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# “I Never Was a Coward”

Questions of Bravery  
in a Civil War Regiment

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Lesley J. Gordon

FRANK L. KLEMENT LECTURES  
Alternative Views of the Sectional Conflict



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# “I Never Was a Coward”

## Questions of Bravery in a Civil War Regiment

By

Lesley J. Gordon

Historians have devoted considerable time and energy to studying, and in many ways, celebrating the common soldier of the Civil War. Dating from Bell Irvin Wiley's pioneering works on “Johnny Reb” and “Billy Yank,” to James McPherson's award-winning *For Cause and Comrades*, most historians conclude that the majority of men who served North and South were dutiful, honorable and brave. Some did acknowledge the coward, the deserter or the skulker. But, as James I. Robertson affirmed: “For every man lacking in fortitude, the record is clear that 100 or more rose to the heights of heroism in the Civil War.”<sup>1</sup>

Yet, in fact, not all Civil War soldiers consistently “rose to the heights of heroism.” Not all veterans had valiant stories to tell. A concern repeatedly on these soldiers' minds, cowardice was never a static term. Its meaning, and men's reactions to it, shifted and changed with the altering tides of war. By examining this very fluid discourse of cowardice, we can gain a deeper sense of soldiers' expectations, identity and motivation. Through counterpoint, we can better understand conceptions of bravery, too. And contemplating cowardice helps to reveal a good deal about Americans' memory of the war. In veteran memoirs and later histories of the war, considerations of cowardly behavior became obfuscated and only the hero remained.

This essay probes the broad concept of Civil War cowardice within the specific context of a single northern regiment. The wartime record of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Infantry Regiment includes accusations, confessions and observations of cowardice in battle, in camp, at home,

and in prison. My research relies primarily on soldiers' wartime letters and diaries, and local newspapers. Letters and diaries, of course, provide valuable insight into regimental attitudes throughout the conflict. Newspapers included soldiers' correspondence, but they also provide a fascinating sense of the interplay between homefront and battlefield. These sources display a vigorous dialogue on cowardice among soldiers and civilians.

Although Civil War soldiers wrote and spoke of "cowards," they frequently applied other words such as "skedaddle," "skulk," "shirk," to describe cowardly behavior. Initially, "cowardice" meant showing fear in battle.<sup>2</sup> However, as the conflict grew bloodier, more destructive and vast, basic definitions of cowardice expanded and changed. A coward could be someone who refused to serve voluntarily in the military, and thus never actually set foot on a battlefield. Deserting the ranks was also cowardly even if combat was not imminent. Motive mattered too. What *caused* a soldier to flee battle or desert often determined whether his conduct was actually deemed cowardly by his comrades.<sup>3</sup>

Rank, ethnicity, and race counted as well when it came to defining Civil War cowardice. Acting the coward was much less acceptable for officers than it was for the men in the ranks. But if expectations were high for officers, they could be very low for some types of soldiers. White, native-born northern volunteers expected black, immigrant and drafted troops to be less courageous, despite clear examples to the contrary. And at least before any shots were fired, federals believed that they were more courageous than their southern foe.<sup>4</sup>

To a group of Connecticut men in the summer of 1862, however, words like hero and coward were simple and uncontested. Infused with martial fervor, patriotism and a thirst for adventure, enlistees in the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Infantry Regiment were determined to claim the mantle of the hero.

By the summer of 1862, the war was well into its second year and an end did not seem imminent. George B. McClellan's disappointing Peninsula Campaign convinced President Abraham Lincoln that he needed more men to fight the determined Confederates, many more men than anyone originally imagined. On July 1, 1862 he issued a call for 300,000 volunteers. Two days later Connecticut's Governor Wil-

liam Buckingham added his own exhortation leading to the creation of the 16<sup>th</sup> Regiment Connecticut Volunteers.<sup>5</sup>

From the start, expectations were high for the regiment. Drawing solely from Hartford County, the unit reflected the region's economic prosperity. Volunteers were farmers and machinists, artisans and teachers. Muster rolls list some of the state's best known and oldest family names, in addition to a spattering of recent immigrants. A number of the men were single and young, many just eighteen and nineteen years old. Husbands and fathers also joined in high numbers.<sup>6</sup>

Members of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut, like all northern soldiers, went to war for a variety of reasons. Some felt strongly that the Union had to be preserved, a few were abolitionists and sought an immediate end to slavery. Many were devout Christians who saw a religious purpose in the war. There was also social pressure to enlist, as well as a belief that the war would be an exciting adventure. Sometimes idealistic motivations mixed with practical ones; certainly the promise of bounties and steady pay was attractive to many. These men believed, as did most Americans early in the war, that courage and cowardice were issues of character, not context. And few were truly prepared for the transition from free citizen to soldier.<sup>7</sup>

During those first days of its existence, the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut seemed little more than a gang of rowdy, excited males on a holiday lark. Visitors mingled freely with volunteers at their Hartford base at "Camp Williams," bringing food, clothing and other items to ensure the comforts of home. Crowds lined the parade ground to cheer militia officers leading the weaponless and civilian-dressed men through crude drills. It was hot and dusty, but the mood was festive. At least until the arrival of their newly-appointed commander Col. Francis Beach on August 15.<sup>8</sup>

