

THE EFFECT OF  
THE  
CIVIL WAR  
ON  
KALAMAZOO COLLEGE

#90

by  
Adrienne Hart  
December, 1962

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	• • • • • • • • • • • •	1-2
Background	• • • • • • • • • • • •	3-6
Enrollment	• • • • • • • • • • • •	5-6
Enlistment and Campaigns	• • • • • • • • • • • •	6-10
Miss Wheelock	• • • • • • • • • • • •	10
Students on Campus	• • • • • • • • • • • •	10-12
Impact	• • • • • • • • • • • •	12
Civilian Activities	• • • • • • • • • • • •	12-13
Finances	• • • • • • • • • • • •	13-15
Curriculum	• • • • • • • • • • • •	15
Stone Controversy	• • • • • • • • • • • •	15-16
Conclusion	• • • • • • • • • • • •	17

Appendix A

Bibliography

An aura of mystery surrounds the topic of the effect of the Civil War on Kalamazoo College. Mystery is often generated when one cannot predict the next event in a sequence because the facts available assume no logical pattern, or when there are a limited number of facts on which to base an hypothesis. Both of these conditions contribute to the mystery which is part and parcel of the effect of the Civil War on Kalamazoo College.

In the first place, there seem to be groups of facts which contradict each other and make any attempts at hypothesizing about the College and the Civil War historically unjustifiable. In the second place, there is a real dearth of source material from which facts may be gleaned about the village of Kalamazoo and about the College. I cite the absence of two important sources: The Kalamazoo Gazette of which there are no available papers between November 7, 1862, and 1870; and the Kalamazoo Telegraph, the records of which have not been preserved from April, 1859, to approximately 1868. Still another invaluable source, the diary of a Civil War nurse and former student at Kalamazoo College, Miss Julia Wheelock, has been misplaced or lost or loaned out by the Kalamazoo Public Library. At any rate, no record of the diary can be found at this time. As far as I know no letters or other diaries of students, faculty, or college personnel are in the possession of any of the libraries of Kalamazoo. Nor did the College itself preserve historical material from this period, with the exception of a few programs and an historical catalogue of students. This lack of material about the College can probably be attributed directly to the War itself. The earlier primary material pertaining to the College is largely in the form of the minutes

of various organizations like the Young Men's Association of Kalamazoo Theological Seminary and Literary Institute.<sup>1</sup> One may say, then, that a wartime reduction in the number of students led to weaker campus organizations, or that war demands drained the college of large numbers of prospective secretaries.

Lest the foregoing paragraphs resemble an apology rather than an introduction, let me say that despite the real historical handicaps mentioned above, I have not been completely crippled with respect to the topic. The effects of the Civil War on Kalamazoo College can be measured in various ways; in terms of enrollment, in terms of finances, and in terms of curriculum, although in the latter two instances only generalizations and opinions can be suggested. Beyond these areas, however, it is impossible to deal with the effects of the Civil War on the institution, Kalamazoo College, for two reasons. First, material about the institution is scarce. Second, and more important, I am convinced that it was the Stone controversy and not the Civil War which most affected the College after 1863. This controversy split the College community, undermined twenty years of hard work by the Stones, and divided the Village of Kalamazoo into opposing factions.

Nevertheless, a fruitful method of approach to the topic has been an investigation of the people of the College community, their reactions and contributions to the War in either "civilian" or military capacities. It is here, in the lives of particular individuals, that one observes the effects of the Civil War. Information about these people is available, and it is on them that this paper shall focus.

---

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Young Men's Association of Kalamazoo Theological Seminary and Literary Institute, ms., 1853-1854.

Some background information about the village of Kalamazoo is a necessary prerequisite to an understanding of the College during the Civil War period. For after all, no College is an isolated phenomenon, standing solitary and unaffected by the area in which it is located. In the pre-war period Kalamazoo was a thriving <sup>2</sup> village of some 6,000 inhabitants. The village supported two newspapers, the Kalamazoo Gazette, a Democratic paper, and the Kalamazoo Telegraph, a Republican organ. During the 1850's and early 60's these weeklies carried news of pre-war activities throughout the country, reprints of important debates and speeches, and information of local interest. It can be assumed, then, that the reading public, including the College students, was reasonably well-informed about the precarious position in which the country found itself.

