine the work, but Mr. Hayes advised against going into it. But after the Catawba Power plant had run successfully for nine months, Mr. J.B. Duke inquired about my water power and I showed him a copy of our first annual report. He said: “If you will send for that man Lee and let him bring the plans and specifications for development and your maps for other dams, on that river, maybe I will go in with you.”

Wylie didn’t reveal in his speech that he gained the opportunity to talk personally with James “Buck” Duke when he treated him for a sore toe. Combining his medical, engineering, and business skills, Wylie convinced Duke to proceed further and go into the hydroelectric venture with him. That sore toe was a fortunate event for the Carolinas.

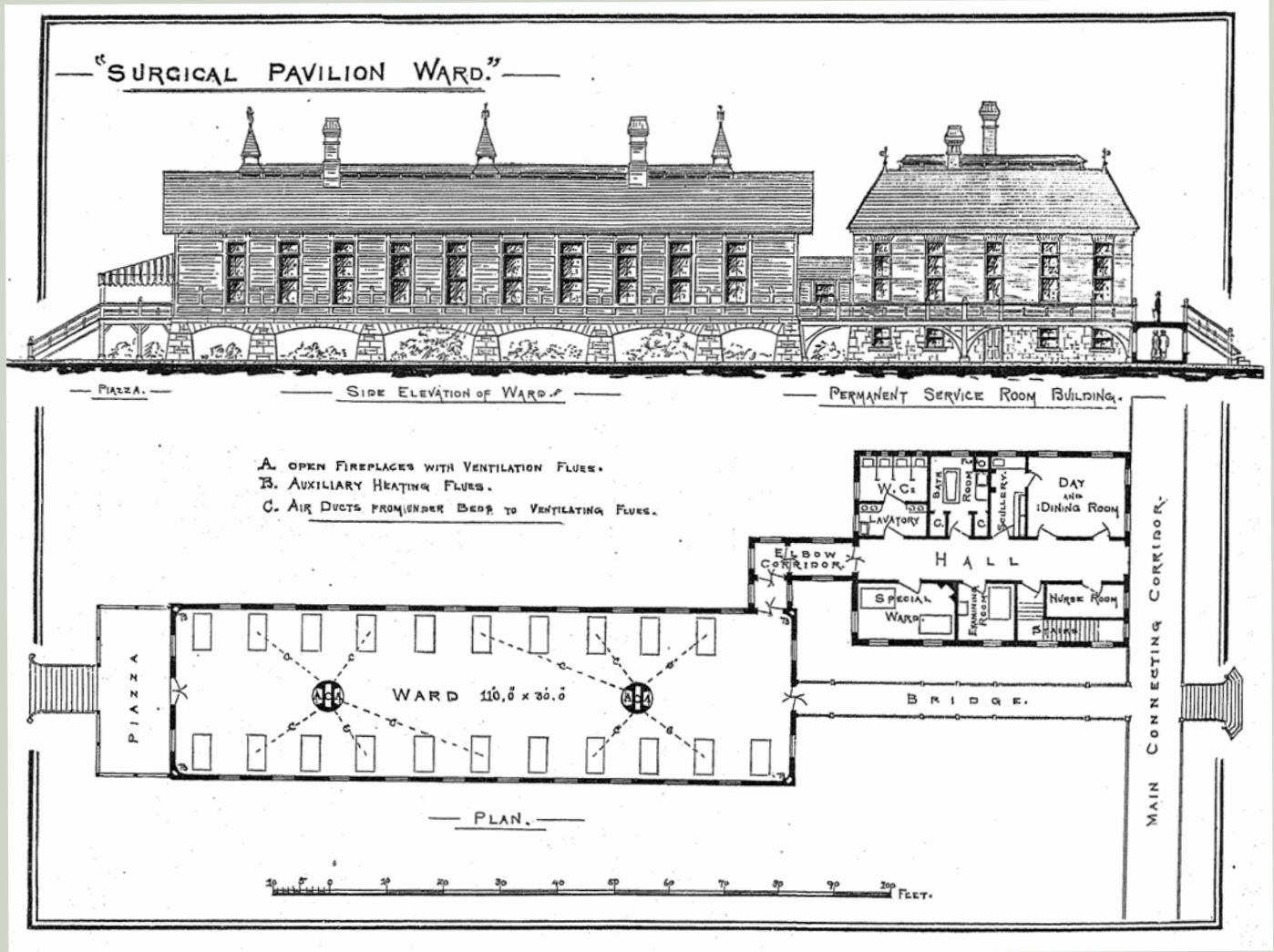


Wylie's Dec. 28, 1912, speech continues:

The result of all this was that we organized the Southern Power Company and raised \$2 million, Mr. Duke raising most of it. My brother and I put in the Catawba Power Company as cash. Nobody else had any stock in the company. Then with Mr. Lee as engineer and manager, and Mr. W.A. Leland as superintendent of construction, we completed the development at Great Falls, S.C., finishing the first dam in 18 months from the time we first broke ground. This produced 40,000 horsepower, making in connection with the Catawba plant, 50,000. In two years more we finished 10,000 horsepower more at Rocky Creek, two miles below Great Falls. Then in a little less than two years we added 24,000 horsepower at Ninety-Nine Islands on the Broad River.

The Southern Power Company now has something like 1,300 miles of transmission lines, and besides the hydroelectric development, we have auxiliary steam turbines creating 10,000 horsepower. We now have one of the largest hydroelectric developments in the world controlled by one company. We can deliver at the same time for 24-hour use about 12,000 horsepower, and would deliver for 10 hours use over 150,000 horsepower. We have on hand sufficient property to at least double the above power, and most of this is on the Catawba.

The Catawba River became the most electrified river in the country, with 10 dams stretching from the headwaters of the Catawba above Marion, N.C., to the Wateree below Camden, S.C. This fulfilled Wylie's dream.



PASSING OF THIS “MAN FOR ALL SEASONS”

Walker Gill Wylie, a son of South Carolina, who had changed two professions for the betterment of all humanity, died on March 13, 1923. For the Southern Power Company, it marked the death of a founder and the passing of an era. It also had a profound effect on Wylie’s longtime friend James Buchanan Duke: it set him to thinking more about his own limited future, and he launched one of the most ambitious and far-reaching programs in the history of philanthropy, creating the Duke Endowment.

WYLIE’S *NEW YORK TIMES* OBITUARY

The *New York Times*, in the lead obituary on March 14, 1923, told the world of Wylie’s death with a headline that read: “Report of Noted Surgeon and Lecturer Was Basis for First Nursing School.”

