THE CIVIL WAR CAREER

OF

JOHN GIBSON PARKHURST

Ву

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Chapter I

A PRE-WAR PORTRAIT

A war which had the size and the violence of the American Civil War cannot cross the pages of history without having a profound influence upon the society in which it takes place, and upon many members of that society. Many men and women who served in the Civil War have long since been forgotten; yet they did their share in shaping the future of our nation. The roles that these individuals played must not be forgotten, even though they have not been proclaimed great heroes. This is the situation concerning the Civil War career of John Gibson Parkhurst, a lawyer from Coldwater, Michigan, who, though never recognized as a hero, served as a regimental commander during most of the war and made a record that is worthy of recognition.

Information on Parkhurst's early life is scanty. Born in Oneida Castle, New York, on April 17, 1824, he was one of the eight children of Stephen and Sally (Gibson) Parkhurst. When John was seven years of age his mother died, leaving the responsibility of rearing the family to Stephen and the older daughters. John obtained a thorough literary education at the Oneida Academy. At the age of nineteen he began to read law at the office of N.F. Graves and four years later, in 1847, he was admitted to the New York bar. ¹

After two years of successful law practice in New York, Parkhurst came to Michigan in 1849 and settled in Coldwater.

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From 1849 to 1861 he practiced law, part of that time as the partner of George A. Coe, who later became lieutenant-governor of Michigan. Parkhurst also established other business interests, including an insurance agency that he held throughout his life. Over the years he invested money in farm lands in the Coldwater area.²

In politics, Parkhurst supported the Democratic Party. He continued to hold his original views despite the formation of the Republican Party at Jackson, not far from Coldwater, in the spring of 1854. In fact the lawyer was among those Democrats in Branch County who were defeated by the new party in the summer of 1854 when he lost the race for office of prosecuting attorney to John W. Turner. ³

Parkhurst continued to follow his interest in politics, and in the Democratic State Convention held in Detroit, in February, 1860, he was chosen as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention to be held in Charleston, South Carolina, in April, 1860. ⁴ Parkhurst received numerous congratulatory notes upon his election as a delegate to the Charleston Convention, many of which urged him to go to Charleston and work for the nomination of Douglas. One note said that if Douglas succeeded, Parkhurst should receive a good position, "for if there is a faithful working Democrat in Michigan who deserves to be rewarded it <u>is yourself</u>." Parkhurst was to play an active role in promoting Douglas' nomination in this convention.

Parkhurst left Coldwater for Charleston on April 11, 1860. ⁶ Enroute he stopped to visit the New York legislature and

viewed, with disgust, the actions of the "Black Republicans" in that body. He commented that the New York Republicans were much worse than Michigan Republicans because they knew more ways to steal legally than did their couterparts in Michigan. 7

Parkhurst commented in letters to Amelia, his wife, on the chances of nominating Douglas. While in New York he noted that the New York delegation generally favored Douglas, but that an effort was being made to promote the candidacy of either Daniel S. Dickinson or Horatio Seymour. Parkhurst felt that Douglas could be nominated, but that the Southern delegates would provide the greatest opposition.⁸

On the eve of the convention Parkhurst noted that the administration of President Buchanan was trying to defeat Douglas' nomination. In fact, he said that some of the administration's followers and the Southerners were more bitter toward Douglas than toward the Republicans. In view of this opposition some members were predicting that the convention would last eight of ten days, but Parkhurst felt that he would be on his way home in less than a week. ⁹

On April 21, the day after he arrived in Charleston, Parkhurst was made a member of the Democratic National Committee in place of Jacob Olmot. Three days later, he was elected to the post of Recording Secretary of the convention, a post that gave him an excellent opportunity to view and to hear the proceedings. ¹⁰

In a very interesting letter to his wife, dated April 29, 1860, Parkhurst described the convention in great detail and ventured a prediction as to its outcome. He noted that the

convention had been unable to agree upon a platform and that the Platform Committee had returned two reports. The majority report rejected Douglas' popular sovereignty, and the minority report unheld it. Parkhurst believed that the minority report would finally be adopted and that Douglas would be nominated. He was equally confident that Douglas' nomination would cause the Southerners to withdraw from the convention, but that they would remain as long as there was any hope of defeating Douglas. He closed his letter with the prediction, "that We Shall break up in the Wildest Confusion and that one half or rather one portion of the Convention will be dissatisfied with the acts of the Convention and will attempt to Establish Another organization, but that they will fail success." 11

The prediction was wholly accurate as the delegations from South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas withdrew on the very day the letter was written--Appil 29, 1860. The rupture of the Democratic Party caused Parkhurst to foresee a dark future for the party and for the Union. He believed that three, or perhaps four, candidates would seek the presidency and that in such a contest Douglas would undoubtedly be defeated. ¹²

Parkhurst also performed the duties of Recording Secretary at the convention which opened on June 18, 1860, in Baltimore, where the Democratic Party made one last attempt to settle its differences. For Parkhurst there was but one course. It would be better for the entire country to go to the "d---1," he asserted, than for the Douglas Democrats to rely on "such a class

of Men as Yancey or Rhet [t]" for support. Nothing could be gained by yielding to the Southern fire-eaters. 13

Parkhurst's predictions with respect to the Democracy were again accurate. On June 22, 1860, the Southern delegations a bolted the convention for the second time and the Democratic Party was hopelessly split. On June 23 Douglas was nominated by the remaining delegates and Parkhurst returned home. Although becould see nothing but defeat for the Douglas Democrats, he clung to the opinion that it was better to lose the election than to yield their principles. ¹⁴

After his return from Baltimore, Parkhurst resumed his regular duties as a lawyer and businessman, but he also kept abreast of political developments and their consequences. There is no evidence to indicate that Parkhurst actively campaigned for Douglas in Michigan during the summer and fall of 1860. With Lincoln's election, in November, 1860, the Southern States began to secede and the firing on Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, precipitated the Civil War. Parkhurst actively supported the Union war effort through speeches given at Coldwater (April 17), Batavia (April 22), and Quincy (May 8). Neither Parkhurst's Diary nor the newspapers of the time presented the text of these speeches; the only comment made by Parkhurst was that his address at Coldwater was "Enthusiastically cheered." ¹⁵

Parkhurst decided to serve his country and promptly made efforts to secure a commission in one of the Michigan regiments that was being formed. He wrote directly to Governor Austin Blair requesting a commission, probably a colonelcy, and he also had some of his friends write to the Governor in his behalf.

On May 28, 1861, he accepted a captaincy in the Coldwater Artillery but continued his efforts to secure a better position. ¹⁶

While this great national crisis was developing a second daughter was born, on May 24, 1861, to Parkhurst and his wife, Amelia. However the happiness of this event was short-lived for Amelia became ill and died on July 26, 1861. During his wife's illness Parkhurst spent almost all of his tine with her and the entries in his diæry reveal the great heartaches of this month as Amelia alternately improved and failed until her death. Since Parkhurst was a devoted family man, Amelia's death brought a great crisis into his life; he had lost his beloved wife and he was left with two small daughters. ¹⁷

¹ Rev. Henry P. Collin, <u>A Twentieth Century History and</u> <u>Biographical Record of Branch County Michigan</u> (Chicago, 1906), p. 340.

² <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 340-342. ³ Ibid., p. 211.

4 February 21-22, 1860, Parkhurst Diary, Museum of Michigan State University. Hereafter cited as Diary, MSU.

⁵ Phin to Parkhurst, April 4, 1860, Parkhurst Papers, Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan. Hereafter cited as Papers, MHC.

⁶ April 11, 1860, Diary, MSU.

7 Parkhurst to his wife, Amelia, April 15, 1860, Papers, MHC.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ <u>Ibid.</u>, April 17 and 21, 1860.

10 April 21 and 24, 1860, Diary, MSU.

11 Papers, MHC.

12 Parkhurst to wife, May 1, 1860, Papers, MHC.

13 Ibid., June 20, 1860.

14 Ibid., July 14, 1860.

15 April 17, 18, 22, 29 and May 4, 8, 1861, Diary, MSU.

¹⁶ <u>Ibid.</u>, May 16, 28, 30 and June 1, 18, 1861.

17 Ibid., May 24-July 26, 1861.

Chapter II OPERATIONS IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

Parkhurst went to Detroit, early in August, to see Governor Blair about an appointment to an infantry regiment. Blair informed Parkhurst that while he could not give him command of a regiment, he could and would appoint him a Lieutenant Colonel in either the Eighth or Ninth Infantry. Colonel William M. Fenton agreed to Parkhurst as the Lt. Colonel of his regiment, the Eighth Infantry, but for some reason Governor Blair deferred the appointment and he returned to Coldwater without a commission. 1

Upon his return home, Parkhurst made arrangements to send his children to New York. The baby, Maggie, was sent to live with Parkhurst's sister, Helen Starr. An older daughter, Kittie, was to live with her Uncle William Parkhurst, who came to Coldwater and took the children to New York with him, leaving Parkhurst alone in his now "desolate home." ²

Parkhurst's family urged him not to go to war. His sister, Helen, was especially adamant in her opposition to Parkhurst's decision to join the service. She argued that the war was the result of "black Republican" policies and that a good Democrat like Parkhurst should not offer his services. Furthermore, she accused her brother of neglecting his duty to his children by even considering entering the army. ³

Parkhurst replied with firmness. "Government or no government. Republicanism or Despotism. This is no partisan war,"

he declared, "it is a War for the life of the Nation. Now I am willing, yes anxious, to Serve My Country in their (<u>sic</u>) hour of peril to the Constitution." ⁴ Parkhurst reaffirmed his decision to volunteer, adding that he desired to make the country safe for his children by doing his share to insure the continuance of a unified nation.