In addition, the village newspapers record the visits of several political figures, the most important of whom was Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln and other aspiring Republicans who had been campaigning in Michigan converged upon the village on August 27, 1856. Local interest in political matters was evident and enthusiasm ran high in Kalamazoo. The city was mobbed and all available space was filled. Lincoln's speech appealed to the largely abolitionist audience present for the day's festivities. <sup>3</sup> Other itinerant lecturers like Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and Horace Greeley, found their way to Kalamazoo. <sup>4</sup> These men, vociferously opposed to slavery, were often entertained in the home of the President

---

<sup>2</sup> Kalamazoo Gazette, March 12, 1858, page 2 -- hereafter cited as Gazette.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas I. Starr, ed., Lincoln's Kalamazoo Address Against Extending Slavery, Detroit, 1941, pages 9-12.

<sup>4</sup> Gazette, December 17, 1858, page 3.

of the College, Dr. J. A. B. Stone,<sup>5</sup> and the meeting of student and lecturer can be assumed. Dr. Stone himself opposed slavery, and the experiences of his wife, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, with the mistreatment of slaves in Natchez, Mississippi, had made her an ardent abolitionist.<sup>6</sup> She once remarked: "We were openly anti-slavery in thought..."<sup>7</sup> What better way for students of the College to become acquainted with and sympathetic toward the abolitionist movement than through the Stones and their friends.

Kalamazoo College itself was in the pre-war days a growing institution of three divisions: the Literary Institute, the Theological Seminary, and the Female Department. The faculty of the male departments boasted eight notable members: Reverend J. A. B. Stone, professor of Intellectual Philosophy; Reverend Edward Anderson, professor of Greek language and literature; Reverend Theodoric R. Palmer, professor of Latin language and literature; Edward Olney, professor of mathematics; Daniel Putnam, professor of Natural Sciences; Liberty E. Holden, professor of Rhetoric; Nathaniel A. Balch, lecturer on political economy and natural law; and Foster Pratt, professor of physiology.<sup>8</sup> Piloted by two able educators, Dr. and Mrs. Stone, the College maintained a liberal philosophy of education. Dr. Stone desired that all should be educated who will regardless of "race, creed, and sex," and he attempted to teach whatever might be useful, "What things belong to a progressive civilization."<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Gazette, December 17, 1858, page 3, MARCH 15, 1900, P. NO. NOT PRESERVED

<sup>6</sup> Belle MacArthur Perry, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone: Her Life Story and Reminiscences, Detroit, 1902, pages 35-44.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., page 309.

<sup>8</sup> Loomis and Talbott's Kalamazoo City Directory and Business Mirror for 1860-1861, Detroit, 1860, page 73.

<sup>9</sup> James A. B. Stone, Report of the President to the Board of Trustees of Kalamazoo College, January 1, 1857, page 13.

Like many small colleges of today, Kalamazoo College in the 1850's found itself doing constant battle to keep its feet of firm ground financially. In 1853, a movement to secure the financial condition of the College was begun. Two theological fellowships of \$10,000 each and three literary professorships of the same amount were proposed. Money for these fellowships was obtained by large subscriptions and through the sale of 300 \$100 scholarships which provided free tuition over a period of twenty-five years to students of the purchasing family.<sup>10</sup> Only one student from any given family could be supported at a time and an interest rate of 7% per year was charged until the \$100 was paid.<sup>11</sup> In this manner the College strove to perpetuate itself and it operated often on anticipated revenue rather than on ready money. In 1858 work was begun on a building for the Female Department.<sup>12</sup> The building was finished in November of 1859, despite a debt of \$5,000 which accompanied ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup> completion.

Between 1853 and 1859, the total enrollment at Kalamazoo College grew significantly. Statistics indicate that in 1853-4, 190 students attended the College compared to 274 students in 1854-55, 325 students in 1855-56, 407 in 1856-57, and 403 in 1857-58.<sup>13</sup> A significant drop in the number of students in 1858-59 (269) is attributed by Goodsell and Dunbar (page 60) to a tightening up of entrance requirements. Between 1859 and 1862 enrollment statistics leveled off and remained relatively constant at about 230 students. Then in 1862 another decrease is noted, this time due to the enlistment of Kalamazoo College boys in the Civil War. The loss of these

---

<sup>10</sup> Charles Goodsell and Willis Dunbar, Centennial History of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, 1933, pp. 51-52.

<sup>11</sup> Kalamazoo Literary Institute Scholarship Contract, 1853.

<sup>12</sup> Gazette, September 3, page 3.

<sup>13</sup> Goodsell and Dunbar, op. cit., Appendix II, pages 198-200.

men to the College affected its enrollment and composition in several different ways. Comments on the Commencement exercises of 1862 reflect this.

In most of these branches (academic disciplines) there were several classes...except Senior Classes of which there are none this year, in consequence of the enlistment of so many student in the army. For the same reason, we believe, the Theological Department has been temporarily suspended.