Dr. Walker Gill Wylie, gynecologist, and famous surgeon, died yesterday at his home, 28 West Fortieth Street. It was from his reports on European nursing systems that the first nurses’ school was established in 1873, at Bellevue

Hospital. Dr. Wylie was born at Chester, S.C., seventy-four years ago, the son of Alexander Pearson Wylie. At age 16 he enlisted in the Confederate Army, and as Lieutenant, commanded a company under Johnston’s retreating army during Sherman’s march to the sea. After the war he went to University of South Carolina and graduated in 1868. He then entered the Bellevue Medical College in this city and received his MD in 1871. The next year he went abroad to study hospital construction and nurses’ training, returning in 1873 to begin private practice in New York. Appointed visiting gynecologist to Bellevue Hospital in 1882, Dr. Wylie held that post for twenty-five years. He also became Professor of Gynecology at the Polyclinic School of Medicine in 1882 and lectured there on gynecology and abdominal surgery for 20 years. Dr. Wylie was a member of the New York Academy of Medicine, the New York County Medical Society, the New York Pathological Society, the New York Obstetrical Society, American Gynecological Society, the Royal Society of Medicine in London and other kindred organizations.

Laurence Cromp

CAROLINA HERALD

His Excellency JOHN Lord GRANVILLE
Palatine, The Right Hon.^{ble} WILLIAM Lord Craven, The Right Hon.^{ble} John Lord Carteret, the Right Hon.^{ble} Maurice Ashley Esq^r, the Right Hon.^{ble} Sir John Colleton Baronet, and the rest of the true and absolute Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina To Laurence Cromp Esq^r York Herald of Arms Greeting WHE R E A S Our late Sovereign Lord Charles the second King of great Brittain, France and Ireland and the Dominions therunto belonging, of his special grace and Fav our did give and grant unto Edward Earl of Glouceston, George Duke of Albemart, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton Kn^t and Bar^{on} and Sir William Berkeley Kn^t our Predecessors and to their Heirs and Successors for ever, together with the Province of Carolina, Power States, Degrees, both of Titles, Dignities and Honours, there to be settled and sett up as of Men well deserving the same Degrees to bear, and with such Titles to be Honour'd and Adorn'd, And Whereas by our form of Government It was by our said Predecessors Established and Constituted, and is by us and our Heirs and Successors for ever to be observed, That there be a certain Number of Landgraves and Esquires who may be and are the perpetual and Hereditary Nobles and Peers of our said Province of Carolina, and to the End that such Rule and Order of Honor may be Established and Settled in our said Province. We therefore for the said John Lord Granville Palatine and the rest of the Lord Proprietors of the said Province Carolina being well Satisfied of the great Integrity, Skill and Ability of you this Laurence Cromp, Doe hereby make, constitute and appoint, and hereby have made, constituted and appointed you the said Laurence Cromp to be President of our Court Honor and principal Herald of our whole Province of Carolina, by the Name of Carolina Herald, To hold the same during the Term of your Natural life with such Fees, Perquisites and Profitts as shall be approved on and Settled by us, and as perpetual Monument of our Favour towards our Landgraves and Esquires, and their Merit, We do hereby authorize, Impower and direct you the said Laurence Cromp Carolina Herald, to devise, give, grant, and assign to the said Landgraves and Esquires of our S^d Province upon the Face of the Sun in its GLORY such Arms and Crests as you shall think most proper, Upon the Escutcheon of the said Arms a Landgraves & Esquires Cap of Honor, which said Judges or Distinctions of Honor they are not to make We till assign'd by you, and to Inveat our said Landgraves & Esquires that are already made it to be made, in Robes of Scarlet Interlaced with Gold, to be by them worn on all great & Solemn Occasions, & also to Inveat them with a Purple Ribbon or Gold Chain, with the Sun in its GLORY Pendant at the same, with this Motto about the Face of the said Sun *VIVISQUE DEUS FLAVIS LUCEM ESSE BENIAM*, which said Gold Chain and Sun or Purple Ribbon when, We Injoyne and require them always to appear with. Draughts of all which are depicted in the Margin hereof, & We doe hereby grant & confirm to the said Landgraves & Esquires of our said Province and their Heirs for ever all the above mentioned Honorable Distinctions of Nobility. And We do hereby further direct, grant & Impower you, under your hand & Seal to devise, give, grant and assign upon the Face of the Sun in its GLORY such Arms & Crests as you shall think most fitt & proper to all such Inhabitants of our said Province, that to you shall appear deserving the same as an everlasting Monument to them of their Dignity of their Title & Descent from our S^d Province of Carolina And We likewise Impower you to hold a Court of Honor & to Give & Cause to appear before you all such Personar Offendors, as shall presume to use any Coat of Arms that they cannot make out their own Right, to then to deface the same where ever borne or sett up & make publick Proclamation thereof, and also we require, that all the Inhabitants aforesaid duly observe the Rules & Orders of your said Court. And you are also hereby obliged to keep a Register of all such Arms, Crests or Alterations & Assignments of Arms as shall by you be granted or assign'd to any Personar Inhabitants of our said Province, and you are to preserve & Register the Pedigrees and Descents of the severall Families Inhabitants of our said Province, and you are to regulate all publick & Solemn Processions & Meetings, and singular the premises above mentioned, We do hereby Impower you by your self for your sufficient Deputy or Deputies to performe, & execute, & to doe & performe all singular other matters & things that are necessary which to your Office shall belong or appertaine GIVEN under our Names & the great Seal of our Province June 1705

Taken from the Original in the custody of Peter de Meuse Esq^r Secretary & now in the custody of Mr^s Thigson of the Vice Clerks Office who is one of the Clerks of our S^d Province

Signed by Granville Palatine Craven Granville for Carteret M. Ashley Colleton

Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina

The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, drawn up by John Locke in 1669, provided for hereditary nobility consisting of one landgrave and two cassiques from each of the colony's 25 provinces. The "Grand Model of Government," as the Fundamental Constitutions came to be known, stipulated that the dignity of the proprietors, landgraves, and cassiques be supported by grants of large estates and secured by making these estates forever inseparable from the titles and privileges of the respective orders.

In order to furnish to these nobles with the outward and visible signs of their status, the Lords Proprietors in 1705 appointed

Laurence Crompton, Esq., of Worcester to the position of Carolina Herald, with power to grant arms to the landgraves and cassiques. How many grants of arms Crompton, who died in 1715, may have made is uncertain, but the North Carolina Department of Archives and History holds one such document executed by the Carolina Herald by whose authority Christopher DeGraffenreid was appointed landgrave, a position within the governing hierarchy of the Carolina colony. It is unknown whether the Carolina nobility ever had the opportunity to wear their gold chains or robes of scarlet and gold specified by the document.