After receiving word from Governor Blair, on September 3, 1861, that he would be appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Ninth Infantry, Parkhurst made a short visit to New York to see his children. ⁵ On September 23, 1861, he returned to Detroit to take up his duties in preparation for the mustering of the regiment into the federal service.

The Ninth Michigan Infantry Regiment was raised during the late summer and early autumn of 1861, but when the men were called to muster at Detroit many of the companies were not yet filled to capacity. Thus the men who had been promised captaincies in the unit were asked to report how many soldiers they had enrolled and were urged to fill their quotas as **ao**on as **possible**. ⁶ One of the companies was made up exclusively of men from Coldwater and Branch County, and since other captains also recruited men from the area, that county was well represented in the regiment. ⁷

Parkhurst spent the rest of September and the first half of October in Detroit taking care of military and personal affairs. He spent much time at Fort Wayne, where the men rendezvoused, getting the regiment ready for service. He purchased the supplies that he would need as a soldier and

arranged his personal affairs by making a will, by storing $h_i s$ books and other possessions, and by checking over his business affairs. ⁸

The officers and men of the Ninth Michigan Infantry Regiment were mustered into the service on October 15, at Fort Wayne, in Detroit. ⁹ At that time the Ninth was placed under marching orders and, as Parkhurst wrote, was ready to "go to Kentucky as soon as we can get arms." ¹⁰ The regiment spent several days waiting for weapons and finally left Detroit without them. Parkhurst explained that they were leaving without arms because those they had were so poor that they expected to find better ones when they reached Kentucky. ¹¹

The Ninth left Michigan on October 25 and reached Jeffersonville, Indiana, the following day. ¹² After a one day stopover the organization was ordered to take up a post at the mouth of the Salt River, near West Point, Kentucky. Here the Ninth was assigned to guard supplies and roads in the area. ¹³

While the first duties of the Michigan men were anything but spectacular, they had been called for service in an important theater of the war. Kentucky was considered a key area by both the North and South since it was a border state strategically located along the Ohio River. The state officials of Kentucky proclaimed neutrality in May, 1861. However Kentucky was too important to be allowed to live in peace and both Unionists and Secessionists were doing their best to seize control of key points in that state. At the outset the Confederates held a numerical advantage and the only action by the Federals was to attempt to hold the invaders in check.

As part of the Union plan the Department, or Army, of the Ohio was created in November, 1861, and placed under the command of Don Carlos Buell. The Department included the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Tennessee and that part of Kentucky east of the Cumberland River. ¹⁴ The Ninth Michigan became part of this Army.

While the Ninth Michigan was located on the Salt River, Parkhurst kept up a steady correspondence with his sisters and brother in New York. In these letters he expressed his views concerning the regiment's duties and his own progress in the service. Parkhurst wrote, no doubt in a burst of enthusiasm, that the Michigan men had been given a "post of honor" although their activities were limited to guard duty and occasional foraging missions. He believed that their unit compared favorably with other volunteer regiments and even excelled many of them. He had nothing but praise for Col. Duffield, whom he regarded as "an accomplished officer." ¹⁵ In commenting upon his own progress in the service, Parkhurst said that he felt he had given satisfaction to the men and other officers and that he liked military **life**, at least as much of it as he had experienced to that time. ¹⁶

Colonel Duffield commented about the Ninth and Lt. Colonel Parkhurst in correspondence with John Robertson, Adjutant General of Michigan. His main concern was the condition of the muskets carried by his men. Our arms are so poor, he wrote, that "it is unsafe to send men into the field with such Miserable Weapons as those We have." Duffield expressed

the hope that the governor would be able to obtain better arms for the regiment and charge the expense to the federal government. 17 He also mentioned that Parkhurst was proving to be a valuable officer who would soon be as good as any officer in the Michigan units. 18

In November the Ninth was organized along with the 13th and 15th Kentucky and 3rd Minnesota into the Sixteenth Brigade of the Army of the Ohio. A brigade commander was not appointed at the time; but the units were under General Thomas, whose entire command was designated by General Buell as the First Division of the Army of the Ohio. ¹⁹

During November and December the Ninth was hard hit by illness and at one time 332 of the approximately 950 men were on the sick list. In early December, when it appeared that a battle would soon be fought, the sick men were ordered to a hospital in Louisville. ²⁰

A battle was fought at Mill Springs or Logan's Crossroads on January 19, 1862, which resulted in a Confederate defeat and forced them to retreat. Unfortunately for the Ninth Michigan, the only action it saw was to move from West Point to Elizabethtown, Kentucky, where it was again assigned to guarding bridges and roads. ²¹ Parkhurst noted that the biggest battle for the men in this situation was to overcome boredom. Frequent drills and dress parades were held to keep the men busy. ²²

Parkhurst was placed in command of the Ninth during the latter part of January when Duffield was given a special assignment in Bardstown, Kentucky. During Duffield's absence

Parkhurst commanded his first battalion drill and, after it was over, said he was well-pleased with the results. ²³ Parkhurst anticipated that his responsibilities as commander of the Ninth would continue since he expected Duffield would soon be promoted to a higher position in the brigade. ²⁴

Since the Ninth had few duties at Elizabethtown, the men had an opportunity to enjoy some recreational activities. In particular, they made good use of the stream running through their camp for swimming. This was certainly a new experience for Michigan boys--swimming in January--and it seemed to work wonders for the health of the men. According to Parkhurst, "This little stream is worth more to our Reg't than all the calomel in Ky." ²⁵ Parkhurst himself found time for social activity, making frequent visits to acquaintances in the area for dinners and parties. ²⁶

The Ninth remained at Elizabethtown through the month of February, and Parkhurst became anxious for the regiment to go into action. He wrote his sister that he was certain that he would live to the end of the war since there was no immediate prospect of the Ninth moving forward. Parkhurst was provoked by the sight of other units, with less time in the service, going into action while he and his men remained at Elizabethtown. ²⁷

The Ninth Michigan and the other units of the Sixteenth Brigade boarded a steamer on March 19, 1862, and headed for a rendezvous with the rest of the Army of the Ohio. They travelled via the Ohio and Cumberland Rivers to Nashville and thence to Murfreesboro, where they established a camp south

of the town. ²⁸ The designation of these regiments was now changed to the Twenty-third Independent Brigade of the Army of the Ohio with Colonel Duffield in command. ²⁹

The assignment of the Ninth was part of a large operation. General Buell had gathered an army of over 73,000 men at Nashville by early March and had deployed almost one-half of these troops to guard important roads, railroads, river crossings and mountain gaps in Kentucky and Tennessee. With the other units, totalling about 37,000, Buell was moving to Savannah, Tennessee, to join General Henry W. Halleck's command for operations against General Johnston, who, after suffering reverses at Forts Henry and Donelson, had concentrated his army at Corinth, Mississippi.

The movement against the rebels of Corinth precipitated the Battle of Shiloh. In this great clash, the first major action in the Western theater, the Confederates were forced into a retreat on the second day of the battle--April 7, 1862. In the months that followed this bloody test of strength the two armies continued to spar with one another, each seeking an opportunity to strike a crippling blow.

While their comrades had been engaged at Shiloh and in subsequent operations against Corinth, the Michigan volunteers remained at Murfreesboro, and they were to reinforce any of the other garrisons in the vicinity when the need arose. 30

Lt. Colonel Parkhurst was ordered to take the post of Provost Marshal of Murfreesboro by General Ormsby Mitchel, who was in charge of several garrisons around Nashville. Parkhurst gladly accepted this position and thereafter spent a part of

each day in his office carrying out this new responsibility. These tasks, not very heavy, consisted mostly of handling prisoners and of exercising legal powers for the military over the civilians in the area. 31

The men of the Ninth did see limited action, being involved almost daily in skirmishes with the rebels. However these clashes were, "nothing which [would] warrant the command of a Col. or Lt.-Col.," as Parkhurst noted in his dairy. 32

In his correspondence with his sister Parkhurst described the countryside around Murfreesboro and commented upon the sentiment of the citizens in the vicinity. The scenery was beautiful and delightful, but the people were "<u>all</u> rebels. There is Scarcely a Union man in the whole Country," he declared. "I suppose this is the worst portion of the State in respect to politics and will probably be the most difficult to Establish a Union Feeling in." The people around Murfreesboro expected that the Federals would soon be driven out, but Parkhurst said that the men in blue were determined to hold their position. ³³

Late in April the hopes of the Ninth were raised at the prospect of joining Halleck's forces near Pittsburg Landing to aid in the advance upon Corinth. ³⁴ On April 23 General Ebenezer Dumont was ordered to take the Twenty-third Brigade to Pittsburg Landing, however these orders were countermanded on the very next day. ³⁵ In place of the intended move the brigade was directed to proceed to Huntsville, Alabama to reinforce Mitchel. From this point Parkhurst expected a move upon Chattanooga or Corinth, and he even conjectured that

his men might be part of an operation against Atlanta or Dalton, Georgia. ³⁶

But the Twenty-third Brigade was unable to carry out its orders to join Mitchel, for the military situation in Tennessee took a new course which demanded its attention. Parkhurst had commented several times about the presence of "marauders" in the area and that their attacks had increased enough to demand some decisive action. ³⁷ The group that commanded the attention of the Ninth was a rebel cavalry unit led by Colonel John H. Morgan. The Michigan Infantry marched to Shelbyville in pursuit of Morgan on May 3, along with other units under General Dumont and Colonel Duffield. The next day they learned that Morgan had moved to Lebanon and, since pursuit by infantry was too slow, the Ninth was ordered back to Murfreesboro. At the request of the commanding officers, Parkhurst accompanied the Union cavalry to Lebanon. ³⁸

The next day the Federals surprised Morgan's cavalry at Lebanon and defeated them after a house to house battle. Parkhurst directed the attack against a group of rebels holed up in the Odd Fellow's Hall and forced them to surrender after threatening to fire the building. In all 200 prisoners were taken along with 250 horses. The casualties listed 50 killed for Morgan and nine for the attackers. Parkhurst, as Provost Marshal of Murfreesboro, took charge of the prisoners and sent them north to Nashville. ³⁹

After his return to Murfreesboro Parkhurst was forceably impressed with the pro-South sentiment of the citizens when he was fired upon by a would-be assassin. As a result of

this incident, Parkhurst, acting under orders of Governor Andrew Johnson, searched the city for arms and arrested twelve citzens who were sent at once to Nashville to be held as hostages. 40

While the Ninth and other units in Tennessee were engaged in protecting Union communications, Halleck was conducting his snail-paced advance on Corinth. Halleck's movement with superior numbers finally forced General Beauregard to leave Corinth without a fight.