14

The 194 students who remained at the College in 1862 were mostly women attending Mrs. Stone's Female Department. <sup>15</sup>

The mass enlistment of Kalamazoo boys was neither unexpected nor unpredictable. On the eve of the war, political interest was evident in Kalamazoo. The townsfolk were aroused by the events of the times and evidences of excitement and concern can be detected on the campus of Kalamazoo College. Mr. E. Lakin Brown, representative to the Michigan legislature from the Kalamazoo area, contributed to student excitement with a reading of one of his poems at the College. He says; "In 1860 I was invited to deliver a poem, 'Today'. This poem was largely political, dealing with the John Brown episode and other affairs with which the nation was vexed and disturbed." <sup>16</sup>

Nathaniel Balch, lecturer on political economy and natural law at the College, was himself interested in the Kansas affairs which preceded the war. His correspondence with a man in Kansas in 1860 was an attempt to ascertain the difficulties in Kansas and get accurate information about the situation. (Gazette, March 1860). One can assume that Balch made efforts to acquaint his students with the "real" issues at stake in Kansas.

---

<sup>14</sup> Gazette, June 20, 1862, page 3.

<sup>15</sup> Willis F. Dunbar, Kalamazoo and How It Grew, Kalamazoo, 1959, page 95.

<sup>16</sup> Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford, and Sanford, Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing, 1906, p. 486.

The rapidity, then, with which Kalamazoo College boys enlisted at the first call for soldiers in April of 1861 came as no surprise. A vivid account of the excitement of the call to arms and the response to the call by Kalamazoo College boys is given by John Robinson in an interview with him some years later.

I can well remember the day I enlisted. A lot of us students were gathered on a lawn near the College building excitedly discussing the clash between the north and south. Through a path in a small piece of wooded land where Lovell Street now lies the shrill notes of a fife and the crash of drums could be heard. Finally Chuck Waterbury appeared heading a small parade. He was enlisting sergeant and urged us to join the army. We didn't hesitate long and before noon four-fifths of that crowd of students had signed to serve their country... And I don't think anyone could ever say the Kalamazoo boys didn't do their part.

17

Indeed, the War record of Kalamazoo College students is admirable. Loyalty to the North and the preservation of the Union seemed to be their prime considerations. Many students and graduates were active in field and chaplain service; more contributed their services in civilian capacities. Charles S. May, a graduate of Kalamazoo College, was the captain of the Light Guards in which twenty of the students originally enlisted.<sup>18</sup> According to the Historical Catalogue of Students from 1851-1902, 68 graduates and students of the College participated in military service.<sup>19</sup> (Listed in Appendix A). There is, however, reason to believe that the catalogue is inaccurate and that the number, 68, is low. Dr. Stone said of the war in a speech:

---

17 "John Robinson," Gazette, approx. 1900, no page given, clipping file.

18 Gazette, April 26, 1861, page 2.

19 Historical Catalogue of Students 1851-1902, Kalamazoo, 1903, passim.

We shall never forget that obedient to their country's call  
 one hundred brave souls left us and their books and mustered  
 on the tented field...

20

In actuality, the number probably lies somewhere between these two estimates.

Of these men, seventeen died from wounds and disease incurred in battle. They include: James M. Allen, C. S. Burge, George W. Carter, Judson W. Carter, S. A. Cornell, Samuel W. Crooks, Edwin B. Easton, R. H. Eldred, Alfred S. Handy, Lucius F. Handy, Joseph W. Hinsdale, William H. Lamb, Charles Porter, G. W. Prouty, Alexander Shanahan, George A. Wilson, and W. J. M. Woodward. Of these seventeen, I have been able to trace the military service of eight.<sup>21</sup> Six of these men died in service with the 2nd Michigan Infantry which was made up of volunteers and recruited on April 15, 1861. C. S. Burge enlisted in Company K of the 2nd Michigan for a three year period and was killed in action at Fair Oaks, Virginia, on May 31, 1862. Richard A. Eldred, also in Company K, died of disease at Union Hospital in Washington, D. C., on March 14, 1862. Alfred S. Handy of Company B was killed in action at Fair Oaks, Virginia. Charles Porter originally of Company K and later commissioned in a colored regiment, was accidentally shot at Paris, Kentucky, on December 3, 1864. George A. Wilson, Company I, died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in June, 1862, of wounds received in action at Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 5, 1862. Another Kalamazoo College casualty, William H. Lamb, enlisted in the 6th Michigan Infantry, Company H. He was killed by cannon shot from a rebel battery at Grand Gulf, Mississippi, on May 26, 1862. Lucius F. Handy, who enlisted in Company F of the 1st Michigan Cavalry was killed in action at Todds Tavern, Virginia.