The text of the document, reproduced here in part, reads as follows:

"WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord Charles the Second King of great Brittain, France and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging, of his special Grace and Favour did give and grant unto Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sr. George Carteret, Sr. John Colleton Knts. and Barts. and Sr. William Berkeley Knt. our Predecessors and to their Heires and Successors forever, together with the Province of Carolina, Power, States, Degrees, both of Titles, Dignities and Honours, there to be Settled and Sett up as of Men well deserving the same Degrees to bear, and with such Titles to be Honoured and adorned, AND WHEREAS by our form of Government It was by our said Predecessor Established and Constituted, and is by us and our Heires and Successors for ever to be observed, That there be a certain Number of Landgraves and Cassiques who may be and are the perpetual and Hereditary Nobles and Peers of our said Province of Carolina, and to the End that above Rule and Order of Honor may be Established and Settled in our Said Province. We therefore ... the Lord Proprietors of the said Province of Carolina being well Satisfied of the great Integrity, Skill and Ability of you the Sd. Laurence Crompton, Doe hereby make, Constitute and appoint, and hereby have made, constituted and appointed You the said Laurence Crompton to be President of our Court of Honor and principal Herald of our whole Province of Carolina, by the Name of Carolina Herald. To hold the Same dureing the Term of Your Natural Life with such Fees, Perquisites and Proffitts as Shall be approved on and Settled by us, and as perpetual Monument of our Favour towards our Landgraves and Cassiques and their Meritt, We do hereby Authorise, Impower and direct you the said Laurence Crompton Carolina Herald, to devise, give, Grant and Assigne to the said Landgraves and Cassiques of our Sd. Province upon the Face of the Sun in its' Glory Such Arms and Crest as you Shall think most proper, & upon the Escoccheon of the said Arms a Landgraves & Cassiques Cap of Honor, which said Badges or Distinctions of Honor they are not to make use till assigned by You, and to Invest our Said Landgraves & Cassiques that are already made & to be made, in Robes of Scarlet Interlaced with Gold, to be by them worn on all great & Solemn Occasions, & also to Invest them with a Purple Ribbon or Gold Chain, with the Sun in its Glory Pendant at the Same, with this Motto about the Face of the Said Sun VIDIT QUE DEUS HANCLUCEM ESSE BONAM, which said Gold Chain and Sun or Purple Ribbon & Sun, We Injoyne and require them always to appear with. Draughts of all which are depicted in the Margin hereof, & We doe hereby grant & Confirm to the said Landgraves & Cassiques of our Said Province and their Heires for Ever all the above mentioned Honorable Distinctions of Nobility. And We do hereby further direct, Grant & impower you, under your hand & Seal to devise, Give, grant and assign upon the Face of the Sun in its' Glory such Arms & Crests as you Shall think most ffitt & proper to all such Inhabitants of our said Province, that to you shall appear deserving the Same as an Everlasting Monumt. to them and their Posterity of their Rise & Descent from our sd. Province of Carolina, And We likewise Impower You to hold a Court of Honor & to Cite & Cause to appear before you all such Person or Persons, as Shall presume to use any Coat of Arms that they cannot make out their due Right to, then to defuce the Same wheresoever borne or Sett up & make publick Proclamacon thereof, and also we require that all the Inhabitants aforesaid duely observe the Rules & Orders of your Said Court. And you are also hereby obliged to keep a Register of all Such Arms, Crests or Alterations & Assignmts. of Arms as Shall by you be granted or Assigned to Any Persons Inhabitants of Our said Province, And you are to preserve & Register the Pedigrees and Descents of the Severall Familys Inhabitants of Our Said Province, And you are to regulate all Publick & Solemne Processions & Meetings & all & Singular the promises above mentioned.... Given under Our Hands & the great Seal of Our Province 1st June 1705."

Signed by Lords Proprietors Granville, Craven, Carteret, Ashley, and Colleton, this copy of the document was "Taken from the Original in the Custody of Peter LeNeue ... & now in the Custody of Mr. Hodgson ... who is one of the Landgraves."

HENRY TIMROD'S FINAL REVISIONS TO "Ode on the Confederate Dead"

BY CARL B. STRANGE JR.



Henry Timrod

Henry Timrod's "Ode on the Confederate Dead" is the best-known poem by the premier poet of the 19th-century South. Students of American literature, even in Connecticut where I teach, are exposed to Henry Timrod almost exclusively through this poem. Despite its popularity, though, the version so familiar today is really a penultimate draft; the final revision was all but lost—until I unearthed it in my office in 2006.

The journey of this final draft begins on a rainy Saturday afternoon in June 1866 when thousands gathered at Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston to consecrate the graves of Confederate soldiers. Organizers hoped that after numerous reinterments, with more than 600 graves representing most Southern states, the ground had received its full burden of the fallen. Clergymen and singers welcomed the mourners with various musical and rhetorical flourishes. Amid these a choir sang Timrod's ode, identified as the work of "the Poet Laureate of the South."

Sleep sweetly in your humble graves,
Sleep, martyrs of a fallen cause,
Though yet no marble column craves
The pilgrim here to pause.

In seeds of laurels in the earth
The blossom of your fame is blown:
And somewhere, waiting for its birth,
The shaft is in the stone!

Meanwhile your sisters for the years
Which held in trust your storied tombs
Bring all they [now] can give you—tears,
And these memorial blooms.

Small tributes! But your shades will smile
More proudly on those wreaths to-day
Than when some cannon-moulded pile
Shall overlook this bay.

Stoop, angels, hither from the skies!
There is no holier spot of ground
Than where defeated valor lies
By mourning beauty crowned!

Printed the following Tuesday in the [Columbia] *Daily South Carolinian* was this text, Timrod's last revision, rather than the one heard by the mourners in Charleston. The poet, dissatisfied with some of its phrases and punctuation, had already redrawn a poem he must have sensed would be reprinted across the South, parsed closely by national critics, and weighed more heavily in his evaluation than any previous work. Just a day earlier, on June 18, the *Charleston Courier* had published the first version; since the *Daily South Carolinian* was Timrod's employer just then, the poet undoubtedly supplied his own editor with the new version.