In conjunction with the Corinth campaign the Michigan men participated in an advance upon Ghattanooga which was designed to draw rebel troops from other areas to defend that city. This enterprise was under the command of General John S. Negley, who assembled his men at Fayetteville. The Federal forces began to move forward on June 2, 1862. In addition to eight infantry regiments, the group included two cavalry regiments and two batteries of artillery--a total of about 10,000 men. ⁴¹ In order to move rapidly the troops travelled without camp equipment. They arrived opposite Chattanooga on June 7 after a series of long, rapid marches through the rugged Cumberland Mountains. ⁴²

Unable to cross the Tennessee River the Union troops threw a few shells into Chattanooga and then withdrew back over the Cumberland Mountains. Neither Parkhurst nor his men could make much sense out of the whole operation. The retirement was made by long, rapid marches which brought the Ninth back to Murfreesboro on June 13. 43

While Parkhurst was understandably disappointed over the retreat, the feint at Chattanooga had forced the rebels to

make certain adjustments which proved advantageous to the Union. The threat posed by Negley's forces caused General E. Kirby Smith's command, as well as rebel troops in the Cumberland Gap, to hasten to Chattanooga. As a result Federal troops were able to occupy the all-important Cumberland Gap without a fight. 44

After evacuating Corinth, part of the Confederate forces, now under General Braxton Bragg, headed for Chattanooga with Buell in pursuit. Buell and Halleck had a sharp difference of opinion over the best route of advance upon that city. Buell wanted to keep the Nashville-Chattanooga Railroad open for his supplies, but Halleck ordered him to advance along the Memphis-Charleston Railroad which laid parallel to the rebel lines. Thus Buell was forced to disperse his troops to protect his communications from being disrupted by Confederate Gavalary under Colonels Morgan and Nathan B. Forrest. The Confederate strikes were especially destructive during June and July, and the raid that hit Murfreesboro on July 13 stirred a great controversy.

In Murfreesboro was the Twenty-third Brigade, which was racked by internal discord, the friction being particularly high between the Ninth Michigan and the Third Minnesota. When Duffield was called to other duties in late May, Colonel H. C. Lester of the Minnesota regiment became the commander of the brigade. Parkhurst held a very low opinion of Lester's ability and did not believe he was qualified to command a brigade. 45

On June 20, Col. Lester placed Parkhurst under arrest for refusing to obey an indirect order to move the lines of the Michigan Infantry. When threatened with being put in irons

Parkhurst told Lester that "he was not man enough to do it." After an exchange of notes on the following day, Parkhurst was released from arrest with Lester expressing satisfaction that the matter was settled. ⁴⁶ This incident heightened the ill-will between the two men and during the next week the Minnesota men, along with their supporting battery, withdrew from Murfreesboro and established their camp north of the city. ⁴⁷ In the last days of June the Michigan regiment holding the city was further reduced when four of its companies were ordered to reinforce the garrison at Tullahoma. ⁴⁸

Thus when Duffield, who had been promoted to the rank of General, and General Thomas T. Crittenden returned to Murfreesboro on July 11, they found the Twenty-third Brigade located in widely scattered camps. The following day Crittenden assumed over-all command of Murfreesboro while Duffield took charge of the Twenty-third. Both Generals felt that it was dangerous for the units to be so widely separated. Parkhurst concurred in their opinion, stating that "Col. Lester must take the responsibility so far." 49

At dawn on July 13 Confederate cavalry under General N. B. Forrest smashed into the camp of the Ninth, catching many of the men still in bed. Approximately 1,200 raiders hit Parkhurst's command of about 250 men, consisting of six companies of the Ninth and 80 members of the Fourth Kentucky Cavalry. ⁵⁰ After this initial impact, in which Duffield was severely wounded, Parkhurst rallied the men and they poured a heavy fusillade of fire into the Confederates who were somewhat disorganized after galloping through the enemy camp. Taking advantage of this situation the Union men drove their attackers

some two hundred yards and improvised a strong stockade in an enclosed garden. 51

From their new position the handful of men under Parkhurst repelled several thrusts by the rebels. The attackers then gave up their attempts to carry the stockade by storm and deployed the dismounted cavalry in positions around the stronghold, keeping up a steady stream of fire while awaiting the return of Forrest, who had taken part of his men to attack the camp of the Third Minnesota. ⁵²

Soon after the fighting commenced Parkhurst sent two couriers to tell Colonel Lester that he was in serious trouble. Both of these men got through, as did one sent by Lester to check on conditions in Murfreesboro. ⁵³ However, despite his knowledge of the determined attack by the rebels upon the Ninth and their Kentucky comrades, Lester's only action was to form a line of battle and advance 600 yards. The Minnesota volunteers strongly desired to aid the beleaguered garrison, but their Colonel did not allow them to budge. According to Lt. Colonel Christopher C. Andrews, "While Colonel Lester sat upon his horse at his proper post in rear of the line, different officers approached and asked him, in tone of entreaty, if he would not march the regiment into town. Lester replied, 'We will see.'" ⁵⁴

In view of Lester's obvious reluctance to throw his regiment into action, Forrest concentrated almost all of his men against the Federals in the stockade. At this time, around 11:30 A. M., Forrest sent in a flag of truce and demanded the surrender of Parkhurst and his men. Duffield, whose wound had

taken him out of action in the first assault, relinquished this decision to Parkhurst. Parkhurst met with the other officers and they decided to surrender their decimated force at noon. They reasoned that since Lester had made no attempt to relieve them, further resistance with 134 fit men against about 1,800 rebels would be fruitless and could only lead to the fulfillment of Forrest's threat to execute the entire command if they continued hostilities. ⁵⁵

The surrender of Parkhurst showed that he had about 130 unwounded men who were marched off by Forrest as prisoners of war. Some seventy wounded were paroled at Murfreesboro, and twelve men of his command had been killed. ⁵⁶ Shortly after the capitulation of the post in the city, Lester surrendered the Third Minnesota and its battery without a struggle. This left Forrest free to destroy Federal supplies whose value was estimated at \$1,000,000. ⁵⁷ This raid, along with others by Colonel Morgan, caused Buell a great deal of trouble and often forced him to alter plans in order to protect his supply lines.

The engagement at Murfreesboro raised many questions as to who was responsible, causing the establishment of a board of inquiry to investigate the affair. The first reports of the destruction placed the onus upon the Ninth and upon T. T. Crittenden and Duffield. However, the investigation absolved Crittenden of any neglect on the ground that he had been assured by Lester that enemy troops were no closer than Chattanooga. The great surprise effected by Forrest resulted from Lester's regular practice of removing pickets at night from the roads leading to Murfreesboro. Because of his obvious

neglect in taking proper security precautions and for not coming to the aid of the beseiged men, Lester was dishonorably discharged from the service. ⁵⁸

The findings of the board of inquiry absolved the Ninth and Parkhurst of any responsibility for the great loss of property at Murfreesboro. In fact General Crittenden in his report highly commended the Michigan volunteers and the Lt. Colonel for the stiff resistence in the face of great odds. ⁵⁹ Parkhurst always felt, however, that his men were never totally cleared of the onus attached to their surrender, for as he wrote in 1866, "the Regiment has never received a proper degree of credit, having in a manner received the reproach which should have [been] attached solely to Col. Lester of the 3rd Minnésota, whose refusal to allow his regiment and Hewitt's battery to go into the fight was the sole cause of the Capture of Murfreesboro." ⁶⁰

Forrest paroled all of his prisoners, except the officers, and the next eight days were spent in marching, or in riding southern railroads, to a Confederate prison at Madison, Georgia. While on the march General Forrest took Parkhurst's horse and gave his "poor" mount in return. In addition to this "exchange" Parkhurst discovered that most of his horse-riding equipment and other valuables were stolen by the rebels. Although this was most annoying, his greatest indigation was aroused when a Negro, to whom he gave \$2.50 to fill_4canteen, made off with both container and money. ⁶¹

In the prison which was located in an old cotton will surrounded by a board fence, boredom was the biggest problem

for the men, and they whiled away the time reading, talking, and playing cards. At first the prisoners were often stirred with excitement as rumors of exchange were circulated; but hope of a short internment soon died, for this gossip proved false. Some of the Federals wrote an inscription upon the fence which greatly irritated the Confederate guards, and the officer in charge of the prison demanded the immediate removal of "Dixie the Land of Snakes, Scorpions and Traitors." Adding another insult the inmates hired a Negro to remove the offending sign. Early in October there came a reliable report that an exchange had been arranged, and the prisoners prepared themselves for the trip north. ⁶²

On October 7, 1862 the prisoners left Madison by rail for Virginia and parole. After a short stay in Libby Prison at Richmond the men were transferred to a steamer and taken to Washington, D.C. While in the capital Parkhurst called on President Lincoln and recorded this event in his diary with the exasperatingly cryptic notation that the Chief Executive "is quite ugly and inferior looking." ⁶³

During Parkhurst's imprisonment the Army of the Ohio under Buell was encountering difficulties. The raids by Morgan and Forrest in June and July had raised havoc with its communications. Bragg's move to Chattanooga put him in position to invade the North by several routes: he could advance into middle or eastern Tennessee, or he could move through the mountains into Kentucky.