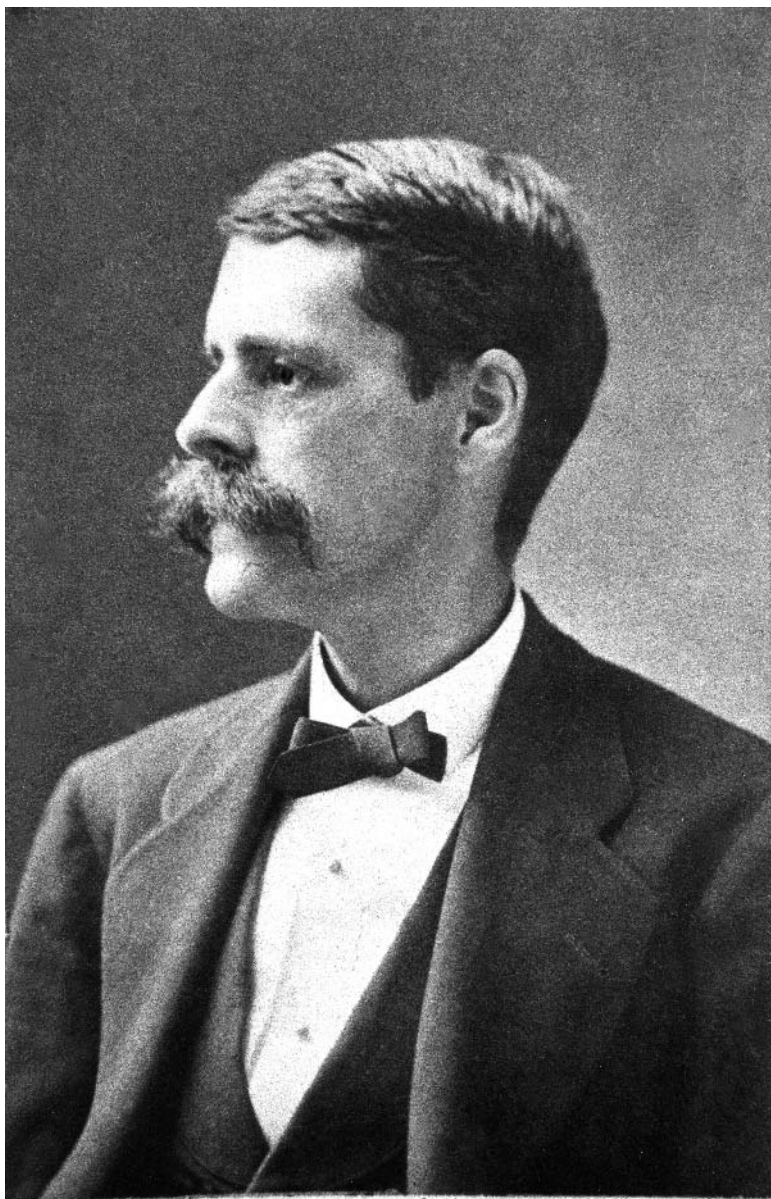
Col. Beach was appalled by the ragtag appearance and disorganized behavior of his unit, and he immediately demanded improvements. He issued polish to brighten brass and blacken shoes. Uniforms and equipment soon arrived, although guns were conspicuously absent. Beach also instituted strict restrictions on travel and visitations. When he ordered a review and inspection of the regiment, he blasted the troops for their shortcomings, vowing that such sloppy soldiering would not be tolerated under his command. Openly frustrated with



his raw volunteers, he often laced his orders with unbridled profanity. Although only twenty-seven years old, Beach was already a seasoned soldier. He had graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1857, served on the Utah frontier and taught at West Point. When the war began, Beach was an officer in the 4<sup>th</sup> United States Artillery. As Aide de Camp to Brigadier General Philip St. George Cooke, he accompanied the Army of the Potomac through the Peninsula Campaign. As a professional soldier, Beach understood the importance of training and discipline. It was imperative that Beach have time and opportunity to train his raw troops so that when combat came, they would be ready. A disciple of the “rules of war,” Beach fervently believed that repetitive drill would help his soldiers keep their fear in check and not panic when thrust into the shocking pandemonium of combat. It was an attempt to impose order on the chaos of war, but it was a belief by which nineteenth-century professional soldiers like Beach swore.<sup>9</sup>

Col. Beach’s arrival to camp underscored the tension between green troops’ expectations for battle and that of experienced officers. The men chafed at military discipline, convinced that it had nothing to do with preparing them for battle, but was instead a conspiracy to deprive them of their rights and spoil their fun. Eighteen-year-old George Robbins recalled: “Each day brought some restraint on our freedom.”<sup>10</sup> Some felt depressed and dispirited, no longer could they easily slip away from camp to visit friends and family. Bernard Blakeslee recalled these early days in camp as a “shock to most of the men” and a “complete revolution in their method of life.”<sup>11</sup> A few so bitterly resented the “unfeeling” Beach and his rules and restrictions that they threatened to “fill his back full of bead,” the first chance they got.<sup>12</sup>

Beach’s frantic efforts to prepare his men for battle only lasted two weeks. On August 24, 1862 the 16th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers was formally mustered into three years of service for the United States, and five days later it left for Washington D.C. As the men marched to the city wharf, cheering crowds lined the streets and Governor Buckingham fell in step in front of the regiment. The unit boarded two steamers, and traveled down the Connecticut River, greeted by people lining the riverside. A soldier remembered: “Hartford County had given to this regiment a large portion of its very best



*Col Francis Beach*

Colonel Frank Beach, pictured here after the war, struggled to impose drill and discipline on the green 16th Connecticut before its first battle.