ASPECTS OF THE REVISION

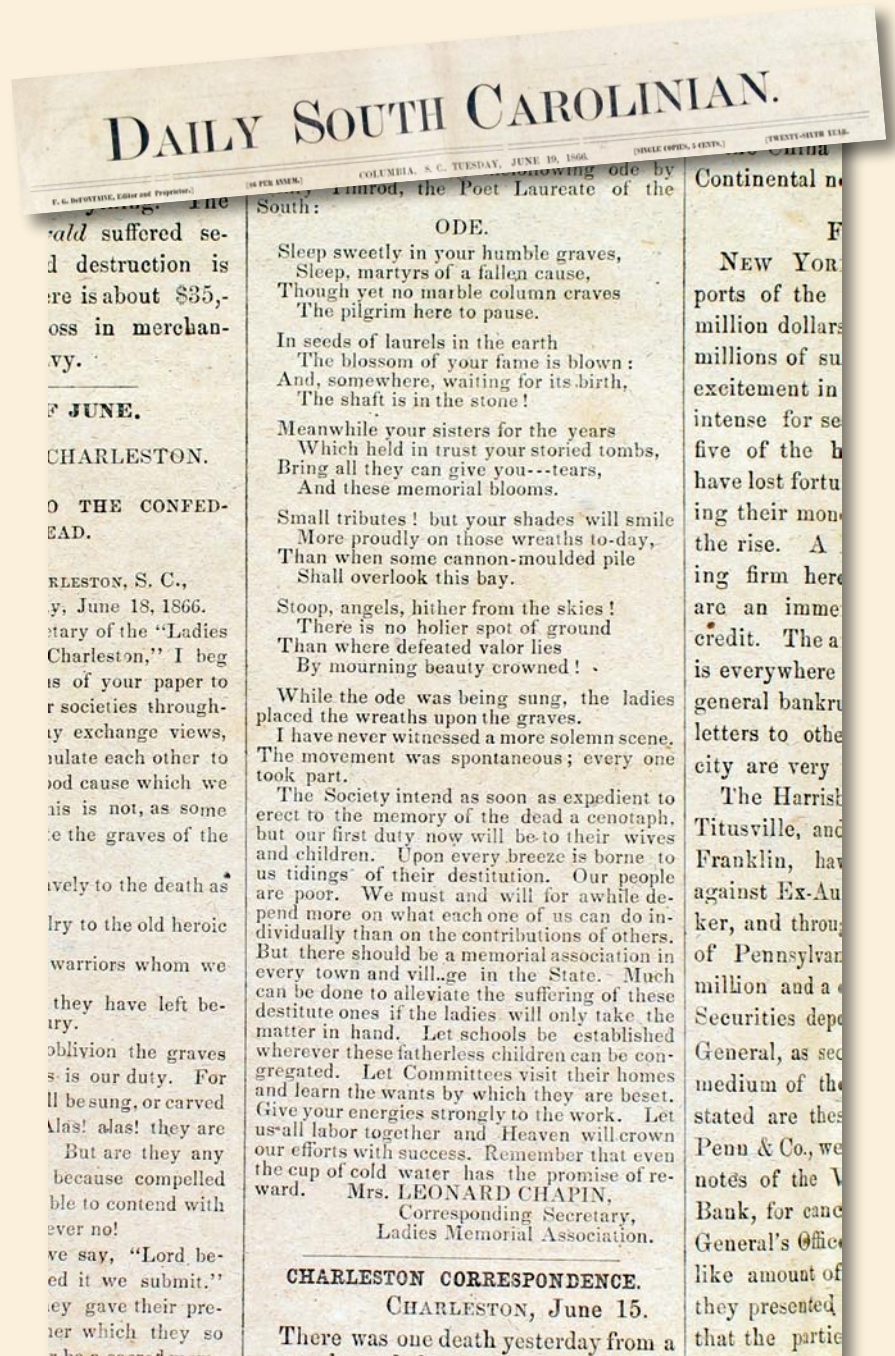
The final revision attempted, first, to resolve ambiguities of usage and meter. Timrod, for instance, rewrote a dash into the final foot of line 11, which he may have felt establishes a properly breathless halt in his stream of imagery leading to the sonorous “memorial blooms.” Another change equates the day’s flowers with the eventual stone monuments; originally the comparison gave more weight to the tears and flowers. It may have occurred to Timrod that his ode would inevitably be linked with efforts to erect monuments, and it was better not to risk diminishing those later efforts.

Despite Timrod’s pains, the revised ode very nearly died with him 16 months later. His papers reveal no further emendations. When Paul Hamilton Hayne edited Timrod’s collected poems in 1873, six years after his death, he presented as definitive the first version, possibly for sentimental reasons. A faulty memory may explain why he dated the poem 1867, a precedent seldom challenged although for most of the past century Timrod scholars have recognized that his poem was written in 1866. Anthologists long dismissed a later *Courier* version—the revision—as a unique variant, probably with transcriptive errors. Edd Winfield Parks, whose mid-century work pushed Timrod scholarship very far, knew that the popular version was actually the first. The discovery of the final revision supports Parks, corroborates the *Courier* version, and shows that Timrod was done tinkering with his poem before the floral wreaths at Magnolia wilted.

IMPORTANCE OF THE REVISION

Establishing the ode’s 1866 creation matters to readers of Timrod. The poet’s life in 1867 registered despondent drudgery alongside progressing tuberculosis, but the previous year was an absolute crisis of survival for himself and his community. The Charleston native had been a Columbian since January 1864. There he had married Kate Goodwin and rejoiced over the birth of their son, William. There he had watched the Federal army lob shells into the city from across the Congaree before marching uphill into the capital. After the drunken melee and the fire, the army left a smoking ruin of 84 city blocks, some 366 acres, with about 1,300 homes, businesses, and churches destroyed.

The February 1865 fire brought Columbians hopelessness, dislocation, and starvation. The vast bulk of the fired area was still in ruins over a year later, some streets still blocked by rubble. Residents simply lacked the resources to shelter or feed their



Timrod’s “Ode”

homeless, much less to begin rebuilding. With currency, contracts, and stocks defunct, families survived by trading porcelain, garden produce, sterling and plate, even furniture for flour and bacon. Privately owned guns acquired a grim importance in the eclipse of civil authority. Infrastructure large and small was wrecked. Fire hoses had been slashed with bayonets, rail lines destroyed 30 miles out, bridges burned. Columbia lay nearly isolated, linked only by unreliable stage roads on which wartime maintenance had been deferred. The most capable citizens were precisely those whom the conquerors would be slowest to entrust with responsibilities. Worse, a late crop in 1865 was followed the next year by a severe drought.