---

<sup>20</sup> Goodsell and Dunbar, op. cit., page 65.

<sup>21</sup> Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865, published by the authority of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Michigan Legislature, under the direction of Brig. Gen. H. Brown, Adjutant General, passim.

Most of the Kalamazoo College men who participated in the Civil War enlisted in either the 2nd, 6th, 24th, or 26th Michigan Infantry regiments, or the 1st and 11th Cavalry; a short synopsis of the involvement of these regiments in the War paints a vivid picture of the service of the Kalamazoo College boys. The 2nd Michigan Infantry was recruited on April 15, 1861, and its first engagement was fought at Blackburn's Ford, Virginia, on July 18, 1861. Following this battle, the 2nd covered the retreat from the 1st Bull Run. In 1862, this regiment saw service at Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Charles City Cross Roads, and Malvern Hill, all in Virginia; it was marked for bravery at the battle of Fair Oaks. The 2nd participated also in the battles at the 2nd Bull Run, Chantilly, Fredricksburg, and Vicksburg. During its history, 2,151 men appeared on the rolls; altogether fifteen officers and 306 men were killed in service. Mustered on August 20, 1861, the 6th Michigan fought most of its battles in the extreme Southern states; Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. Its most notable engagement was the one at Vicksburg. The total enrollment of the 6th for the duration of the War was 1,957, and its losses totaled 542 men and officers. The 24th Infantry was mustered on August 15, 1862; the regiment participated in the encounters at Fredricksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Spottsylvania, Petersburg, etc. Of a total of 2,054 officers and men, 313 were lost; twelve officers and 118 men were killed in action, one officer and 38 men died of wounds, and two officers and 142 men of disease. The 26th Infantry, mustered on December 12, 1862, fought mainly in Virginia at locations like Spottsylvania, Petersburg, and Appomattox Court House. The 26th numbered 1,210 men of whom 259 died; one officer and 61 men were killed in action, two officers and 37 men died of wounds, and three officers and 155 men of disease. 3,244 officers and men comprised the 1st Cavalry, originally mustered on September 3, 1861, with only 1,144 men. This regiment was engaged in Virginia in 1862 and participated in the 2nd battle of Bull Run. Ten officers and 92 men died in action, five officers and 46 men

of wounds, and five officers and 246 men of disease. The 11th Cavalry was mustered on December 10, 1863, and was engaged in Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky. Of an enrollment of 1,579 men, four officers and 18 men died in action, six men died of wounds, and 114 of disease.<sup>22</sup>

A singular incident of interest concerns the contribution of Miss Julia Wheelock, a student of Mrs. Stone's in the Female Department of the College - 1858-60. Miss Wheelock was appointed an agent of the Michigan Soldier's Relief Association and served as a nurse in the Civil War from 1862-65. Since there were no trained nurses at this time, the work of Miss Wheelock is somewhat unique and certainly a daring venture for a woman of the 1860's. The majority of her work was performed in and around Washington, D. C., and in Virginia. In her diary entitled Boys In White, on which some notes are available,<sup>23</sup> Miss Wheelock told of visits she received from some of her Kalamazoo College friends and of her successful attempt to aid Dr. Stone in securing a furlough for his sick son. The following passage from this diary describes one of her visits to the troops in Virginia. "Visited Gen. Berry's Brigade--near Alexandria--found several old schoolmates--K College--had been killed--Eldred, Burge, Woodward."

Nor were the students who remained on the campus apathetic or indifferent toward the War which raged on without them. Their concern about the war was reflected in the declamations and orations which students of that day were accustomed to preparing for public exhibitions. The Gazette records the titles of these declamations and orations given under the auspices of various campus organizations like the Philolexian Lyceum and the Sher-

<sup>22</sup> J. Robertson, com., Michigan in the War, Lansing, 1882, passim.

<sup>23</sup> Notes donated for my use by Freida Blankenburg.

wood Rhetorical Society. At an exhibition of the Philolexian Lyceum on January 17, 1862, the topics discussed included: "The Claims of the Age on the Young Men of America," "True Men," "John C. Fremont."<sup>24</sup> A Sherwood Rhetorical Contest in June of the same year indicated similar concerns. They included: "Responsibility of the American People," "An Appeal to the Patriotism of South Carolina," and "Peaceable Secession--1850."<sup>25</sup> A master's oration given at this time dealt with "The Ethics and Policy of the American Civil War." Unfortunately, the Gazette failed to preserve the contents of the speeches or even to comment on them, so that the "mind of the student body" must, in a sense, be assumed. These addresses are strong evidences that Kalamazoo College students were concerned about and affected by the War, though the exact nature of their concerns cannot be probed.