*(Photography courtesy of the Museum of Connecticut History.)*

citizens. Expectations ran high as to its regimental career, and frequent 'God Bless you's' mingled with goodbyes."<sup>13</sup> Newspapers agreed. The Hartford *Daily Courant* proclaimed: "A better regiment of men never left the State than the 16<sup>th</sup> Conn"; and the *Evening Press* declared "The Sixteenth carries off many brave Hartford boys, and we hope to hear a good account of the regiment."<sup>14</sup>

As Beach's "brave Hartford boys" rushed to the front, civilians at home worried that the cowards remained behind. Convinced that some able-bodied men were avoiding enlistment to pursue their private business, or worse, to await larger more lucrative bounties, civilians wrote angry letters to the local newspapers admonishing all to serve. Even in the avowedly Democratic *Hartford Daily Times*, articles appeared throughout the summer imploring volunteers to support Lincoln and fight the rebels, or face a national draft.<sup>15</sup> The town of Windsor Locks raised their bounty to \$200, but also passed a resolution: "To make a record of those who had skedaddled, hoping to avoid the anticipated draft, so that their children and children's children may see who left the country in its greatest time of need."<sup>16</sup> A few weeks after the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut left for the front, a letter to the editor signed "Not A Skedaddler," similarly demanded that the "names of all those, who have in any shape tried to avoid the draft be published in the Hartford papers." Doing this, the letter argued, would not only "confer a favor on those who may survive the calamities which [have] befallen our once happy and prosperous country," but this sort of public record of those evading military service would "do justice to the offspring of those noble heroes who have" willingly enlisted.<sup>17</sup>

Volunteers in the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut were about to test this theory and discover if, in fact, simply and willingly serving ensured their heroism. The next three weeks proved a harsh introduction to the realities of war. The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut endured exhausting marches, insufficient food and little rest. A few weeks after leaving Connecticut, one soldier wrote home, "You in Hartford have no idea what war is, or of the life of a soldier."<sup>18</sup> Beach attempted to continue drill and discipline, but this only stirred more resentment. Guns, tents and blankets finally reached the regiment, but at least one private realized that having the accoutrements of war was simply not enough. "We have our guns now rubber blankets and everything necessary to go

into battle," Private Jacob Bauer wrote his wife Emily on September 5, "but we are not drilled enough with the guns to do any mischief." He observed "a kind of despondency and fear of being led into battle before we are fit which can not be overcome."<sup>19</sup>

By dusk on September 16, the Connecticut unit had marched into a line of battle just outside Sharpsburg, Maryland. The battle of Antietam commenced the next day. Throughout the morning, the unit sat in reserve, listening nervously to the sound of shot and shell not far in the distance. At noon sick call, a considerable number of the men reported sudden illness, alleging that they were too unwell for battle. A member of the regiment scoffed at these "brave skulks" who had been, he claimed, the loudest braggarts until actual battle loomed. William Relyea later contended that this sick call rid the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut of "regimental rubbish," freeing it "from everything that would or could tarnish our good name."<sup>20</sup> Would just facing the enemy ensure bravery? The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut would soon find out.

Late in the afternoon of September 17, the regiment moved forward. Crossing Antietam creek about a mile below Burnside's Bridge, the soldiers pressed on into a corn field, with the air thick with shot and shell. Officers screamed and men lost their way. The 16th was caught in a cross fire from its own troops and that of the enemy. A few later recalled firing only one round, and others alleged an actual charge was made. Some recalled hearing orders to "fall back"; but it is unclear whether there was ever any official call to retreat. Either way, the 16th Connecticut could not bear the enfilade fire: the regiment broke and fled in wild panic. Caught up in the swarm of panicked soldiers, Beach stubbornly fought to regain control. He desperately tried to rally a small remnant of the 16th Connecticut with parts of another Connecticut unit and redraw a battle line. But most of the 16th Connecticut were dead, wounded or gone from the field. Drooping from mental and physical exhaustion, stragglers slept the night of September 17 under fences, on rocks and in thickets. Wounded remained on the field all night into the next day, moaning and crying for water.<sup>21</sup>

Less than one third of the regiment answered morning roll call on September 18. Throughout the day some 200 men stumbled into camp, groggy, disoriented, and fatigued. Over the next two weeks,

one soldier recalled, only a few hundred could be mustered for service. Days after the battle, straggling continued to be a serious problem. On September 23, Leland O. Barlow wrote his sister that there remained "roughs" in the regiment who would "skedaddle if they had a chance." Barlow counted sixty guards "around our little camp" treating everyone as a potential deserter. The once proud regiment of "brave Hartford boys" was shattered and shaken.<sup>22</sup>

In the days and weeks that followed, members of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut groped to explain what had happened. Had they failed the test of combat? Were they cowards?

Their commander refused, at least publicly, to admit his regiment's failed performance. Col. Frank Beach's official report from Antietam is brief and empty of details. He described his men enduring enemy artillery fire all day, "...until about 5 o'clock when we were brought against the extreme right of the rebel infantry." He made no mention of his exasperated efforts to rally his regiment nor the panicked retreat. Beach simply stated: "I transmit the casualties. They were probably about twenty taken prisoner." The only indication Beach gave that there had been any problems was his admission that "[t]he missing are constantly coming in and it is impossible to give a correct list of them."<sup>23</sup>

Hartford newspapers were markedly free of negative accounts, refusing to impugn anyone of cowardice. The *Hartford Daily Courant* had repeatedly reported that the 16th Connecticut was in fine condition and high spirits during the days leading up to the battle. On September 18, just before news of Antietam reached Connecticut, the paper described the regiment as withstanding the march to the front "bravely, very few giving out." Acknowledging Beach's serious doubts about the regiment's preparedness, the paper reported that "they were thoroughly drilled, and now the Colonel feels safe in taking them into battle." "Connecticut troops always have fought well," the *Courant* assured readers, "and we have no fears of the brave Sixteenth."<sup>24</sup> Five days after the battle, when word of the bloody day began to reach home, the *Daily Courant* announced that readers should be proud of all Connecticut soldiers: "The universal testimony is that they fought desperately and bravely, the new troops as well as the old. Although terribly cut up, there was no flinching."<sup>25</sup>