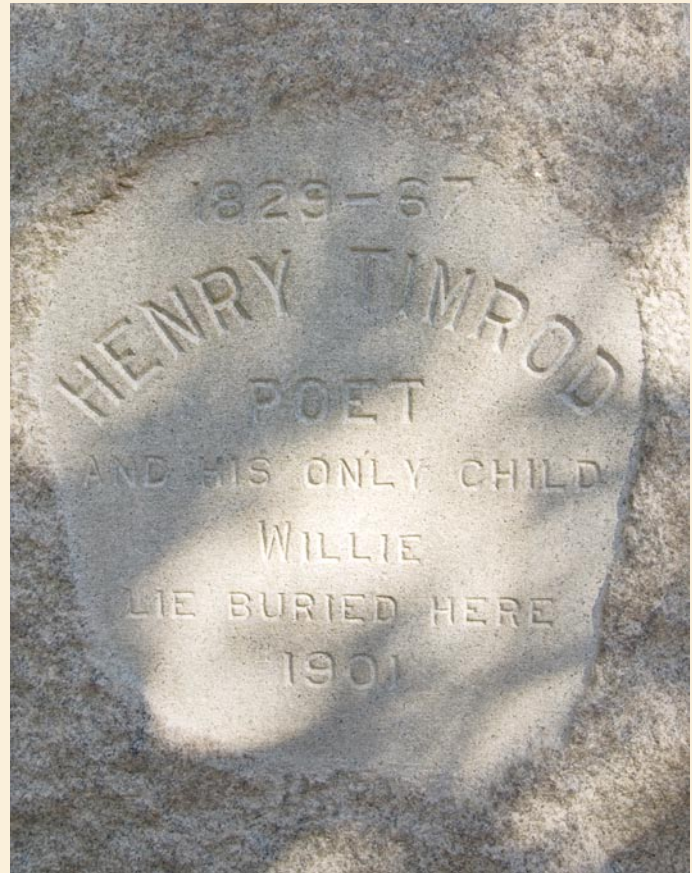
Grave of Henry Timrod and his son, Willie, located in the churchyard of Trinity Episcopal Cathedral in Columbia

Eight months after the fire, the Timrods' infant son died, piling grief upon misery. This bleak winter of "beggary, starvation, death, bitter grief, utter want of hope" was the context of his ode. Not until fall would he draw a reliable income as private secretary to Governor James L. Orr, manfully groping forward in spite of everything. Had he written in this later period instead of during the howling crises of 1865–1866, one might conclude that the poet had girded his stoic core, that the passage of time and delivery from actual fear and hunger had helped him regain his classical poise. But no: Timrod wrote with that poise even in the sunless depth of reversal, blind with tears, surrounded by others in like straits.

Considering Timrod's accomplishment in this light means reading him as an artist hammered into his finest form by overwhelming circumstances. Clearly, when he lulls the fallen to sleep sweetly in their humble graves, the grave that pulls most painfully at his own heart is that of his 10-month-old son, who must have seemed to his father to be as fully enrolled among the Confederate dead as the soldiers whom disease or accident had brought down far from the battlefield. Timrod dug deep to find the right words at a moment of darkest personal anguish, without the healing perspective of another year's passage. He reached beyond the wrung-out Confederate heart to touch the universal, by enshrining the Lost Cause concretely through the acknowledgment of actual persons. Remembrance thus framed helped to heal and dignify those remembering. The poet's unrest over getting this one point just so, that in the defeated South no poverty of materials or subjugation of manhood would be permanent, explains his obvious pains over the third stanza: All we have today are flowers, but someday we shall bend mourning beauty to dedicate a more lasting crown. This message, as with any elegy, is for the living: Here lies valor, defeated, but undestroyed.

DISCOVERING THE REVISION

Someone preserved the only extant copy of the *Daily South Carolinian* for 19 June, 1866, for many decades but failed to alert heirs to its literary significance. When it joined a sea of other items



Inscription on Timrod's gravestone

in an estate auction in 1973, I bought it for \$5 as a curiosity but did not then look beyond the front page, largely devoted to hopeful-sounding block advertisements. It followed me on a 14-year sojourn in Alaska, tucked safely away. When finally I found the ode on page 2, I noticed the differences at once and realized that this artifact needed a more accessible home than my filing cabinet.

In June 2006, 140 years after it was printed in Columbia, I donated the newspaper to the South Caroliniana Library.

—Carl B. Strange Jr. teaches in the Department of World Languages at Masuk High School in Monroe, Conn.

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WILLIAM DRAYTON RUTHERFORD

The Human Side of the Warrior

BY MAC WYCKOFF

Some people view Civil War soldiers as one-dimensional angels or devils. I suggest that the soldiers were simply human with all the good and bad attributes that humans possess. The letters of a soldier can bring out these attributes and expose their multidimensional character.

A case in point is William Drayton Rutherford. The letters between Rutherford and his wife, Sallie Fair, augmented by the letters of Rutherford's friends James Drayton Nance and Young John Pope bring him to life and present an interesting story. Representative letters of Rutherford, Nances, and Popes are found in the William Drayton Rutherford Papers at the South Caroliniana Library.

RUTHERFORD'S EARLY LIFE

William Drayton Rutherford was born on Sept. 21, 1837. His father was Dr. Thomas Brooks Rutherford, a prominent physician in the Whitmire area of Newberry District. His mother was Laura (Adams) Rutherford. She came from a prominent family in Massachusetts.

Rutherford, known as Drate to his friends, attended school at male academies in the Newberry and Greenville Districts before entering South Carolina Military College, The Citadel. He withdrew after one year as he did not like the strictness of military discipline. He enrolled at South Carolina College (now the University of South Carolina) and was quickly promoted to the junior class. His college life in Columbia did not last long, as he was expelled for a role in a student rebellion.

Rutherford went to Europe, probably in early 1859, with several other soon-to-be-prominent young South Carolinians, including James Fitz James Caldwell, and Alfred Doby. He toured Scotland, Paris, and Berlin, where he may have studied law. The date of his return is unknown, but he passed the bar on May 14, 1860, and went into law practice with his cousin, James Drayton Nance.

All this time, Rutherford had been courting Sallie Fair, the daughter of Col. Simeon Fair, a well-known lawyer in Newberry. Their correspondence suggests that they had been "promised" to each other since before he left for Europe. However, their promise had been kept secret and was then postponed by the outbreak of the Civil War.



RUTHERFORD THE SOLDIER

Rutherford enlisted as a private in Company E, 3rd South Carolina, on April 13, 1861. The company was commanded by his law partner and cousin, James Nance, known to his friends as Jimmy. By the time they left for Virginia in June, Drate had been promoted to adjutant. His job involved keeping the regimental records and writing reports, tasks that required someone with the organizational skills and writing ability which are reflected in Drate's letters.

When they left for Virginia, Drate wrote Sallie, "Leaving the home of my childhood and all I love best, perhaps forever was a thought I could not well put aside. But when the order was given to march I soon forgot this in my duties and went, on my way, if not rejoicing, at least reconciled to my unpleasant situation." This passage clearly reflects his inner struggle of wanting to be in Newberry with Sallie and yet his sense of patriotic duty to the cause of his state. This inner struggle lasted the rest of his life.