News items which told of the deeds of the Kalamazoo College boys in the War filtered back to the students through several media, notably the Kalamazoo Gazette. This paper often contained letters written by soldiers to their parents and published in the light of their public interest appeal. One such letter from a soldier named Calvin described the condition of the Kalamazoo boys. "Am well, as are all of the Kal. boys, except Woodward, who was at the College,"<sup>26</sup> Still another news scrap applauded the military efforts of R. H. Eldred. "Eldred has been presented with a sword, sash, and belt, as a testimonial of their confidence in him as an able and faithful soldier."<sup>27</sup> Readers of the Gazette in this troubled time were acquainted

---

<sup>24</sup> Gazette, January 17, 1862, page 3.

<sup>25</sup> Gazette, June 20, 1862, page 3.

<sup>26</sup> Gazette, August 16, 1861, page 2.

<sup>27</sup> Gazette, October 11, 1861, page 3.

with the exploits of "their boys," and the college students must have sympathized with the trials of their classmates and friends. In March of 1862 the news of R. H. Eldred's death reached Kalamazoo and the reporting of his funeral testifies to both the concern and the horror which his classmates felt. Junior class members were pallbearers at Eldred's funeral after which they made the following resolution. Resolved: that "they see anew and feel afresh the terrible wickedness of this rebellion, which is filling untimely graves with noble dead."<sup>28</sup> Horror, excitement, concern, sympathy; all these feelings must have accompanied the news of the progression of the war.

The events of the war made an impact upon the college community which was not destined to be forgotten. A poem written by Mrs. Nellie McNeal Cornell for the reunion of the pupils of Dr. and Mrs. Stone in 1886 recalled the events of the enlistments as well as the grief felt at the death of Eldred, Porter, and the two Carters. A note of pride is sounded in the poem, pride brought about by a certain detachment from the events of the War which only time can bring.<sup>29</sup> The drilling of the German soldiers which Mrs. Stone witnessed in 1886 on one of her European tours reminded her of the atrocities and foolishness of the American Civil War.<sup>30</sup>

The story of the Civil War and the people of Kalamazoo College is incomplete without some mention of the civilian activities carried on by professors and trustees. A prominent supporter of Michigan soldiers was Mrs. L. H. Stone, who organized the Ladies Soldier's Relief Society of Kalamazoo

---

<sup>28</sup> Gazette, April 4, 1862, page 2.

<sup>29</sup> Reunion of Former Pupils of Rev. J. A. B. Stone, D.D., and Mrs. L. H. Stone, Kalamazoo, 1886, page 60.

<sup>30</sup> Belle MacArthur Perry, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone: Her Life Story and Reminiscences, Detroit, 1902, pages 218-219.

for the purpose of supplying the needs of the Michigan soldiers. Through her influence, similar societies were organized by the women of neighboring communities. The Society often met in the home of Mrs. Stone and she was one of the most important contributors to its treasury. On one occasion, she subscribed \$25.00 to be sent to Miss Wheelock, the nurse already mentioned.<sup>31</sup> Dr. Stone, too, served on several committees which met in connection with the War. On April 18, 1862, Stone and Latham Hull, a member of the Board of Trustees of the College, were on a committee of five to promote action for the relief of Michigan troops.<sup>32</sup> Earlier Hull and Nathaniel Balch had been appointed vice-presidents of the Union meeting held at Fireman's Hall in connection with the recruitment of troops.<sup>33</sup> And in July of 1862, Dr. Stone served as president of another meeting to recruit soldiers for the Union army. As a result of this meeting and Dr. Stone's influence, much subscription money was promised for the support of the soldiers.<sup>34</sup>

It is extremely difficult to pin down the effect of the War on Kalamazoo College in terms of its financial situation. The College had had difficulty long before the War in obtaining funds for the progressive and ambitious program which the Stones advocated. One writer of the history of the College attributes its financial problems between 1850 and 1865 both to debts accrued due to the depreciation of endowment notes over a number of years, and to the War itself.<sup>35</sup> Still another contributing factor was

---

<sup>31</sup> Copy of the Complete Treasurer's Records of the Soldier's Relief Society of Kalamazoo, 1861-1865, passim.

<sup>32</sup> Gazette, April 18, 1862, page 2.

<sup>33</sup> Gazette, April 26, 1861, page 3.

<sup>34</sup> Gazette, June 20, 1862, page 3.

<sup>35</sup> Reverend Samuel Haskell, Historical Sketch of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, 1864, passim.

the Panic of 1857 which tipped precariously the scales on which the financial position of the College was balancing. For these reasons, the financial picture is somewhat clouded by a number of extraneous circumstances which occurred in the years immediately preceding the War and from which the effects of the War cannot be separated.