In early September, Buell, faced with uncertainty, decided to concentrate his forces at Murfreesboro and await

Bragg's next move. He did not have to wait long. Bragg, taking advantage of certain developments in Eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, decided to march into Kentucky with hopes of driving north to the Ohio River, This movement touched off a race for Louisville with the Union Army arriving first, on September 29, 1862. After considerable sparring the two armies met in the bloody battle of Perryville, on October 8, which resulted in a Confederate defeat. Bragg then retreated to Murfreesboro, the former camp of the Union troops.

This period is often viewed as the height of Confederate military success. General George B. McClellan had been forced to abandon the Virginia peninsula; the Federal troops under General John Pope had been whipped at Second Bull Run, after which the Army of Northern Virginia prepared for its first invasion of the North. In the West, as already noted, Bragg had driven from Chattanooga northward into Kentucky. But both invading forces were defeated and turned back--Lee at Antietam, and Bragg at Perryville.

The Confederate successes caused President Lincoln to remove both commanders--McClellan in the East and Buell in the West. General William S. Rosecrans was placed in charge of the Army of the Cumberland (formerly the Army of the Ohio). His first action was to relieve the pressure on the garrison at Nashville, which enabled the entire army to move from Louisville to Nashville. Here the month of November and part of December was spent in organizing the troops for an offensive against Bragg at Murfreesboro.

Lt. Colonel Parkhurst and the other Union officers who had been sent north by the secessionists were merely on parole.

Under the rules adopted for the exchanging of prisoners, these men could not return to active duty until the Union authorities had released an equal number of Confederate officers of corresponding ranks. If a soldier was recaptured before had been officially exchanged, he faced death before a firing squad. When Parkhurst learned that he was not free to return to the front, he said, "[this is] Not very flattering news to us. Our Govt should have had us exchanged." ⁶⁴

During his parole Parkhurst visited relatives in New York, old friends in Coldwater, Michigan, and enjoyed a happy reunion with his two children, Kittie and Maggie, whom he had not seen in over a year. The trip to Coldwater included a sad visit to the grave of his beloved Amelia, whom he often remembered fondly in entries in his diary.⁶⁵ This was a time for reflection, and the lawyer-turned-soldier contemplated what the future might hold in store for himself and his broken family.

The notification of Parkhurst's official exchange was communicated to the military authorities in Detroit on November 10. This news was relayed to Parkhurst, who was at Syracuse, New York; however, he did not receive orders to rejoin the Ninth until the nineteenth of December. ⁶⁶ When he arrived in Nashville, Parkhurst found the bulk of the Army of the Cumberland concentrated in that city. ⁶⁷

The reunion with his regiment was a joyous occasion for the commander of the Ninth. He made a short speech which the men heartily cheered while throwing their hats into the air.⁶⁸ During his absence the Michigan volunteers had received a

post of honor, being assigned to the headquarters of General Thomas as Provost Guard. ⁶⁹ Parkhurst described the station as "one of which any Regiment in the Service would feel a pride and that's the position of Select Guard for the Army Corps of Maj.-Genl Thomas--Similar to the Body-guard of a

European officer." ⁷⁰

When Parkhurst returned to Nashville he noted a great deal of activity that indicated a major battle would soon be fought. This assumption was correct. On December 26, 1862, Rosecrans ordered his men to move toward the rebels at Murfreesboro and four days later the Union army established their positions along Stone's River. However Rosecrans' lines were poorly located. Thus when the Confederates seiged the initiative on December 31, they threatened to overrun the entire Union army and to cut off its line of retreat toward Nashville.

When the battle began the Ninth Michigan was located at the rear of the lines near Thomas' headquarters. Shortly after the action commenced, Parkhurst noticed a large number of men rushing to the rear. He described the scene in his "Recollections of Stone's River."

And in advance of the running mules was one particular Negro, who, though very black, had an absolute pallor upon his countenence, and about four inches of tongue protruding from his mouth, his eyes bulging nearly out of his head.

It being a part of the writer's duty to prevent straggling and to Keep men with their respective Commands, he Sent out details to pick up these terrified troops;

but, the picking up soon became a pretty lively business and he found it necessary to place the 9th Michigan in line of Battle across the Nashville Pike Extending its flanks to the utmost limit, and he was none too Soon in this Movement. Cavalry--Artillery--Infantry Quitters and Camp followers came rushing with the force of a cyclone, and the 9th Michigan was ordered to fix bayonets and charge upon this panic Stricken Mass of men.

The Charge was Made and result was gratifying--the Stampede was Checked and the fleeing Mass of troops were halted, put in line facing the enemy, until a force of some thousands of Infantry about 2,000 --Seven pieces of Artillery and several hundred Cavalry were placed in a favorable position, from which this recently terrorized force several times repulsed the Charges of the pursuing Enemy and finally after General Wilkes with his brigade including the 4th Michigan Artillery came foreward from Stewarts Creek, We were Enabled to drive the Enemy back to his lines and relieve the right of Rosecrans' Army. ⁷¹

After the opening rush had turned back the extreme right of Rosecrans' lines, the entire rebel force began to pivot on Stone's River bringing it into action against the Union center and left. Rosecrans finally relocated his forces and turned back repeated attacks by the Confederates, who undoubtedly sensed an opportunity to achieve a decisive victory. The Northerners held out until darkness finally brought an end to a day of hard, costly fighting.

During the night both armies were busy consolidating their position. Bragg believed that enemy lossed were so heavy that the Federals would retreat. Rosecrans, however, held a council of war with his chief officers and all decided that the Union position could be held. Thus when daylight broke on New Year's Day the Army of the Cumberland was still on the battlefield ready to receive an attack. It never came, for Bragg had not formed any definite plans. The Federals, unprepared to launch an offensive, were content to hold their position, repulsing the few probes that were made by the Confederates. The greatest activity occurred in the rear, where rebel cavalry harassed Union communications. It was in that quarter that Parkhurst's regiment saw action.

Well before dawn the Ninth received orders from Thomas to escort to Nashville a train of wagons which carried unneeded equipment and wounded men. Nine miles from their destination the column was hit by cavalry which had been harassing the rear of the Union lines. The attack threw the teamsters into a general stampede, which Parkhurst's regiment managed to check. The man were then lined up ready to repulse any subsequent onslaught by the enemy, but the Confederates made no further efforts to stop the train and it proceeded unmolested to Nashville. ⁷²

Early in the morning of January 3, the Ninth, under orders from Thomas, left Nashville to return to the battlefield with supply wagons and the troops who had fled the front. They reached Lavergne about noon and found Colonel William P. Innes and his First Michigan Engineers awaiting an attack from Confederate cavalry. The Michigan volunteers and their column

joined the Engineers and after an uneventful two-hour wait, decided to proceed. The train reached the battlefield in the late afternoon after a hard march of twenty-seven miles. ⁷³

Dawn of the following day found the Army of the Cumberland alone on the battlefield before Murfreesboro. Bragg had withdrawn his men during the night, leaving behind his dead and wounded. The decision to retreat was based upon a report by General Joseph C. Wheeler of the rebel cavalry that Rosecrans was receiving reinforcements. The Union troops spent the day in burying the dead and resting.

The occupation of Murfreesboro was a happy event for the men of the Ninth Infantry as they were allowed to enterothe city at the head of the army. Thus the Michigan Volunteers returned to the scene of their earlier defeat at the hands of Forrest. ⁷⁴

The conclusion of the great clash at Stone's River brought a time of reflection for the troops. Parkhurst, in looking back over the activities of his men, said that they had fulfilled their duties well. Reflecting on the two stampedes halted by his Ninth Michigan, he asserted: "I think I have saved our army from two sad disasters and disgraces if I never do anything More for My Country." ⁷⁵ For their timely action the Michigan volunteers were commended by Thomas in his official report of the battle for rendering "most valuable service" to the army. ⁷⁶

Parkhurst said, in commenting upon the rebel retreat, that his regiment had played a key role in causing that movement. In writing a report of Stone's River after the war he began

one portion with the statement, "I trust it will not be regarded immodest in the Writer, at this remote period, to furnish the Companies of this Commandery--but the information must go no further (underline added)-- [knowledge of] the occasion which influenced General Bragg to abandon a claimed victory, and to withdraw his army from the front of what he proclaimed a defeated foe." There follows a brief description of the Ninth's return to Stone's River on January 3 with the ammunition train and the stragglers collected in Nashville. The appearance of this column relieving the beseiged Innes and his Engineers at Lavergne had caused the rebel cavalry to hasten to Bragg with the report that Rosecrans was receiving fresh men. Parkhurst continued, "No other troops came to Rosecrans on the 3rd and the inference is fair that he [Wheeler] referred to the 9th Michigan.