During the First Battle of Manassas, Rutherford's unit held the key position in the center where the fighting was expected, but the attack was on the flank. In the fall, most of his letters describe camp life, expectations for military action that did not come, and sickness in camp. Rutherford (who has not yet been shot at) told Sallie that the battlefield is the safest place to be: "No soldier will hesitate to choose between the invigorating excitement of battle and a contest with the almost fatal and insidious enemy camp sickness."



REENLISTMENT AND MARRIAGE

Union occupation of the South Carolina coast at Port Royal Sound in November of 1861 posed a direct threat to the homes and family of South Carolina and greatly disturbed the Carolinians stationed in Virginia. As the weeks went by and the Union army remained passive in Northern Virginia and on the South Carolina coast, Rutherford's letters become dominated by two things—the reenlistment issue and his marriage to Sallie. (The one-year enlistment of the men of the Third South Carolina was due to expire on April 13, 1862.) To him these two issues were related. The soldiers who re-enlisted would be given a furlough, and he planned to use that time at home to fulfill his promise to Sallie.

In January, Drate reminded Sallie of a promise made last September. He felt confident that he would get a furlough, but not until after the reenlistment in mid-April, and they could be married. Another letter mentions that furloughs were given in cases of sickness and in cases of "urgent and exceptional" nature. He wondered if marriage would be considered "urgent and exceptional." He then added, "If they knew how I had waited for three years, they might say I could wait three months." As his hopes for furlough got closer, he proposed a wedding date of April 22, but worried that something would go wrong. "Shall the cup so near the lips," he wrote, "be dashed away! Can fate be so cruel?" His concern seemed to be that Sallie was not yet ready for marriage. The letters contain back-and-forth discussions about the difference between a dead husband and a dead, much-loved lover. In order to convince her he argued "for a husband, one weeps, gets sympathy, and is consoled, the other dares not tell her tale of woe and hides her grief." In February, he asked if she had told her grandmother and complimented her for keeping the secret so well.

The big day came sometime in late February or early March. There is no correspondence between them from Feb. 18 until a March 22 letter said, "It really seems as tho I saw nothing of you last week." Another soldier commented that those who reenlisted in February were given a 30-day furlough and the big event that happened at home was the wedding of Drate and Sallie. This soldier noted that every member of Company E of the 3rd South Carolina (Rutherford's original company) received a piece of wedding cake.

The lack of enthusiasm for reenlisting greatly stressed Rutherford. In a Jan. 19, 1862, letter he almost despaired of the cause. He wrote Sallie that the men were focused on going home, not fighting for the cause. Sallie responded that the women at home had as little patriotism as the soldiers. They want their sons and husbands home, she told Drate.

REBELLION IN THE RANKS

In the early spring the action had shifted from Northern Virginia to the peninsula between the York and James rivers east of Richmond. On April 11, Rutherford reported that the men were confident, determined, and in better spirits and more cheerful than he ever saw them. Some men had agreed to stay beyond the end of their enlistment until the crisis on the peninsula was over. On April 16, he added that 130 had stacked arms and left for home. "Alas! For South Carolina that she should nurture Sons to dishonor her," he wrote. "Will not the brave women scorn to smile upon them, and greet them with indignation instead of joy." On that same day, the Conscription Bill passed, settling the issue and returning the men who left to the ranks.

No sooner had this crisis ended than another appeared. On May 13, the regiment would elect officers. The day after the Conscription Bill passed, Rutherford wrote a remarkable letter to James Nance



in which he evaluated every company commander in the regiment. Nance was home on leave, having nearly died. He suffered from jaundice, bronchitis, pneumonia, typhoid fever, and erysipelas that forced his absence for five months. The regiment suffered poor morale and lack of discipline and leadership at all levels. Rutherford hoped his law partner and cousin would return soon as, in his opinion, Nance was the only one who could save the regiment.

The May election marked the turning point in the regiment's history. Despite what Rutherford described as "fierce opposition," Nance was elected colonel. Rutherford was elected major, and his friend Y.J. Pope replaced him as adjutant. Only four of the 10 company commanders were reelected. The new officers were younger and more competent and aggressive. The companies from Nance's hometown of Newberry "opposed him bitterly" in Rutherford's words. Rutherford wrote that many of their townsmen preferred the reelection of Col. James H. Williams. The original regimental commander was popular, but his lack of leadership and discipline had greatly disappointed Nance and Rutherford. As a Citadel graduate, these are exactly the qualities that Nance brought to the regiment. Within nine days of Nance's taking command, Rutherford reported that the "fierce opposition to Jimmy is being reconciled, he is bringing everything to thorough discipline and in a few weeks, I hope, will enable him to command that confidence and

respect." However, he criticized Jimmy for using Capt. Rutherford Todd and Capt. B.S. Jones (two of those whom Rutherford felt gave the regiment a bad reputation) to gain enough votes to win the election. He believed that the ends do not justify the means.

The Confederate retreat up the peninsula to Richmond had created a military crisis, but in the camp of the 3rd South Carolina things had begun to settle down. Rutherford wrote Sallie that he was the only one in his mess (which included Nance and Pope) who was married, and the others teased him for being so homesick and star gazing. He added that Jimmy Nance was being chided by his sister, Laura, about not finding a wife. Interestingly, Laura was engaged to Pope. Jimmy finally had enough and told her that he was too busy with his duties. We now know that this was not always the case.

THE BRUTAL REALITIES OF WAR

Despite being in Virginia for more than a year, the 3rd South Carolina had not yet suffered any battle casualties. That was about to change. On June 18, one member of the unit was killed and eight were wounded in a small skirmish. Four days later Rutherford wrote, "How nice it would be to transport myself from this land of frowns and passion and volcanoes to the dear pleasure of one I know, where all to me is sunshine and happiness!"

But Rutherford did not yet understand the brutal realities of war. At Savage Station, just east of Richmond, on June 29, the regiment lost 37 men, 95 were wounded, and three were missing. In the bloody years ahead, only at Fredericksburg and Chickamauga would the 3rd South Carolina lose more men. Two days later the unit was again heavily engaged at Malvern Hill.