Add to these facts the complication of conflicting reports by the financial agents of the College to Thomas Z. R. Jones, the treasurer of Kalamazoo College, and the letters he received which indicate no consistent pattern,<sup>36</sup> and it becomes evident that the effects of the financial conditions of the War on the College can be talked about only in very general terms. For example, two letters of T. R. Palmer, one of the agents, to Jones in 1861 indicate little success in the matter of fund raising. One of these letters is openly antagonistic.

I tell you if I associate long with these covetous, hard-fisted Baptists, I shall get so avaricious that no one can bear me...it seems like the hardest time to do anything for the College.

37

Still another agent, J. A. Clark, wrote to Jones in August, 1862, that in view of the prospects of a small attendance at the College that year, every effort should be made to raise ready money on the old notes so that debts should be paid. His letter was optimistic in tone and implied the existence of "ready money" which Palmer did not feel was available. And the letters of scholarship holders are equally ambiguous. Some regret their inability to pay scholarship notes or interest to the College; others re-

---

<sup>36</sup> Calendar of the Baptist Collection of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, prepared by the Michigan Historical Records Survey Project, Detroit, 1940, passim.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., page 102.

quest information as to the extent of their debt in order that they might begin immediate repayment of this debt. In general, then, one can maintain that the financial resources of the College were depleted by the War, although the extent of the damage cannot be ascertained. I do not believe that the war was disastrous to the College financially, but rather that it was the source of still another financial problem with which the College had to deal.

The years immediately following the War saw a change in curriculum at Kalamazoo College. Prior to 1868, just a few courses were offered in history and political economy. After 1868, a movement away from the typical Classical education occurred, and one notices an increasing emphasis upon American studies, which included history, government, and literature of the United States.<sup>38</sup> Although this change can be primarily attributed to the new President of the College, I believe that the War had a kind of broadening influence upon the College which resulted in a change of perspective with regard to studies. It seems probably to me that a war which affected the College community so directly gave to the College personnel and students a sense of their own history and created an increased demand for study of American history and literature.

This paper would be incomplete without at least some mention of the most important sequence of events of the entire period. I refer to the Stone controversy, which led to the resignation of both Dr. and Mrs. Stone. It is this event rather than the Civil War itself which had dire consequences for the future of the College and which occupied the minds of the students and faculty after November, 1863. It is this event which completely eclipses

---

<sup>38</sup> Sarah Lucia Crane, The History of the Curriculum of Kalamazoo College, January, 1951, page 11.

any real effects of the War on the College.

Dr. and Mrs. Stone, the beloved and admired educators who had piloted Kalamazoo College for twenty years, were suddenly asked to resign, on November 4, 1863. Dr. Stone was accused to embezzling College funds, committing immiralities with several of his female students, and of supporting an illegitimate child and her mother in Canada. The results of the resignation were far-reaching; over three-fourths of the already depleted student body expressed their dismay at the turn of events by withdrawing from the College. Repercussions were felt in the Village itself; the controversy which ensued resulted both in a split in the Baptist church and in a division of the town into factions. Mrs. Stone, in a letter (printed) of 167 pages to the newly appointed President of the College, the Honorable J. M. Gregory, presents an admirable defense of her husband against all charges.<sup>39</sup> Her letter is both convincing and accurate; in essence, it exposes an intricate plot to overthrow Dr. Stone, a plot which involved everyone from the minister of the Baptist church in Kalamazoo to trustees and professors of the College. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the intricacies of the plan or the way in which Mrs. Stone exposed it; suffice it to say that the ugliness of the situation cast a black shadow over Kalamazoo College for many years. If, for example, the college had financial difficulties after 1863, one can be sure that lack of support was due in large part to the bitterness engendered by the Stone situation. As one man said:

No, I would not give a shilling to save the College from sinking. All there is of that College Dr. Stone made; the College has abused him shamefully.

40

---

<sup>39</sup> L. H. Stone, An Episode in the History of Kalamazoo - Letter to Honorable J. M. Gregory, Kalamazoo, 1868, passim.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., page 159-160.

So then, before November of 1863, the effect of the Civil War on Kalamazoo College is clearly evidenced in the changing activity of the people associated with the College--the enlistments of men in the army and the civilian activity of those who remained behind. That the War had an impact upon those students still at Kalamazoo has been shown, and that the days of the War were remembered long after is clear. However, both the financial issue and the curriculum changes are complicated by a number of factors, notably the conflict of 1863. Indeed, I feel that after 1863 the effects of the Civil War were minimal in comparison to the effect of the Stone controversy upon the College. This controversy affected to a great degree the enrollment of the College, the composition of the faculty, and the financial condition of the institution.