The *Evening Press* mixed praise of the 16<sup>th</sup> with that of the 14<sup>th</sup> Connecticut, proclaiming that both regiments "without drill or previous discipline, fresh from their peaceful pursuits, also went in [to battle] without fear or flinching." The paper's editors admitted that there may have been "a little unavoidable disorganization under the terrible fire and lack of drill, but there was not a symptom of panic. The Sixteenth was for a long time forced to stand and take it without leave to reply, and they did stand like heroes." The paper concluded, "if any new troops behaved more handsomely than the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Connecticut, we have yet to learn it."<sup>26</sup> The Democratic *Hartford Daily Times* reported that the "valiant 16<sup>th</sup>" "performed the part of heroes in the great battle of Antietam."<sup>27</sup>

Few letters from Connecticut soldiers published in these local newspapers questioned their glowing assessments. Acknowledging the regiment's high losses, one member maintained: "There was no faltering or flinching, but simple confusion." Adjutant John H. Burnham proudly reported: "The Sixteenth sustained unbroken ranks under the most destructive fire for an hour, when they fell back, having suffered severely."<sup>28</sup> Lt. Henry Beach, whose letter to his father appeared in the *Hartford Daily Times* on September 23, recounted that the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut was "badly used," and that his company in particular suffered "the worst of any company in the regiment." Still, Lt. Beach affirmed: "General Burnside says the 16<sup>th</sup> fought better than any regiment in the field—but they are mostly gone now." The editors added their own endorsement to Beach's words: "The regiment behaved nobly. It was in the thickest of the fight and though never drilled, and scarcely one month in existence as a regiment, the officers and men alike fought like veterans and won high honors and lavish praises from the old officers."<sup>29</sup>

A few days later, a more sober account of the battle appeared in the same paper authored by eighteen-year old Corporal Samuel B. Mettler. Recounting the horrific fight in the cornfield, Mettler wrote: "The slaughter was great on both sides of that encounter, and our retreat was made in great confusion." Grazed by a bullet as he ran, Mettler recalled, "the men were so scared, they fled in all directions." The *Times* published this surprisingly candid letter without comment.<sup>30</sup>



Private, unpublished letters home supported Mettler's account, conceding the regiment's poor performance and confessing cowardice with striking honesty. Private Martin V. Culver in Company A wrote his brother matter-of-factly on September 21, 1862 that the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut "had one hard battle, a very hard one," and that "some have skedaddled."<sup>31</sup> Twenty-nine-year-old William Relyea wrote his family that he did not consider running until he looked around and "saw only dead men." At that moment he confessed: "I very quickly decided it was no place for me."<sup>32</sup> Relyea tried to find some humor in his admission: "It is over now," Relyea wrote, "and we laugh at our fears, that is human, so am I."<sup>33</sup> William Drake was just as blunt when he told his cousin: "there was some pretty tall running in the 16th and I guess that I made myself scarce rather fast."<sup>34</sup> Young George Robbins was slightly hurt, and fell out of formation, losing track of the regiment in all the confusion. He did not run, he assured his sister, "until the rest did," hiding in the woods until rejoining the 16th the next morning.<sup>35</sup> Elizur D. Beldon's diary described the fight in the cornfield as a "scene of terror, every man for himself." Beldon was slightly wounded during the frenzied retreat and fell into a "small gutter" with several other men. "There I lay," he confided, "not daring to stir until dark when the firing ceased."<sup>36</sup> Private John B. Cuzner of Company B wrote his fiancée Ellen on September 21 that there were members of the regiment who "did not frighten," but he was not one of them. "As for myself," he confessed, "I am a big coward." He claimed that he only "ran when they gave the order to retreat" and then hid behind a stone wall. The regiment, Cuzner wrote, was "cut off most shockingly" after having "few drills and no experience."<sup>37</sup> German-born Jacob Bauer wrote his wife Emily three days after the battle that he was surprised that he had survived. Reflecting on that "dreadful hour" in the cornfield, Bauer recalled forgetting everything, even his wife, and his own safety. Instead his "only thought and word was forward, forward, forward, which I could think of and sing out." But after he fired one shot, he ran with the rest of the regiment in "Bull Run Fashion."<sup>38</sup>

Eighteen-year-old Private Robert H. Kellogg, one of the most articulate and thoughtful men in the ranks, wrote his father a long missive three days after Antietam. In great detail Kellogg recounted the



Robert H. Kellogg (R) posed with friend Oscar Weil probably before either actually saw combat. Kellogg pondered questions of cowardice and bravery frequently in his letters to family in Connecticut. (*Photography courtesy of the Museum of Connecticut History*)



16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut's movements on the field and their panicked retreat. Even though he described his comrades "breaking and retreating" and admitted to feeling a "sort of quailing," and himself fleeing the field to hide behind a fence, Kellogg refused to call anyone a coward. "We were murdered," he charged, reasoning that a green regiment such as the 16<sup>th</sup> should not have been left "unsupported in a cornfield in the immediate vicinity of a cunning foe—and as it were, left to take care of itself..." Kellogg told his father that he fervently prayed to God throughout the day for "peace of soul." "God gave me courage & strength," the pious young soldier assured his father, "to bear up through the fearful scenes of that terrible day." It was the rebels, Kellogg believed, who "skedaddled early Friday morning," off the field, fearing another confrontation with the Federals.<sup>39</sup>