In the aftermath of what became known as the Seven Days Campaign, Rutherford's words to Sallie reflect his realization of war's realities. "Oh, I am heartsick," he wrote, "of the wrecks I have seen of brutal human passion! I have passed over three battlefields, red with the hearts warm blood, and crowded with the mangled bodies of the slain, and I have thought that the fiends of infernal regions, if they should string a harp with the heart strings of the doomed could not make a music so grating to the soul as the shrieks and groans of dead and dying. Can decent humanity rejoice in such scenes as this! God forbid!" Having said that, he added a passage which again reflects his inner turmoil, "But we are not men if we swerve one iota from the path of duty, though that path leads to sure destruction. Military glory is murderous vanity; military duty is the prerogative of patriots, and this alone divides me from my cherished wife, and keeps my body where my heart is not."

WOUNDED, CAPTURED, FURLOUGHED

The Third South Carolina was among the units that arrived on the plains of Manassas after the Second Battle of Manassas. They crossed the Potomac River into Maryland and turned west across a ridge known as South Mountain. By the time they reached Brownsville on the west side of the ridge, Rutherford was too weak from illness to continue. He was captured in Brownsville on Sept. 12, but stayed until the 16th in the community with the Botelers who devoted themselves to his recovery. He was sent to Baltimore, where a wealthy family cared for him. He was paroled on Oct. 1 and sent to Richmond for exchange. His captivity was so short and painless that, as he wrote Sallie on Oct. 3, "It was almost impossible to realize my imprisonment."

Rutherford must have been quickly exchanged and furloughed to go home, as there are no letters between Oct. 3 and his return to the army on Dec. 6. Drate brought with him several boxes of food, including cakes and a jug of liquor to share with the regiment. A festive party soon erupted. Drate told Sallie that the boxes were opened by the men like children opening packages on Christmas morning. Drate's friends had bet on whether he would bring a jug of liquor. Jimmie had resolved "to cashier" him if he did not. After the party, Jimmie gathered up bottles to send home for a refill. He hoped they would "not be long finding their way back." This incident reveals a very different side of the deeply religious, stern-disciplinarian colonel. On the other hand, after an exhausting three-mile walk through the snow returning from picket duty, Adjutant Pope had dinner and went to bed in no mood to join the merrymakers. About midnight, the revelers woke him, and the men were having such fun that he had to laugh, "whether I wished to do so or not."

The weather had turned very cold. A half-foot of snowfall had occurred on the night of the 5th. While washing his face on the 8th, Rutherford's whiskers froze, and he had to thaw them by the fire. He wrote Sallie in pencil as the ink froze in his pen. The Carolinians endured the wintry weather with only two blankets each. They lacked warm clothes, and many had no shoes. Drate was glad to have returned with extra clothes along with the boxes of food. Jimmie had saved Drate's blankets, but his horse, saddle, sword, pistol, and clothes had all been stolen during his absence. Two or three men understandably slept together to share body warmth. Drate was spoiled by being home for six weeks. He missed Sallie terribly. "I imagine Jimmie [Nance] in my sleep to be my own dear bed fellow."





BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG

During the Battle of Fredericksburg on Dec. 13, the 3rd South Carolina initially remained in their position on what is now called Lee Hill. In the early afternoon, they received orders to reinforce the Confederate position on Marye's Heights. Colonel Nance led them up the back side of the heights. As the column strung out and the Union threat to Marye's Heights increased, Nance hurried forward six companies and left Pope behind to bring up the four trailing companies. When you read Nance's "after action report" as you walk the ground, you can understand exactly why the colonel did what he did. Reaching the plateau of the heights, they came under artillery fire yet could not see their enemy on the low ground in front of the heights. Nance led his command forward on the north side of the Marye House to a knoll on the edge of the plateau. Here they could see the Union soldiers. Unfortunately for the 3rd South Carolina, the Yankees could also see them. Numerous accounts by the South Carolinians verify what happened next. They quickly hit the ground. A member of the unit wrote, "The balls came as thick as hail, and it is wonderful everyone was not either killed or wounded." The regiment lost all seven of its highest ranking officers, including Nance, who was severely wounded in the leg, and Rutherford, who was hit by two balls. Four of the six companies lost 48 percent or more of their men on that knoll. By the end of the day, the 3rd South Carolina had lost 45 men, and 121 were wounded out of 400 men engaged. Only at Chickamauga would the unit suffer more men killed.

Rutherford's letters do not mention his wound and neither his Compiled Service Record nor the casualty lists reported in the newspapers describe the severity of the wounds. Since there are no letters to Sallie for the next 16 months, we can assume that the wounds were severe and he was home during this time.

THE WILDERNESS

Rutherford missed three of the bloodiest battles in American history: Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Chickamauga. He rejoined his command on April 10, 1864, near Bristol on the northeast Tennessee border with southwest Virginia. On May 4, he and his men began their advance into the gloomy, jungle-like thickets known as The Wilderness. They missed the fighting on the fifth, but arrived on the battlefield around 6 a.m. on the sixth. Several hours later Col. Nance was shot in the head. The battle raged on for some time, with Nance's body being struck four more times. Rutherford took command of the regiment but felt "unutterable grief" at the loss of his friend. He felt that Nance's presence was irreplaceable—"the one irreplaceable man in the regiment." Other members of the regiment felt similarly about Nance. On May 9, Rutherford wrote Sallie, "How I miss him. No one to be a companion in this miserable life. It is too painful for thought." Jimmy was more than Rutherford's commanding officer. He was his tent-mate, his law partner, his cousin, his friend.

On the night of May 7, the army began shifting south in a race to an intersection at Spotsylvania Court House. On the morning of May 8, the 3rd South Carolina and their sister regiments of the brigade

saved the day for Lee's army by blocking the Union advance. It was Rutherford's first battle as a regimental commander and earned him high praise throughout the army, including from Gen. Robert E. Lee himself. Rutherford was not the military leader that Nance was, but he performed his job with competence.

As the troops moved south on the bloody road from Spotsylvania to North Anna River to Cold Harbor, Rutherford continued to voice confidence to his wife of their eventual success. He admitted in a vast understatement on June 5, that "these dreadful times are some what treacherous" but added more realistically that "it is a fearful ordeal" we are undergoing. "We literally live in a blaze of fire." While Rutherford was penning these words to Sallie, bullets "whizzed over and around me incessantly." In the third week of June they finally got off the front line for the first time since entering The Wilderness, six weeks before. His concern turned toward the health of his daughter, Katie.

INTIMATIONS OF MORTALITY

As Rutherford became concerned about the possibility of his own death, he lent his locket bearing a picture of his wife to the Reverend William DuBose for safekeeping. He feared that, in case of his death, the Yankees might capture the locket. Occasionally he would get it back to take a look at his wife's image and kiss it. Feeling lonely on the night of July 16, Rutherford asked DuBose to see it. The chaplain had been wearing the locket and told Rutherford that he would "lend her to you for awhile." Rutherford grew a "little jealous" and robbed DuBose of his treasure.