"Thus you can see comes the conclusion that not only was Innes saved by the opportune arrival of the $9\frac{\text{th}}{\text{Michigan}}$ at Lavergne, but Wheeler was so impressed with its Extended Columns as to induce him to hasten a report to Bragg of its March to reinforce Rosecrans." 77

If Parkhurst's information is correct, he and his regiment were instrumental in securing an important victory for the Union--a matter which deserves deeper investigaion. Bragg reported that he withdrew because Wheeler had informed him by noon on January 3 that Rosecrans was being reinforced. ⁷⁸ Van Horne said that Bragg's information was incorrect or else the Confederate leader had interpreted the arrival of General James G. Spears' brigade as giving a great preponderance to to the Union army. ⁷⁹ A study of the official reports disclosed

that Spears arrived at 5 P. M. on January 2 while Wheeler and his men were operating in the rebel lines at Stone's River. ⁸⁰ Thus Spears' unit did not prompt the retreat. It appears from this evidence that Parkhurst's assumption was correct and that it was the approach of his column that was reported to Bragg. This is further borne out by Wheeler's report which tells of being unable to attack a wagon train about noon on January 3 because it was heavily guarded by infantry and cavalry. ⁸¹ In short, the evidence in the official records reveals that the Ninth had, quite by accident, caused the rebels to leave the battlefield at Stone's River thus bringing a great victory to the Army of the Cumberland.

The actions of the Michigan volunteers become even more significant when the results of the battle are viewed. The Federals had finally forced Bragg to make a stand. In the battle the Union troops suffered a near-disaster on the first day, but recovered from the shock, regained the offensive on January 2 and forced the rebels to abandon their strategic position at Murfreesboro on the Nashville-Chattanooga railroad. Of great importance, too, was the psychological impact of the victory upon the men-in-arms and the people of the North, for this was the first major success for the Federals in several months. Conversely Bragg's retreat caused considerable consternation in the South. It may very well be true that the Ninth Michigan has never received proper credit for their part in securing Murfreesboro for the Union.

The Army of the Cumberland spent almost six months at Murfreesboro without engaging in any important action against the rebel army, which established itself behind the Duck River

The Ninth, during the six month occupation of Murfreesboro, performed routine duties as Provost Guard for the headquarters of Thomas, while Parkhurst discharged his responsibilities as Provost Marshal for the Fourteenth Corps. The Michigan volunteers sometimes escorted foraging parties into the surrounding countryside, but beyond this their activities were very limited. ⁸²

During February, 1863, Lt. Colonel Parkhurst corresponded with the military authorities in Michigan concerning his pending promotion to the rank of colonel. He requested that the commission be dated January 17, 1862, the day on which he assumed command of the regiment. ⁸³ In support of his request the other officers of the Ninth wrote: "We believe that he has earned this by a faithful and satisfactory performance of his duties while in command of the Regiment. . . ." The officers went on to say that Parkhurst's commission should be antedated so that he would no be out-ranked by some other colonel with less time in the service. On February 27 Parkhurst received confirmation of his promotion, which bore the date March 25, 1862. ⁸¹4

Throughout this eventful period Parkhurst carried on a regular correspondence with his sisters in New York. His letters contain several interesting comments and observations about the prosecution of the war. Parkhurst believed that the activities of certain elements in the North made the prosecution of the war an unnecessarily difficult task. ⁸⁵ On one occasion he declared that if "the whole North would turn out and give these rebels what they deserve and then go home

and pitch into the abolitionists [,] we could soon put our country into its old position [;] but it is impossible to carry on both wars at the same time and succeed in either....⁸⁶

The Colonel was disturbed that the Northern populace was not giving total support to the war and found it difficult to understand. "I don't know," he wrote, "why people suppose the rebellion is going to be put down when they don't furnish the Means to do it. It is My opinion that We Shall have a war on our hands for years to Come and that these rebels will resist the Government so long as there are any of them left to fight. They will <u>never</u> come into the Union willingly. . . ." ⁸⁷ In short, by the spring of 1863 Parkhurst realized that the South must be conquered; he suggested that the only way to do it was for, "the North to turn outEn:Masse and give the South a Whipping." ⁸⁸

Early in June some forty members of the Ninth Michigan became a mounted guard as a result of the efforts of Parkhurst. The Colonel felt that the presence of this group would add to the efficiency of the regiment in discharging its duties for General Thomas. ⁸⁹

In late June Rosecrans finally decided to advance. It appeated that Vicksburg was so close to surrender that is was too late for Bragg to offer any effective aid to that army. The Union offensive was directed against Shelbyville and Tullahoma, where Parkhurst was sure the enemy would form for "a big battle." ⁹⁰ Orders to move were issued on the twenty-third, and the advance began the next day. In a last-minute letter Parkhurst said: "We move foreward today--the whole army--We go in the direction of Chahtanooga." ⁹¹

¹ August 7, 1861, Diary, MSU.

² <u>Ibid.</u>, August 8 and 12, 1861; Parkhurst to sister, Helen Starr, August 9, 1861, Papers, MHC.

³ Sister to Parkhurst, August 19, 1861, Papers, MHC.

4 Parkhurst to Sister, September 2, 1861, Papers, MHC.

⁵ Governor Blair to Parkhurst, September 1, 1861, Papers, MHC.

⁶ John Robertson, compiler, <u>Michigan in the War</u>, revised edition (Lansing, Michigan, 1882), p. 293.

⁷ Crisfield Johnson, <u>History of Branch County</u>, <u>Michigan</u> (Philadelphia, 1879), p. <u>63</u>.

September 23-27 and October 11-14, 1861, Diary, MSU.

⁹ Ibid., October 15, 1861.

¹⁰ Parkhurst to Sister, October 15, 1861, Papers, MHC.

¹¹ Parkhurst to Sister, October 22, 1861, Parkhurst Papers, Museum of Michigan State University, Hereafter cited as Papers, MSU.

12 October 25-27, 1861, Diary, MSU.

13 The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I (Washington D. C., 1880), VII, 466. Hereafter cited as OR. and from Series I unless otherwise indicated.

14 Accounts of Kentucky's early position with regard to the war can be found in William H. Townsend, Lincoln and the Bluegrass; Slavery and Civil War in Kentucky (Lexington, Kentucky, 1955), pp. 278-285; Thomas D. Clark, <u>A History of</u> Kentucky (New York, 1937), pp. 446-450.

15 Parkhurst to Sister, October 28, 1861, Papers, MHC.

16 Ibid., October 28 and 30, 1861.

17 "Ninth Michigan Infantry," <u>Records of the Michigan</u> <u>Military Establishment</u>, record group 59-14, Michigan Historical Commission Archives, Lansing, Duffield to Robertson, November 7, 1861. Hereafter cited as RG 59-14, MHCA.

18 Ibid., December 4, 1861.

19 OR., VII, 461.

²⁰ Parkhurst to Sister, December 5, 1861, Papers, MHC.; November 13, 1861, Diary, MSU.

²¹ Parkhurst to Sister, January 11, 1862, Papers, MHC.; January 3-7, 1862, Diary, MSU.

22 February, 1862, passim, Diary, MSU.

23 Ibid., January 17 and 23, 1862.

24 Parkhurst to Sister, January 24, 1862, Papers, MHC.

²⁵ Parkhürst, to Robertson, January 27, 1862, RG. 59-14, MHCA.

26 January, 1862, passim, Diary, MSU.

27 February 13, 1862, Papers, MSU.

28 March 19-April 1, 1862, Diary, MSU.

29 Frederick H. Byer, A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, 3 vols. (New York, 1956), III, 1285.

³⁰ April 11, 1862, Diary, MSU.

³¹ Ibid., April 3-30, 1862, passim.

32 Parkhurst to Sister, April 12, 1862, Papers, MHC.; April 11, 1862, Diary, MSU.

33 Parkhurst to Sister, April 1, 1862, Papers, MHC.

34 Parkhurst to Sister, April 20, 1862, Papers, MHC.

35 April 23-24, 1862, Diary, MSU.

³⁶ Parkhurst to Sister, April 26, 1862, Papers, MHC.

37 Ibid., May 11, 1862.

38 Ibid.; May 3-4, 1862, Diary, MSU.

³⁹ May 4-7, 1862, Diary, MSU.; OR., X, part I, 885-886; Parkhurst to Robertson, May 10, 1862, RG. 59-14, MHCA.

40 Charles W. Bennett, Historical Sketches of the Ninth Michigan Infantry (Coldwater, Michigan, 1913), pp. 9-10; May 10-13, 1862. Diary, MSU.

41 Parkhurst to Sister, June 1, 1862, Papers, MHC.

42 June 2-7, 1862, Diary, MSU.

43 Ibid., June 9-13, 1862.

44 Parkhurst to Sister, July 9, 1862, Papers, MHC.

45 Parkhurst to Robertson, May 10, 1862, RG. 59-14, MHCA.

46 June 20-21, 1862, Diary, MSU.

47 Ibid., June 26, 1862.

4⁸ Ibid., June 29, 1862.