Adjutant John H. Burnham also reflected on cowardice in a lengthy letter he wrote his mother a few weeks after the battle. Burnham had publicly praised his regiment's performance in the newspapers, but he was more frank in his letter home. Trying to describe his "personal feelings in the fight," Burnham admitted, "I could sit down and talk to you and tell you all about it easily but I find it more difficult to write how I felt." He remembered little leading up to the attack as he busily issued orders and prepared the men for battle. He had no time to think of personal danger until he spotted the enemy on his left forming with calm intrepidity, methodically planting a battery in close range to the regiment. At that moment, Burnham wrote, "...I am frank to confess that although I had no idea of running away—I trembled. You may call the feeling fear or anything you choose for I don't deny that I trembled and wished we were well out of it." He was afraid but he did not act on it: "I tried to do my duty and am satisfied." Nonetheless, the experience left the young officer with deeply mixed feelings. On one hand, he "should not be sorry to see the war ended tomorrow without firing another shot," but at the same time, he admitted, "I am a little eager to see one more battle. Not from any reckless desire for the excitement but I have a little practical knowledge now and I should be more at home next time and perhaps do better. I should be considerable[sic] cooler I have no doubt." He assured his mother that he hoped to survive the war, but there was something he wanted much more. "I hope as I always have," Burnham explained,

"that I may have the courage to do my duty well, not recklessly but with simple bravery and fidelity, so that if I fall you may have the consolation of knowing that I not only lose [*sic*] my life in a good cause but did it like a man." He added one final observation on this subject. "I wish to say particularly this romance about men being shot in the back is all a humbug. A mounted officer is as likely to be hit in the back, and more likely to be hit in the side than in the front and don't ever do any injustice to think ill of him..."<sup>40</sup>

This sampling of letters reveals not just surprising admissions of fear. They also show Civil War soldiers grappling with the concepts of bravery and cowardice. After the trauma of battle, defining heroes and cowards did not seem so easy. In the coming weeks and months, men in the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut would continue to think hard about these subjects.

After Antietam, the morale of the unit plummeted. Lincoln, exasperated by McClellan's boastings and failures, replaced him with Ambrose Burnside, the 9<sup>th</sup> Corps's beloved commander. As Burnside planned for a renewed offensive, the regiment approached Fredericksburg. The weather turned cold and snowy and the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut lacked shelter tents or adequate blankets. Illness ran rampant.<sup>41</sup> Desertion seemed a viable option, although the humiliation of such an act remained strong. Martin Culver wrote his brother on November 16, 1862 that if he could get home "any way" he would do it "if i get a chance without deserting."<sup>42</sup> In early December, letters appeared in the *Hartford Daily Times* attesting that the unit had done nothing since arriving at Fredericksburg except "drill and *starve*." Recounting how the 16<sup>th</sup> rushed to the front without being "properly organized and equipped, and when almost to a man they were ignorant of the use of a musket," one letter noted that the men arrived at the battle, exhausted and hungry with their knapsacks left behind. However, at Antietam, they fought "side by side with old veterans, these 1,000 brave boys (so Antietam tells) did their full share toward turning the tide of battle and winning a reputation that every Connecticut boy may be well proud of." Claiming that the "brave Connecticut soldiers" were terribly neglected, these letters urged citizens at home to pressure Governor Buckingham "or somebody else [to] send suitable agents at once to look after and provide" for the "brave Yankee boys from old

Connecticut, who are now suffering on the banks of the Rappahannock.”<sup>43</sup>

The Battle of Fredericksburg did little to improve the mood of the regiment or silence complaints. The contest between the hapless Burnside and aggressive Lee was a stunning Union defeat. The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut regiment remained in reserve throughout the day of battle. Positioned about a mile from the fighting, the regiment could only look and listen to the successive and futile charges upon the Confederate position.

By the end of December, the gloom hung thick over the camp of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut. After witnessing two grisly battles and peace nowhere in sight, soldiers began to believe that violence would solve nothing. “When you read about the ‘Soldiers being in good spirits and eager for a fight,’” Corporal Leland Barlow warned his father, “you may know that it is a lie. What has our fighting amounted to lately? This war will never be closed by fighting.”<sup>44</sup> A few days later, Barlow wrote his sister in a similar vein: “The boys are getting sick of the war. I have heard lots of soldiers say they would never go into another fight.” He quickly added that it was not the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut that made such claims, although he predicted that such low morale even among his own comrades “might increase the number of sick ones in ours some.”<sup>45</sup> Harrison Woodford from Company I already discerned the grim mood among his comrades. “It is hard work to get the men into a fight,” he wrote home on Christmas Day. “There is a great lack of patriotism in the army,” he observed, “and I must say for myself that I cannot see from the present aspect of things what all this loss of life is fore. We may fight forever and then another way will have to be devised to settle it.”<sup>46</sup> Private Martin Culver agreed. Referring to the Battle of Fredericksburg as “nothing but a slaughter,” he too judged that “the troops dont fight as they did a[w]hile ago for they begin to see this war is a humbug and they are cared for so poorly that they dont care[;]they all want to get home[.]” Culver told his brother unashamedly that he was done with soldiering: “... if we go into winter quarters and have anothers [*sic*] summers campane [*sic*] they wont have me to go with them[.] If Culver could “play sick enough,” he would “get away” if there was not “a pretty good sign of peace.”<sup>47</sup>

Yet, despite these clear signs of demoralization, the shame of cowardice remained, especially when it involved another regiment. Corporal Barlow scornfully described "a comical sight" in the nearby camp of the 4<sup>th</sup> Rhode Island soon after the Battle of Fredericksburg: "they have got two crotches set in the ground with a pole put across them about eight or ten feet high; with three men riding on it with boards on their backs; on one it says, 'I skulked,' in another it says 'So did I' and the third it says 'I did too.' It is punishment for skedaddling from the fight the other day."<sup>48</sup>

Newly promoted Lieut. Col. John H. Burnham was very self-conscious about the consequences and necessary punishment of cowardly behavior. As acting commander of the regiment—Beach was absent on sick leave—Burnham did not want his family to think that he was unfair to the men. He admitted that there were "always shirks, sneaks and some ugliness to deal with," but he warned that, if his family heard stories of his punishing such men unfairly, not to believe that he was "getting hard-hearted." "I intend to treat every man well," Burnham wrote, "and see that he gets everything possible for his comfort and in return I intend that every man shall do his duty and his whole duty." Burnham seemed to accept that "shirks and sneaks" would always be present in camp and in battle, but that he also had to work hard to ensure that all of his men behaved dutifully.<sup>49</sup> The specter of cowardice was constant.