## APPENDIX A

List of students and graduates of Kalamazoo College who participated in the Civil War, taken from the Historical Catalogue of Students, 1851-1902.

### Students

1. Louis Frederick Booth, 56-57; Army ~~56~~<sup>61</sup>-65, Captain of Co. L. 9th Illinois Cavalry.
2. Evert Van Wickler Brokaw, 60-63; Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry, later Co. I, 26th Michigan Infantry, Quartermaster Sergeant.
3. Myron Gilbert Brown, 61-62; Co. D, 111 Ohio Volunteer Infantry, 62-65.
4. Corodon S. Burge, 59-61; Corp. in Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry, killed in action at Fair Oaks, Virginia.
5. Seymour A. Cornell, 60-63; U. S. Army 63-64, Lieutenant of Colored Regiment - 9 Corps. Killed Petersburg, 64.
6. Jefferson Smith Dowd, 55-58; 66th Illinois Sharpshooters, 61-64.
7. Ludlum C. Drake, 61~~62~~; Army 62-67, Private 18th Michigan.
8. Edwin Eastland, 65-66; Army 62-65, Lieutenant 13th Michigan Infantry.
9. Edwin Bullock Easton, 62-63; Co. 13, 26th Michigan Infantry, killed June 17, 1864.
10. Orletus Palmer Eaton, 68-69; Co. I, 5th Michigan Cavalry, 62-65.
11. Eugene Melville Eldred, 60-61; Co. F, 3rd Michigan Cavalry, 61-62.
12. Richard H. Eldred, 59-62; 1st Lieutenant, Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry, died in hospital, March 14, 1862.
13. Wellington Octavus Eldred, 60-61; Sergeant, Co. F, 3rd Michigan Cavalry 61-66.
14. Samuel Edwin Faxon, Jr., 58-60; 3rd Michigan Infantry, 64. Injured by cannon shocks, 64.
15. Arthur Henry Fish, 62-63; Army, 1st Lieutenant, Co. H, 3rd Michigan Voluntary Infantry, 64-66.
16. Gardner Keyes Grout, 58-61; Army, Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry, 61-62.
17. Thomas Havens, 59-62; Army, Co. F, 19th Michigan Infantry, 62-64.
18. Edward Howlett Harvey, 68-69; Co. A, 7th Michigan Cavalry.
19. Loren Caleb Hill, 61-63; 1st Lieutenant, Co. A, 25th Michigan Volunteer, 62-65.

20. Edwin Sherman Jenny, 58-59; 3rd New York Volunteer Infantry, 61. 3rd New York Artillery, 62.
21. William H. Jenny, 54-55; Captain, then Major, 4th Michigan Infantry, 61-65.
22. Peter Franklin Jones, 51-52; Chaplain 1st Regiment, New York Voluntary Infantry, 61, and 21st Regiment, U. S. Cavalry 64-65.
23. Leander W. Kennedy, 59-63; U. S. Army, Co. L, 5th Michigan Cavalry, 63-65.
24. David B. Kilpatrick, 60-63; Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry, 61.
25. Alva C. Laing, 51-52; Co. D, 1st Michigan Volunteer Cavalry.
26. George W. Lawrence, 59-63; Co. F, 3rd Michigan Cavalry 61-66.
27. Philo Waterbury Peighton, 59-60; Co. K, 44th New York Regiment, ~~61~~62.
28. Calvin Swartz Montague, 58-61; Army 61-65. Co K, 2nd Michigan Infantry.
29. Everett William Moore, 54-57; Michigan Regiment in Civil War.
30. Charles Augustus Morgan, 68-69; 12th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, 4 years.
31. Phillip Stafford Moxom, 66-68; 17th Illinois Cavalry, 63-65.
32. Charles John Porter, 57-59; Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry, Army 61-64.
33. James Delos Rowe, 60-61; 1st Sergeant, Co. H, 1st Michigan Cavalry, 61-65.
34. Arowswell T. Severance, 60-61; Joined Home Guard, Missouri, 61.
35. Gideon Barlow Stites, 61-62; In Civil War; no record.
36. Clement Walker Stone, 59-60; Army, 6th Michigan Infantry; Captain 61-65.
37. William Clark Swaddle, 60-61; 1st Regiment Michigan Volunteer Mechanics and Engineers, 61-64.
38. Lewis Amos Taft, 60-61; in army.
39. James D. Tannehill, 59-60; army sutler.
40. Charles Augustus Thompson, 61-62; Army, 2nd Lieutenant Co. D, 17th Michigan Infantry, 62-65.
41. Charles Adams Wetherbee, 61-63; 34th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, 3 years.
42. W. J. M. Woodward, 58-61; Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry, wounded at 2nd Bull Run--died September 15, 1862.