49 Ibid., July 11-12, 1862.

50 Ibid., July 13, 1962; OR., XVI, part I, 801-802.

51 OR., XVI, part I, 803-807; John A. Wyeth, That Devil Forrest (New York, 1959), pp. 73-74.

52 Ibid.

53 OR., XVI, part I, 803-807.

54 C.C. Andrews, editor, <u>Minnesota in the Civil</u> and <u>Indian</u> <u>Wars</u>, <u>1861-1865</u>, 3 vols. (St. Paul, 1890), I, 153.

55 OR., XVI, part I, 803-807; July 13, 1862. Diary, MSU.; Wyeth, That Devil Forrest, p. 75; Ralph S. Henry, Forrest (New York, 1944), p. 87.

⁵⁶ Parkhurst to Sister, July 15, 1862, Papers, MHC.

57 Henry M. Cist, The Army of the Cumberland (New York, 1882), pp. 43-45.

⁵⁸ OR., part I, 796-798.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 795.

⁶⁰ Parkhurst to Robertson, December 29, 1866, RG 59-14, MHCA.

61 July 14,22, 1862, Diary, MSU.

62 Ibid., July 23-October 3, 1862, passim.

63 Ibid., October 7-16, 1862.

64 Ibid., Detober 2, 1862, 50.

65 Ibid., October 16-November 1, 1862.

66 OR., Series II, V, 46; November 13, 1862, Diary, MSU.

67 December 19-23, 1862, Diary, MSU.

68 Ibid., December 24-25, 1862.

⁶⁹ Dyer, <u>Compendieum</u>, III, 1285.

70 Parkhurst to Sister, December 26, 1862, Papers, MHC.

71 "Recollections of Stone's River," Papers, MSU. This is a report of the battle written by Parkhurst for his comrades of the Ninth after the war. 72 January 1, 1863, Diary, MSU.; OR., XX, part I, 652-654.

73 OR., XX, part I, 652-654; January 3, 1863, Diary, MSU.
74 January 5, 1863. Diary, MSU.; Bennett, <u>Historical</u>
<u>Sketches of the Ninth</u>, p. 30.

75 Parkhurst to Sister, January 2, 1863, Papers, MHC.

76 OR., XX, part I, 374.

77 "Recollections of Stone's River," Papers, MSU.

78 OR., XX, part I, 653.

79 Thomas B. Van Horne, <u>History of the Army of the Cum</u>berland (Cincinnati, 1885), 3 vols., I, 251.

⁸⁰ OR., XXX part I, 416, 959.

81 Ibid., 959.

82 January 3-June 23, 1863, passim, Diary, MSU.

⁸³ Parkhurst to Robertson, ^Debruary 9, 1863, RG 59-14, MHCA.

84 Ibid., Officers of Ninth to Robertson, February, 1863; February 27, 1863, Diary, MSU.

85 Parkhurst to Sister, February 15, 1863, Papers, MHC.

86 Ibid., February 25, 1863.

⁸⁷ Parkhurst to Sister, May 20, 1863, Papers, MHC.

⁸⁸ Ibid., March 23, 1863; May 29, 1863.

⁸⁹ June 9-11, 1863, Diary, MSU.; Parkhurst to Sister, June 14, 1863, Papers, MSU.

⁹⁰ Parkhurst to Sister, June 14, 1863, Papers, MSU.
⁹¹ <u>Ibid.</u>, June 24, 1863.

Chapter III

CHICKAMAUGA - ATLANTA - NASHVILLE

At this point the nature of Parkhurst's Civil War experiences changed. After the Battle of Stone's River he was less directly engaged in the military events, primarily because his duties as Provost Marshal for General Thomas were taking up more and more time. As a result the military aspects of the war from mid-January, 1863 to the close of the conflict will be discussed as briefly as possible while continuing to describe Parkhurst's reactions and comments.

The movement toward Chattanooga was designed to flank the forces of Bragg which were located at Manchester, Tennessee. The goal of the Army of the Cumberland was to position itself between the Rebels and Chattanooga. However heavy rains prevented this movement and the Colonel of the Ninth Michigan viewed the failure with disgust. 1

The Confederates now fell back slowly toward Chattanooga while Rosecrans continued his attempt to trap them. Unfortunately the heavy rains had caused rivers to flood making any rapid advance impossible. It even became necessary for the men to live on one-half rations for several days.²

The duties of the Provost Marshal of the Fourteenth Corps were constantly increasing. In addition to processing prisoners and returning stragglers, Parkhurst became responsible for all Negroes who were picked up along the way. Most of these refugees were sent north to keep them from hampering the activities of the army. His regiment was also ordered to make reports upon the condition of citizens in the Decherd

area who had been stripped of supplies by the retreating rebels. ³ John C. Love of the Ninth said, in commenting about his commander, ". . . our Colonel is Provost martial General for the lµth Army Corps, it is a good position, but he has a good deal of business to doe. But he is a verry business man and it does not trouble him to doe what there is to be done." ⁴

Early in August Colonel Parkhurst was granted a leave of absence from the army. After putting his affairs in order he proceeded to Murfreesboro to attend to a pleasurable personal matter. ⁵ In April, 1862, Colonel Parkhurst had made the acquaintance of Miss Josephine Reeves and throughout thefollowing months he called upon her whenever an opportunity presented itself. ⁶ Their friendship grew into love and the couple became engaged in July, 1862. Now being momentarily free from military affairs, the Colonel married Josephine on August 10, 1863. ⁷ & 8

The newlyweds travelled to Coldwater, Michigan, where Parkhurst presented his bride to friends and showed herhis home. The couple then went to New York to join Parkhurst's children at Oneida Castle. ⁹ Here they reaffirmed their vows in a church in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. Parkhurst since the marriage ceremony in Tennessee had been performed by an army chaplin. ¹⁰ On August 26 Parkhurst bade farewell to his wife and children and two days laterreturned to the Ninth, then encamped at Bolivar. ¹¹

Upon his return to the front, Parkhurst found that the military situation had not changed significantly during his absence. After several months of preparation Rosecrans felt that he had enough men and supplies to renew the advance

toward Chattanooga. Thomas notified his men to be ready to move on the first day of September, while the Ninth was ordered to collect and send all tents, excess supplies and baggage back to Nashville. ¹² The men then moved forward to seek out General Bragg and his army.

General Thomas encountered Bragg's entire army at Stevens Gap on September 12 and was forced to hold off the rebels until the rest of the Union troops arrived. This encounter set the stage for the Battle of Chickamauga during which the Ninth Michigan again stopped a stampede of dispirited soldiers away from the battlefield.

While the battle raged Parkhurst and his men performed the unglamorous task of escorting a hospital train to Chattanooga. They had just returned to the front, arriving at about noon, when Crittenden's and McCook's corps gave way and rushed to the rear. The Michigan men fixed bayonets, as at Stones River, and taking position across the road they halted the mad rush to the rear. 13 Parkhurst's men served as a rallying point for the rapidly retreating soldiers, who were reorganized into a semblance of fighting order. General Crittenden passed by but refused to take command of the men gathered by the Ninth. Exidently he believed the entire army was lost.¹⁴ Presently General John S. Nagley sappeared and took command of the force collected by Parkhurst. 15 The timely actions of the Ninth were commended by both Generals Rosecrans and Thomas in their official reports of the battle. Thomas said, "Col. J. G. Parkhurst. . . at the head of his regiment did most valuable service on the 20th, in arresting stragglers and reorganizing the troops which had been driven from the field."

The Union forces retreated to Chattanooga with Bragg in close pursuit. The Confederate commander then attempted to starve out the Federals by cutting their supply lines. During the seige Rosecrans was removed and General Thomas was placed in charge of the Army of the Cumberland. On the day that this change took place Parkhurst dropped in at the headquarters of Thomas. Thomas called Parkhurst into his room and told him of the change in command. The General regretted the change as he felt it was wrong to remove Rosecrans simply because he had lost a battle. Parkhurst and his regiment were requested to continue as the provost guard for Thomas' headquarters. The Colonel noted that Thomas felt the weight of his new duties but was sure that the "Rock of Chickamauga" was equal to the task. 17

Parkhurst was very busy during the month that followed the Battle of Chickamauga. He spent many days processing prisoners and, on November 6, Thomas gave him the additional duty of commanding the Post of Chattanooga. ¹⁸ In this capacity the Colonel was responsible for governing the city and for directing police activities. Within a few days the Fifteenth Kentucky was placed under Parkhurst's command to aid in fulfilling these duties. ¹⁹

Thomas' first objective was to break Bragg's seige of Chattanooga. This was done late in November with the aid of reinforcements from Grant's army. The Confederates were driven from Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, forcing them to retreat southward. The extent of the Union victory was revealed in the fact that after the battle Parkhurst

sent over 4,000 prisoners north in one day. ²⁰ Since winter was setting in the Colonel of the Ninth did not expect much action until the following spring, but then he anticipated a strong offensive would be mounted against the enemy to "get him confined to so narrow a limit he will be Compelled to Submit." ²¹

During most of December Parkhurst was busy preparing his regiment for leave and re-enlisting 274 of his men who decided to return as veterans. The other men were released as they had served their two year enlistment. Thomas informed Parkhurst, on December 24, that he would be promoted to Provost Marshal General of the entire Army of the Cumberland upon his return. Four days later the Michigan volunteers boarded a train and headed for Michigan and a much needed rest. ²²

During January, 1864, Parkhurst and his wife visited in Coldwater and travelled to see his family in New York. In February the couple journeyed south to Murfreesboro, where the Colonel left his wife and reported for duty in Chattanooga. As expected Thomas ordered Parkhurst to assume the post of Provost Marshal General of the Army of the Cumberland. ²³ The responsibilities of the new office included processing all prisoners captured by Thomas' troops, commanding the military railroad police and granting passes to military personnel for travel on the railroads. ²⁴ Parkhurst began his new duties on February 11, fully aware that he now had "a very important position" which would require "a vast amount of hard labor and constant attention." ²⁵

In March, 1864, the events of the war took a momentous turn and General Grant was called east to become the general-

in-chief of all the Union armies. In the west Sherman was promoted to the position vacated by Grant. The North then revised its strategy. Grant was to engage General Lee and Sherman was to pursue General Bragg until the Confederates either surrendered or were destroyed. Sherman's tactics during the Atlanta Campaign were to trap the Confederates in a position where his superior numbers could be used with decisive effect.