By mid January 1863, the regiment settled into more comfortable winter quarters near Fredericksburg, and the mood in camp improved considerably. Still, for Martin Culver, the same private who was looking to "play sick" so that he could go home, wrote his brother that he was done with soldiering: "i have seen enough of war and so have all the rest of the soldiers." The regiment had not been paid since leaving Hartford in August, and this was getting to be a pressing issue. Culver wrote: "i think the reason they don't pay us off is they kno that half of the soldiers will run away."<sup>50</sup>

As spring approached, the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut focused on a different kind of cowardly behavior: political dissent. Connecticut was nearing its gubernatorial election, and the two candidates represented two sides to the war: Republican William A. Buckingham who vowed to support Lincoln and the war, and Democrat Thomas Seymour, who

challenged the war's human and monetary cost. Soldiers in the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut were acutely aware of this election. The pages of the Hartford newspapers were filled with pronouncements of the various troops' positions, but several members of the 16th sent letters to the papers expressing their positions. The pro-Democrat *Times* published accounts attesting to soldiers' demoralization and discontent with the war; the pro-Republican *Daily Courant* and *Evening Press*, on the other hand, countered with reports affirming soldiers' unwavering support of Lincoln and the war. The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut appeared to represent both sides.

A "Patriotic Appeal," published in the *Daily Courant* on March 21, 1863 for example, included the signatures of Lieut. Col. John H. Burnham and eighteen other unnamed commissioned officers in the unit, in addition to seventy-seven officers from the 8<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Connecticut. "We learn," the appeal stated, "...with sorrow, that in our noble State of Connecticut, within whose borders so many homes have been made desolate by traitors' hands, and effort has been made to sow the seeds of dissension in the North, and to excite the people to acts of hostility against the federal Government." As men in uniform they felt a "soldier's regard for our foes on the James and the Rappahannock on account of their skill and courage; but towards the enemies of the Republic on the Thames, the Connecticut and the Housatonic, we can have no other feelings than those of the most unmitigated scorn and contempt." These men clearly distinguished between legitimate enemy combatants who fought valiantly with "shot and shell," and dissident civilians, whom they deemed as disgraceful traitors. Implied again in these words was a distinction between a brave enemy and cowardly citizenry.<sup>51</sup>

Indeed, a few days after this appeal appeared in the *Courant*, N.M. Bowen wrote the paper attesting to the loyalty of Private Charles F. Bowen, of Company H, 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut. Private Bowen, the letter stated, "is particularly anxious that a few of the croakers at the North be sent down and compelled to 'shoulder arms,' and participate in the struggles which good and loyal men are maintaining, (at the hazard of life and limb) for the love they bear to their country." Bowen predicted that if such Democrats were forced to serve, he and his fellow

veterans would "see some of the tallest skedaddling they had ever witnessed."<sup>52</sup>

While this public discussion over worthy and unworthy soldiers—in effect who were the cowards and who were the heroes—played out in the Hartford papers, men in the ranks continued to reveal their own feelings on the subject in private letters and diaries. Martin Culver, who had previously disclosed his deep disillusionment with soldiering soon after Antietam, had not changed his mind. On April 22, 1863 he wrote from Suffolk to his brother that he was very ill, feverish and vomiting, and content to stay away from active duty indefinitely. "i am agoing to play deadbeat a[w]hile," he declared "and see how they will like it for i have done other boyes duty long enough."<sup>53</sup>

By April 1863 the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut was no longer part of the Army of the Potomac. Transferred to the Virginia peninsula in early February, the regiment manned the defenses of Suffolk, as part of George W. Getty's Third Division. Lee dispatched James Longstreet's corps to lay siege to the town that spring, seeking to push back the occupiers, but also gather necessary provisions for his hungry army. The siege of Suffolk would prove a failed endeavor for the Confederates, but for the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut, it would offer a renewed opportunity for battle. Just the anticipation of combat, cheered the men. Sergeant Robert Kellogg described the 16<sup>th</sup> in April, 1863 as "greatly improved and now looked upon as a 'crack' regiment." The men felt properly fed, armed and trained. "Suffolk is very strong fortified," Kellogg reported to his father, "and our troops are eager and willing to fight."<sup>54</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut did fight again at Suffolk but it was nothing like Antietam. As Confederates tried to break the Union stronghold, the unit participated in several armed clashes with the enemy. These encounters, skirmishes really with relatively low casualties, nonetheless tested the regiment's abilities. And this time, the men performed well.

The first incident occurred on April 24, 1863. Sergeant Kellogg recalled the regiment, acting as skirmishers, encountered the advancing rebels who were "pretty thick and saucy, but we followed them up closely and peppered them so that they had to retreat to their rifle pits." The regiment continued "to make a stand," giving a cheer and charging forward. "This," Kellogg described, "produced panic among

them [the Confederates] and they fled like sheep, leaving many things behind them in their haste, including several of their men, whom we took prisoners." Kellogg admitted: "It was an exciting sort of fight, but it was not a battle really."<sup>55</sup> Casualties were low, one man killed and seven wounded, but spirits were high and apparently there were no stragglers. Lt. Bernard F. Blakeslee later remembered: "This was a very successful skirmish and gave the men great confidence in themselves."<sup>56</sup>