Dubose was not the only one with a crush on Sallie. Adjutant Y.J. Pope had broken his engagement with his longtime girlfriend, Colonel Nance's sister, and had taken a liking to Mrs. Rutherford. On July 5, Drate wrote Sallie that Pope was on his way home on furlough. He told her that "he always takes interest" in her. Whenever he received a letter from her, Pope asked about her and inquired "what word does she send me?" Drate called his friend a "presumptuous fellow," but at the same time encouraged Sallie to invite him over to get more detailed news on life in the Petersburg trenches. This passage reveals the trust that existed between Drate and Sallie and between Drate and Pope.

INTO THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY

In this, the fourth summer of the war, stalemate rather than resolution characterized the military situation in Virginia. The standoff gnawed away at both sides' will to continue. To end the impasse in mid-June, Lee sent Gen. Jubal Early's corps to clear the Federals out of the Shenandoah Valley. Early not only successfully repulsed the Union threat but in mid-July advanced to the doorstep of the federal capital before returning to the valley. In early August, Lee decided to raise the stakes and increase the pressure in the valley by sending Kershaw's Division, a battalion of artillery, and a division of cavalry to reinforce Early. With these reinforcements, Lee hoped that Early could repeat "Stonewall" Jackson's 1862 success in the valley, thereby helping to break General U.S. Grant's death grip on Petersburg.

During the march to the valley, Drate wrote to Sallie that he was favored to meet an elderly lady who had the dignity and intelligence

that he so much admired in a woman. He told Sallie that the lady was an older version of herself.

In the Shenandoah Valley, Rutherford witnessed farm buildings and crops burned by the retreating Yankees. He realized that the war had taken a new and ugly turn. "The war is becoming truly disgusting," he wrote his wife. As always, Rutherford's thoughts turned to far-off Newberry and Sallie. She was also thinking of him. In mid-September he received a letter from her giving him permission to kiss the women of the Shenandoah Valley who had been so kind to him. She admitted that they thought they were happy in their courting days before the war, "but we did not know—had no idea—of what real happiness was." She wished the war would end so he could be with her and their baby in their "sweet little home."

LAST LETTERS

Sallie's last letter to her husband was written on Sept. 25. With tragedy about to befall the young couple, Sallie's words more than in any other letter reflect her love for him. "I pray you may be spared through all the battles you may have yet to fight & get home ere long, to enjoy its comforts after so many hardships." She finished the letter with the words, "I build my castles in the air in anticipation of your coming." Two days later she added a postscript before mailing the letter. "These dark clouds must have a silver lining that will ere long come out bright & beautiful so I will not be unhappy as I was last night." She finished with her last words to him, "I can but trust that God will watch over & preserve my loved one & return him safely home to ever loving Sallie."

On Oct. 6, exactly a week before his death, Rutherford acknowledged the arrival of a box from her containing clothes and food. He told her that the pickle bottle had broken and stopper had come off the catsup container, but did not much stain his clothes. He assured her he would not use the whiskey except for medicinal purposes. He wrote of an impending battle during which "no one knows what is to happen." Before going out on picket duty on the 11th, he took time to write what would be his last communication with the love of his life. He told her that the ice and snow was two inches deep and that he shivered even around the camp fire. He did not know when he would be able to come home and concluded his letter with the words, "God grant that I may be spared to see my darling soon again, that she and baby may be in health and cheerfulness until that time comes, and that it might come soon."

Oct. 13, 1864, found the unit just north of Strasburg at a place called Hupp's Hill. A Virginia battery began to shell the Yankee camps across Cedar Creek. The Yankees had successfully captured confederate cannon in recent weeks and set out to add to their collection. Kershaw's Brigade came up to support the battery. Both sides raced for a stone wall. The Union troops had a shorter distance to run and took position behind the wall. Rutherford and others went forward to examine the ground to determine if they could turn the enemy's flank. The brigade historian and friend of Rutherford, David Augustus Dickert, described what happened next. "A cowardly and treacherous foe concealed in ambush" shot Rutherford, who fell

into Dickert's arms. Knowing he was dying, Rutherford said, "It is a consolation that I am shot in front of my regiment."

"FAREWELL, MY DARLING WIFE"

After the war, Dickert delivered a speech to the Drayton Rutherford Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, a group formed by Drate's daughter, Katie. "In a silent tent, in the beautiful, still October night, when nature had clothed the Shenandoah in yellow and gold, a light burned low, all was still and quiet, save the rippling of the leaves falling outside. Inside lay a dying soldier. Around his rough couch hovered a few friends with blanched faces watching the coming of the end. In the hands of the dying soldier was grasped a picture, ever and anon he placed it to his pallid lips and kissed it. No words of pain, no discontent, no outward grief, but calm, dignified, brave, uncomplaining, he met his last foe, fought his last battle. Placing the picture once again to his lips, he whispered, 'Farewell, farewell, my darling wife, farewell my sweet and innocent babe, may God keep you in the hollow of His hand,' and his soul took its final flight on the wings of the angel that had been hovering over his couch."

In the letters exchanged by Rutherford and his wife it is clear that this story is a tragedy on several levels. It is a tragedy for him, for Sallie, for them as a family, for his community, and for his state. In the years that followed, South Carolina suffered from the lack of men like Rutherford, who were intelligent and well-educated and had developed leadership skills during the war.

Ten years later, Sallie married Y.J. Pope. They had several children, and Pope eventually became chief justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court.

THE RUTHERFORD PAPERS

In September 1999, I led a tour of Rosemont Cemetery in Newberry. At the time I knew relatively little about Rutherford and Pope and nothing about Sallie. In preparing for the tour, I noted that Sallie is buried between her two husbands.

Since then the letters in the William Drayton Rutherford Papers have introduced me to these people, and I now speak and write about them with a good deal of emotion. I want to conclude on a positive note by citing the words of a member of Rutherford's command. "His death was a terrible shock to us, he was so full of life and energy. But our memory of him is now exceedingly cheerful, glowing as it is with animation, and warmth, and sunshine."



—Mac Wyckoff is a freelance Civil War historian. He is a member of the Second South Carolina Infantry Regiment of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

SOURCES

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrating this article are several sketches and one oil painting of Civil War scenes executed by Marcus Ammen (1831–1912). Ammen was a native of Virginia who studied portrait and landscape drawing at the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

While serving in the Confederate Army, Ammen was a mapmaker for several generals, including Jubal Early, J.E.B. Stewart, and Fitzhugh Lee. He also was named professor of drawing for the Naval Academy of the Confederate States.

Ammen returned to Philadelphia after the war ended. In 1903, he retired to South Carolina, where his daughter, Blanche, lived.