During the first days of the campaign Parkhurst remained in Chattanooga as the commander of the post while the Ninth Michigan moved forward as Provost Guard of Thomas' headquarters. On May 16 Parkhurst received orders to join his men. Thomas was glad to see him and requested that he remain at the front where he was needed. ²⁶ Thomas and Parkhurst were evidently quite friendly with one another as the General often revealed his thoughts to the Colonel. In one of these conversations Thomas said that he felt Sherman was not "operating as well as he might." ²⁷ Unfortunately Parkhurst did not say, if he knew, on what grounds Thomas criticized his commander.

During the month of June, as Sherman's army was attempting to dislodge the rebels from their lines around Marietta, Colonel Parkhurst and his regiment were executing their duties for Thomas. A steady stream of prisoners kept the Provost Marshal General very busy. However these efforts were not without reward for on June 25 Parkhurst was brevetted a Brigadier General, an honorary appointment which carried neither an increase in pay nor the authority accorded to a brigadier-general. ²⁸ Nevertheless, Parkhurst could be justly

proud of this recognition. Late in June the Colonel, whose duties as Provost Marshal General were extremely demanding, was relieved of direct command of the Ninth Michigan. ²⁹

In viewing the progress of the Union armies in the West, Colonel Parkhurst observed that their goal had not been obtained. It appears that Parkhurst misunderstood Sherman's true objective because he emphasized the fact that the enemy would make great efforts to keep the city of Atlanta. ³⁰ The fact is that Sherman's primary goal was not Atlanta but the destruction or severe crippling of Johnston's army. The Colonel realized that they still faced the hardest fighting of the campaign but he believed "that a Divine Providence will give us the victory and sooner terminate this unhappy war." ³¹

Atlanta finally fell to Sherman's army on September 2, 1864. Shortly thereafter General John B. Hood, who had replaced Bragg, was forced to retreat into Alabama. The Union troops could now rest and review the events of the campaign.

As Parkhurst reflected upon the campaign to Atlanta he noted that their efforts had been crowned with success, but at the cost of thousands of lives on both sides. Here Parkhurst corrected his earlier error concerning the goal of Sherman's army as he pointed out that "the rebel army is still Strong and the war is yet to continue and possibly the same ground over which we have fought for four months may again be a theater of contest. An army of 50,000 men is a great machine, a Monster that cannot be destroyed in a day, a month nor in years and never will it be destroyed nor the

rebellion crushed till the people of the North unite as one man and push with their whole Strength upon the Enemy." 32

In answer to the requests of his sisters that he resign the service Parkhurst said, "I feel that My Service is of value to the Government now that I am familiar with My duties and I cannot make up my mind to withdraw from a field of duty so important and so necessary." ³³ Parkhurst continued saying that he would never quit until the end of the rebellion was in sight and until he had done everything within his power to insure the honor and stability of the nation. ³⁴

On the last day of October Parkhurst moved from Atlanta to Chattanooga in accordance with orders from Thomas, who had gone to Nashville several weeks earlier. ³⁵ The war was now in its last phase and the Army of the Cumberland was destined to fight the great Battle of Nashville as Hood's army made its last great effort to save the rebellion for the Confederacy.

Hood's army could have caused great difficulty for the Army of the Cumberland if it had acted quickly. General Thomas was outnumbered by about 10,000 men throughout November, 1864. But new recruits and reinforcements poured into Nashville so that when the Confederates struck they were outmanned 55,000 to 23,000. On December 15 Thomas initiated his attack and quickly broke through the rebel lines throwing them into a wild retreat back into Alabama.

The significance of this battle cannot be overestimated as it removed any serious rebel threat in the West. **Parkhurst** considered this victory as the most decisive of the war, agreeing with the opinions of other observers. He said the rebels

were "Whipt badly." ³⁶ The Colonel had nothing but praise for General Thomas, whom he described as, ". . . our beloved Hero--the Noble Thomas. No purer--braver--or better Man Ever drew a Sabre and thank God that on this occasion no one can take from him his laurels so proudly won." ³⁷

During the Battle of Nashville Parkhurst's command was small. Most of the Ninth Michigan was on duty in Chattanooga. ³⁸ The Colonel's official report showed that in December he had handled 8,430 prisoners, a good indication of the extent of the Union success at Nashville. ³⁹

With the defeat of Hood's army, fighting in the West subsided. During January, 1865, Parkhurst completed the processing of Confederate prisoners taken in Tennessee before he returned to his command at Chattanooga. ⁴⁰ Early in February he was ordered to contact all "prominent and influential" citizens in the area under his control. Suspected rebel sympathizers were requested to show reason why they should not be sent through the Union lines and into Confederate territory. Parkhurst was directed to discover "where their sympathies are fixed and where their friends are to be found." ⁴¹ This step was taken to remove those people who might stir up trouble for the Federals.

On February 17, Parkhurst received orders from Thomas to meet General Forrest in Mississippi to arrange an exchange of prisoners. ⁴² He proceeded under a flag of truce to Rienzi, where rebel pickets telegraphed Forrest that Parkhurst had arrived. The conferees met and Forrest accepted the Union proposals for the exchange, but final approval of the plan

had to be given by General Richard Taylor. The Confederate's decision, delayed several days because a storm damaged the telegraph wire, was to execute the exchange at Iuka, Mississippi, in early March. 43

Parkhurst returned at once to East Port, reported to Thomas, and recommended that a guard accompany the rebels to Iuka and then proceed to St. Louis with the exchanged Federals to prevent them from deserting. ⁴⁴ In accordance with Parkhurst's request, the Forty-Fourth Wisconsin was assigned to carry out this duty. ⁴⁵ The Colonel spent the first half of March travelling between Nashville and East Port trying to make final arrangements for the exchange. On March 15, Forrest informed Parkhurst that the exchange would have to take place at Nashville since floods prevented the rebels from reaching Iuka. ⁴⁶

The Provost Marshal General reported this development to Thomas, who approved the plan and released the Colonel from this assignment, ordering him to bring the Ninth from Chattanooga to Nashville. 47

Parkhurst's sisters had been concerned about this safety during the negotiation. He dispelled their concern by saying, "I came out with dispatches from Genl Thomas to Genl Forrest and came under a Flag of Truce so you need not apprehend any danger as I have a Sufficient Escort to defend Myself against Guerillas and the Enemy are to (<u>sic</u>) high toned to fire on a flag of truce." ⁴⁸ The Colonel described the many flooded areas which he passed through, saying that the Tennessee River had never reached a higher level. The floods

destroyed much property in northern Mississippi which increased the hardships created when Hood's retreating army stripped the countryside of all supplies. 49 To alleviate the suffering of the citizens, Parkhurst arranged for Forrest to transport supplies from southern Mississippi. 50

Momentous events occurred during the month of April, 1865. Richmond fell into Union hands on the 3rd after Grant cracked the rebel lines at Petersburg. Lee attempted to escape the pursuing Federals but was forced surrender at Appomattox Court House on the 9th. General Johnston turned his forces over to Sherman Late that month and the Western Departments of the Confederacy formally surrendered during May.

The news of the great victory in Virginia caused spontaneous celebrations in Nashville. Colonel Parkhurst sent Thomas a bottle of "good whiskey" after learning of the fall of Richmond. ⁵¹ Lee's surrender brought another jubilee to the happy troops and a formal celebration was planned for April 15. But the news of Lincoln's assassination turned Nashville from a happy city into one which was draped with black. ⁵² On the 19th Parkhurst "attended the funeral obsequies of President Abraham Lincoln, as true a man as the Country had in its history." ⁵³ In summing up Parkhurst said, "this Month has been frequented with the Most important Events of the Whole War and under ordinary times the occasions of this month would have turned the nation crazy but we have become accustomed to all sorts of life and familiar with death so that we become Shocked at nothing." ⁵⁴

The closing of the war caused Parkhurst to begin thinking about the future. Since Parkhurst expected that his duties

as Provost Marshal General would hold him in Nashville until winter, he decided to send for his wife and children. ⁵⁵ Despite the cessation of hostilities, the Colonel was still occupied with preparing the rebel prisoners for parole. The entries in his Diary for several months merely show the notation "very busy in office all day." ⁵⁶

In May Colonel Parkhurst's earlier promotion to Brevet Brigadier-General by Thomas was made official. The commission stated that the promotion was granted for "gallant and meritorious service." 57

In mid-September the Ninth Michigan Infantry was mustered out of the service, but Parkhurst remained in Nashville as Provost Marshal General. Thomas requested President Andrew Johnson for permission to retain the Colonel on his staff throughout the winter. Parkhurst believed that ". . . as the policy now is to Muster out of Service all officers and all white troops Except the regulars I think it is very doubtful whether they will allow him to keep me." ⁵⁸ On October 4 he received orders relieving him of his duties and his official release came on October 10, 1865. ⁵⁹ 1 June 28-30, 1863, Diary, MSU.