On Sunday, May 3, the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut again went into action, this time along the Providence Church Road. The unit quickly found itself charging across a "broad, plowed field," flanked by woods filled with rebel soldiers. The fighting was hot, and the 16<sup>th</sup> was "within a few rods of the rebels." Kellogg recalled: "We held this exposed situation until our ammunition was exhausted and were then relieved by some of the 15<sup>th</sup> C.V. and part of our reserve." Later that night the regiment returned to camp "all tired out but feeling that we had done our duty well."<sup>57</sup> The regiment's loss was again slight: two killed and eight men wounded. One of those killed was nineteen-year-old Henry W. Barber. Regimental historian Blakeslee would later claim that "Young Barber's last words were 'Tell Mother that I never was a coward.'"<sup>58</sup>

Indeed, the men of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut could proudly claim, that at least at Suffolk, none were cowards. Existing reports and accounts from these two engagements report no straggling, although after the battle, William H. Relyea remembered Captain Henry Beach from Company I being "placed under arrest and we saw him going through camp, doing no duty at all, and soon after he resigned and went home, thus severing his connection with the regiment."<sup>59</sup> The regiment had faced the enemy really for the first time since their panic at Antietam. But the question remained: Would their affirming experience at Suffolk end discussion of cowards for the Sixteenth Connecticut?<sup>60</sup>

Over the next year, the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut essentially conducted garrison duty. Moved from Suffolk first to Portsmouth, Virginia and then to Plymouth, North Carolina, the unit manned coastal defenses, made periodic raids and lived rather well for soldiers at war. The regiment found itself even further removed from active campaigning. In Portsmouth, men built winter cabins, a church and hospital. Military

discipline was lax and there were poker games, theatrical productions, and plentiful liquor, food and clothing available. Mail was steady and visitors from home a constant. Life for the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut was about as comfortable it could be.<sup>61</sup>

Despite their pleasant quarters, relaxed discipline and frequent civilian visitors, men of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut began to fret. They filled their letters and diaries with complaints about bad food, unfair officers, continual sickness and depravity. They felt like "nomads" set adrift from the rest of the Union Army and active campaigning. The work they did—building and manning breastworks, and raiding nearby towns—was hardly the kind of perilous military service that brought accolades and honors.<sup>62</sup>

During their many weeks in Portsmouth, tensions between officers and men spilled into the hometown newspapers. It began in early September 1863 when Private Horace B. Steele of Company F sent a letter to the editors of the *Daily Times* angrily accusing regimental officers, in particular Lt. Col. Burnham, of abuse. Steele claimed: "In this regiment men have been ordered to the guard house for some trivial offence and abused most shamefully." He described a recent incident where a man was made to "carry a log that weighed from 50 to 60 pounds on his back, when the thermometer marked 102 in the shade." He then bitterly recounted his recent attempt at obtaining a furlough, something Steele considered himself "entitled to by the regulations of this army." One of his children was seriously ill, and Steele desperately wanted to be home with his wife and sick child. Steele's request, however, was turned down by Lt. Col. Burnham. He closed his letter by asserting that the committee appointed by the governor to investigate the regiment's condition had been "feasted by the officers and not allowed to go into the privates' tents for fear they will tell the truth and expose the practices on the privates."<sup>63</sup>

Lt. Col. Burnham responded a few weeks later with his own letter to the paper, clearly rattled by Steele's decision to air such grievances publicly. "The publication by an officer or soldier of such a letter as that of Steele's," Burnham stated, "even if its statements were true, would be one of the grossest violations of military discipline, and the falsity of this one certainly aggravates the offense." He vowed not to punish Steele, but instead offered to send him before a court-martial where



he could properly air his grievances and “where he cannot fail to be treated with strict impartiality.” It turned out that the “trivial offense” committed by Private Patrick O’Brien from Company H, was going AWOL from camp and being spotted “drunk in Portsmouth,” days after his one-day pass expired, “thereby rendering himself liable to a charge for desertion.” The regimental surgeon attested that O’Brien’s exhaustion was not due to the punishment, but to sunstroke intensified by his days of “dissipation.”<sup>64</sup>

An anonymous private from the 16<sup>th</sup> was quick to disagree, sending another angry letter to the paper in early October accusing Burnham of making up facts out “of whole cloth.” “We have been most shamefully abused by our commissioned staff,” reaffirmed the unnamed soldier, “pretty much since we left Hartford, being kept upon half rations, &tc, &tc, while other regiments close by us have had enough and to spare.” Sick men too, this man asserted, were also suffering: “For I have known men to lie in their tents for days and then died from the neglect, because the doctor did not pay them proper attention....” When commissioners came to investigate the regiment’s conditions, Lt. Col. Burnham wined and dined them, “telling them such stories as he pleased, and they not going around to see how the privates lived!” Why did officers and doctors treat the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut so shabbily? These two soldiers insisted that it was incompetence, selfishness and fear: Lt. Col. Burnham “was afraid to have things exposed, and to have it known how such a gentleman as he professes to be, treats his fellow beings.”<sup>65</sup>

There are several revealing aspects to this brief but heated flurry of accusations. As an officer, Lt. Col. Burnham clearly viewed his treatment of the offender wholly warranted to ensure, as he had told his mother in January 1863, that men like O’Brien “do his duty and his whole duty.” Burnham could have actually meted out a more serious punishment than simply carrying a log. To Private Steele, desperately seeking a furlough himself so he could be home with his family, could only sympathize. He and his comrade viewed O’Brien’s behavior, previously and usually viewed as cowardly and dishonorable, as inconsequential, even understandable, and his punishment entirely unjustifiable. They resented Burnham’s demand for discipline and

proper behavior. The "coward" in this case was not their fellow soldier, but their lieutenant colonel, who abused his power and position.<sup>66</sup>