## APPENDIX A

### Graduates:

1. Jesse Boyden, 1856; Chaplain, 10th Michigan Infantry, 62-63.
2. Samuel Hubbard, 1857; U. S. Army 62-66.
3. Edward O'Brien, 1857; Chaplain 17th Illinois Cavalry, 64-65.
4. James Rexford, 1857; Army 62-65, became Captain of 4th, 8th Michigan Cavalry.
5. William Rexford, 1857; Army, 62--. Captain of 24th Michigan Infantry.
6. George Trowbridge, 1859; Physican and Surgeon of U. S. Army, 62-65.
7. Frederick Wilkinson, 1859; 2nd Michigan Infantry, 61-63. Commissioned Sergeant and 2nd Lieutenant.
8. Thomas Merrill, 1860; Army, Minnesota Regular 61.
9. Hames Cadman, 1863; Army 63-65; Captain of 11th Michigan Cavalry.
10. Joseph Caldwell, 1866; Co. B, 86th Ohio Infantry.
11. William H. Davis, 1867; Army, 62-65.
12. Robert Clark, 1869; Army, Co. K, 2nd Michigan Infantry.
13. Arthur Eleasby, 1871; Co. G, Army, 7th New York Cavalry, 61-62.
14. William Henry Smith, 1871; 64-65, Co. B, 26th Michigan Infantry.
15. Theodore Nelson, 1872; Co. D, 26th Michigan Infantry, 62-65.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources:

1. Copy of the Complete Treasurer's Records of the Soldier's Relief Society of Kalamazoo, 1861-1865.
2. Exhibition of the Junior Class of Kalamazoo College, program, March 5, 1862.
3. Haskell, Reverend Samuel. Historical Sketch of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, 1864.
4. Kalamazoo Literary Institution Scholarship Contract, 1853.
5. Kalamazoo Gazette, 1858-November 7, 1862, passim.
6. Loomis and Talbott's Kalamazoo City Directory and Business Mirror for 1860-61, Detroit, 1860.
7. Minutes of the Young Men's Association of Kalamazoo Theological Seminary and Literary Institute, ms., 1853-54.
8. Officers and Students of the Kalamazoo Theological Seminary, 1854-5, Detroit, 1855.
9. Sherwood Prize Speaking, program, June 15, 1863.
10. Stone, James A. B. Report of the President to the Board of Trustees of Kalamazoo College, January 1, 1857.
11. Stone, L. H. An Episode in the History of Kalamazoo--Letter to Honorable J. M. Gregory, Kalamazoo, 1868.
12. Thomas, James M. Thomas's Kalamazoo Directory and Business Advertiser for 1867 and 1868, Kalamazoo, 1867.

### Secondary Sources:

1. Blankenberg, Freida, notes on Boys In White, the diary of Miss Julia Wheelock.
2. Calendar of the Baptist Collection of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, prepared by the Michigan Historical Records Survey Project, Detroit, 1940.
3. Crane, Sarah Lucia, The History of the Curriculum of Kalamazoo College, January, 1951.
4. Dunbar, Willis, Kalamazoo and How It Grew, Kalamazoo, 1959.
5. Dunnington, L. L. Kalamazoo College, ms., 1915.

6. Goodsell, Charles and Dunbar, Willis. Centennial History of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, 1933.
7. Griffiths, Douglas. Kalamazoo In the Civil War: The Story of a Contribution, January 1949.
8. Historical Catalogue of Students 1851-1902, Kalamazoo 1903.
9. "John Robinson, " Kalamazoo Gazette, approx. 1900.
10. Kalamazoo Gazette, Centennial Edition, January 24, 1937.
11. Mulder, Arnold, The Kalamazoo College Story, Kalamazoo, 1958.
12. "Obituary of Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone," Kalamazoo Gazette, March 15, 1900.
13. Perry, Belle MacArthur, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone: Her Life Story and Reminiscences, Detroit, 1902.
14. Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865, published by the authority of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Michigan Legislature, under the direction of Brig. Gen. H. Brown, Adjutant General.
15. Reunion of the Former Pupils of Rev. J. A. B. Stone, D.D., and Mrs. L. H. Stone, Kalamazoo, 1866.
16. Robertson, J., com., Michigan In the War, Lansing, 1882.
17. Starr, Thomas I., ed., Lincoln's Kalamazoo Address Against Extending Slavery, Detroit, 1941.
18. Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford, and Sanford. Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, 1906, Volume V, XVII, XXX.