2 Parkhurst to Sister, July 12, 1863, Papers, MHC.

3 July 16-30, 1863, Diary, MSU.

4 Love to Parents, July 13, 1863, John C. Love Papers, Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan.

5 August 6, 1863, Diary, MSU.

6 Ibid., April 13, 1862-August 10, 1863, passim.

7 Ibid., August 10, 1863.

⁸ Marital difficulties soon arose for the Parkhursts. Mrs. Parkhurst's impulsive and indiscreet actions caused her husband much worry. Josephine visited a male acquaintance in Buffalo, New York, while Parkhurst was on duty in Tennessee. She constantly requested sums of money from her husband, and when it did not arrive, tried to obtain the money from Parkhurst's business manager in Coldwater. In November, 1864, Josephine lost a baby through miscarriage. John attributed the tragedy to imprudence on the part of his wife because she had travelled from Murfreesboro to Louisville, Kentucky, without his consent or knowledge. These personal problems diverted the Colonel's attention from his military concerns and prevented him from giving full attention to his duties.

⁹ August 11-25, 1863, Diary, MSU.

10 A Newspaper Clipping without hame or date, Papers, MSU.

11 August 26-28, 1863, Diary, MSU.

12 Ibid., September 1, 1863.

13 Parkhurst to Sister, September 29, 1863, Papers MHC.

14 OR., XXX, part I, 263-265, 612.

15 Ibid., 331.

16 Ibid., 85, 256.

17 October 19, 1863, Diary, MSU.

18 OR., XXXI, part III, 66.

19 November 7-9, 1863, Diary, MSU.

20 Parkhurst to Sister, November 28, 1863, Papers, MHC.

21 Ibid., December 8, 1863.

22 December 24-28, 1863, Diary, MSU.

²³ February 9, 1864, Diary, MSU.; OR., XXXII, part II, 370.

24 "History, of Officers--Ninth Michigan Infantry," statement by Parkhurst, February 23, 1874, RG 59-14, MHCA. 25 Parkhurst to Sister, February 11, 1864, Papers, MHC. 26 May 18, 1864, Diary, MSU. 27 Ibid., May 30, 1864. 28 OR., XLIX, part II, 1034. 29 Parkhurst to Sister, June 28, 1864, Papers, MHC. 30 Ibid., June 16, 1864. 31 Ibid., June 28, 1864. 32 Ibid., October 2, 1864. 33 Ibid. 34 Ibid. ³⁵ October 31, 1864, Diary, MSU. 36 Parkhurst to Sister, December 18 and 21, 1864, Papers, MHC. 37 Ibid., December 21. 1864. 38 December 18, 1864, Diary, MSU.; OR., XLV, part II, 251-252. 39 OR., XLV, part II, 405. 40 January 1-31, 1865, passim, Diary, MSU. 41 OR., XLIX, part I, 628-629. 42 Ibid., 735-736; Bebruary 17, 1865, Diary, MSU. OR., Serial II, VIII, 326-327. 43 Bebruary 19-27, 1865, Diary, MSU. 44 OR., Serial II, VIII, 326-327. 45 Ibid., 367. 46 March 1-9, 1865, Diary, MSU.; OR., Serial II, VIII, 354, 405. 47 Ibid., March 22, 1865. 48 Parkhurst to Sister, February 26, 1865, Papers, MHC.

49 Ibid., March 7 and 18, 1865.

50 Ibid., March 2, 1865.

51 Diary, MSU., April 3, 1865, Diary, MSU.

52 Ibid., April 15, 1865.

53 Ibid., April 19, 1865.

54 Parkhurst to Sister, April 28, 1865, Papers, MHC.

55 Ibid., May 8 and June 18, 1865.

56 June-August, 1865, passim, Diary, MSU.

57 General George H. Brown, Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-65, 46 vols. (Kalamazoo, Michigan, n. d.), IX, 110; "Military Record of Hohn G. Parkhurst," Papers, MSU.

58 Parkhurst to Sister, September 19, 1865, Papers, MHC.

59 October 4, 1865, Diary, MSU.; "Military Record of John G. Parkhurst," Papers, MSU.

Chapter IV CONCLUSION

After his release from the army, Parkhurst returned to civilian life. In November, 1865, he opened a law office in Nashville; however he soon found that the pressures upon a Northerner attempting to live in the South were more than he could bear. He returned to Coldwater in July, 1866, and resumed his law practice in that community. ¹

Parkhurst also reactivated his activities in the Democratic Party in Michigan. He ran unsucessfully for several state offices on the Democratic ticket in the ten years immediately following the Civil War. In 1872, when his party backed a Liberal ticket, Parkhurst accepted the nomination as a candidate for representative from the Third Congressional District. Again the voters rejected him, but he was not very disappointed as he had not expected to win. ² Commenting on Parkhurst's political activities, the Reverend Henry P. Collin said: "In politics General Parkhurst was an uncompromising Democrat, and were it not for the fact that his party [was] in the minority in Michigan he would have at various times been honored by election in high political station." ³

Parkhurst was called to an interview in New York City in September, 1888, by John Dickenson, President Cleveland's Postmaster General. Dickinson offered him the embassy at St. Petersburg, Russia, but he was obliged to decline because the salary would have provided only one-half the amount needed

to operate the embassy. Subsequently he was tendered an appointment as minister to Belgium which was accepted after consultation with friends in Coldwater. Parkhurst served in Belgium until May 31, 1889, when he was recalled by President Benjamin Harrison. ⁴ The last public office held Parkhurst was Postmaster of Coldwater. He was appointed in 1893, during President Cleveland's second term. His resignation in 1897 marked his retirement from active participation in politics. ⁵

On April 17, 1906, John Parkhurst happily celebrated his eighty-second birthday with his daughter, Kittie, his brother, William, and several friends. While Parkhurst described the festivities in his diary, he struck an ominous note by writing that he was weaker on that day then at any of his past birthdays. ⁶ Almost every entry thereafter contained some comment upon his health and it appears that Parkhurst was aware that his life was drawing to a close; he wrote, "If I keep getting weak I will soon have to travel on the River and leave this beautiful world." ⁷ Six days later, he wrote "I think I grow weaker Every day and get short of breath." Here the writing stops for the life of John Gibson Parkhurst came to an end as he sat at his desk, pencil in hand, writing in his diary. ⁸

* * * * *

It is now appropriate to attempt to evaluate the career of John Gibson Parkhurst. The amount of material that has already been written about the American Civil War is almost beyond imagination. However as the viewpoint of the historian

is molded by an ever-changing society, the study of the Civil War goes through a constant re-evaluation. It was with this realization in mind that the study of Parkhurst's war experiences was undertaken.

The greatest reward that one receives from the study of a man's diary and letters is insight into his ideas and beliefs. Parkhurst's letters were particularly valuable in disclosing his political beliefs, his reasons for fighting in the war, his observations on the prosecution of the war, and his opinions of the generals whom he served. On the other hand, Parkhurst's diary was somewhat disappointing as he seldom recorded his inner thoughts about the events he witnessed. As a result the diary served mainly to trace Parkhurst's movements throughout the various campaigns that were a part of his Civil War career.

Parkhurst's account of the Battle of Stone's River revealed new and interesting insights into that great clash between Northern and Southern armies. In these papers Parkhurst stated that he felt his regiment had played an important role in the Union victory--a role which had never been recognized by the histories of the period. This contention was explored and it may be concluded that, within limits, Parkhurst's views were correct. The evidence indicated that the actions of the Ninth Michigan did help convince General Bragg that the Union forces were receiving reinforcements which caused him to retreat.

Upon Parkhurst's death The Detroit News stated that he should be recognized as "a soldier, a lawyer, a diplomat, a

politician and always an honored citizen." ⁹ Parkhurst's career as a soldier was the major concern of this study, although his service in other capacities was recognized. It cannot be said that he proved to be an outstanding soldier. But he did serve effectively as Colonel of the Ninth Michigan Infantry, especially while it acted as Provost Guard for General Thomas. His promotion to Provost Marshal General of the Army of the Cumberland indicates that he was regarded as an efficient and trusted administrator. Throughout the war he showed his concern for a successful prosecution of the war by the North, for he felt that a Northern victory was essential to the continuance of the United States as a strong, unified nation. It must be concluded that Parkhurst executed his service during the Civil War very well. As the Detroit Free Press said, "His death marks also the passing of another of that group of Michigan men who rose to distinction and high rank in the Civil War." 10

l Parkhurst to Sister, October 1 and November 1, 1865, Papers, MHC.; August 1, 1865, Diary, MSU.

² August 29, September 23-October 30, 1872, passim, Diary, MSU.

3 Collin, <u>Biographical Sketches of Branch County</u>, p. 342. 4 September 10-13, 1888 and May 31, 1889, Diary, MSU.

⁵ Collin, <u>Biographical Sketches of Branch County</u>, p. 342.

6 April, 17, 1906, Diary, MSU.

7 Ibid., April 30, 1906.

⁸ <u>Ibid.</u>, May 6, 1906; <u>The Detroit News</u>, May 7, 1906, p. 9.
⁹ <u>The Detroit News</u>, May 7, 1906, p. 9.

10 Detroit Free Press, May 8, 1906, p. 11.

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