By the time the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut garrisoned at Plymouth, North Carolina, concerns about cowardice centered on both the battlefield and homefront. It was January 1864, and general war-weariness had settled in among northern citizens and soldiers. The draft had been in effect for a year with mixed results. The regiment's strength, reduced considerably by the losses at Antietam, sickness and desertion, was low so conscripts began to fill the gaps. But those who had joined in 1862, resented the new arrivals. They continued to believe that many able-bodied men avoided the draft by paying misfits and crooks to serve in their place. Leland Barlow wrote to his sister in April: "If we could see things go on as they should, you would not hear of so many desertions, but it is enough to discourage a soldier to see so much rascality out here, and it is not very encouraging to see the North, good Union men, to contrive every way to keep out of it themselves, and send out such poor, miserable, good-for-nothing fellows to do the fighting." Few conscripts, Barlow, insisted, "will ever do anything, some are natural farm fools, some with one hand gone, some blind in one eye, and old men that will hardly hold together." Others Barlow regarded criminal: "If a man commits any crime except murder, it pardons him, to go into the army." Barlow, like many jaded federal soldiers, wondered out loud how the North could win the war with "so much corruption and wickedness in the country."<sup>67</sup>

Others were equally disillusioned and ready to come home. One day in late March, 1864 Private George N. Champlin recorded in his diary that although the regiment was in "good spirits," he noted, "We had roll call several times this afternoon to keep the men from going straggling."<sup>68</sup> Austin Thompson explained to his fiancé Electra that he considered straggling himself, only he dreaded the public shame: "But if I can stand it through to the end," he added, "I had much rather do it, than go home with a name that some of the boys have."<sup>69</sup> The pressure from home was also strong. When one private's family urged him to be safe, he responded angrily: "Your advice in begging me to keep out of danger sounds harsh coming from a friend of his country." Private Leander Chapin wrote his brother, "I know how you feel and highly appreciate your motive but I beg of you not to write

in such a way. It is productive of no good, rather harm. Shall I not do my duty wherever I am called to go? It is much safer to go right along even though the enemy's balls are dealing death on all sides than it is to seek a better place. Experience proves this. Let me die a hero rather than live a coward."<sup>70</sup>

Dying a hero still meant performing well in combat, and questions lingered about the battle-worthiness of the 16<sup>th</sup>. John H. Burnham, the regiment's beleaguered lieutenant colonel, defended the regiment's reputation in letters to his mother. The same man accused in the press of being abusive and unfair had actually been offered promotion to colonelcy of the 11<sup>th</sup> Connecticut. Burnham declined, judging the 11<sup>th</sup> "miserable rabble" that "cannot be trusted near the enemy." Burnham preferred to stay with the 16<sup>th</sup> of whom he declared: "A better set of boys were never got together in any regiment."<sup>71</sup> Later, in March when the regiment clashed with Confederates near New Bern, Burnham assured his mother that the 16<sup>th</sup> "have done nobly," but complained that there were "cursed cowards who are sneaking to the rear [and] are spreading all sorts of hobgoblin stories about our being cut to pieces and that."<sup>72</sup>

On April 20, 1864 everything changed for the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut. This unit that had so ignobly panicked at Antietam, successfully skirmished in Suffolk, but languished in garrison duty for a year, was about to face the second greatest test of its wartime career. On April 17, Confederates attacked Plymouth, an important anchor to the Federal occupation of the North Carolina coastline. The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut, stationed just outside of town with several other regiments, doggedly fought back, but they found themselves assailed by sea and by land. Lt. Col. Burnham sensed raw fear beginning to take hold of the regiment, so in desperation, he ordered the band to play patriotic songs. This temporarily soothed their jittery nerves. "Brave hearts became braver," a soldier later recalled, "and if the patriotism of any waxed cold, and the courage of any faltered, they here grew warmer and stronger until the pride of country had touched the will, and an indomitable principle had been kindled that virtually declared the man a hero until death." But before long, a Confederate battery took aim at the musicians and shells began to explode over their heads. The band members dropped their instruments and ran.<sup>73</sup>

Surrounded and heavily outnumbered, federal commander Henry Wessels had little choice. On the morning of April 20, he surrendered the entire garrison at Plymouth. "The 'rebs' took us all," wrote Samuel Grosvenor in his diary on April 20<sup>th</sup> and indeed, nearly the whole 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteer Infantry Regiment was captured except for one company and a scattering of men on detached service.<sup>74</sup>

None of the existing letters or dairies from the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut express any shame or embarrassment over the surrender. Robert Kellogg maintained that giving up was done "with no willing grace, yet it could not but be attended with the consciousness that we had tried the virtue of resistance to the utmost."<sup>75</sup> Oliver Gates similarly explained, "we could not do much against such odds so we were obliged to surrender."<sup>76</sup>

Newspapers contained scanty reports of the fight at Plymouth, but nonetheless sought to soothe any doubts about the regiment's gallantry. On April 26, the *Hartford Evening Press* reported rumors of the capture, attesting: "The 16<sup>th</sup> was there and bravely stood their position; the state may justly be proud of them." "In fact," the paper added, "the Connecticut regiments are all much thought of here and there is no such thing as run attached to their names."<sup>77</sup>

Men hastily wrote letters home, assuring loved ones that they were safe, and predicting a quick exchange. Kellogg sent his father a short note and told him not to worry. "The rebs treat us very kindly and as a whole [are] fine set of men & good soldiers," Kellogg confessed: "I can but laugh at the ridiculous plight we are in."<sup>78</sup>

It was a ridiculous plight, but nothing to laugh over. The regiment was bound for the notorious Andersonville prison, where they would remain for the next six months. Of the estimated 400 members of the 16<sup>th</sup> who entered the prison in early May, 1864, nearly 1/3 would die there. Hunger, exposure and terrible illness wreaked havoc on them, as it did with all of Andersonville's inmates. More would perish in South Carolina pens when anxious Confederates evacuated the Georgia prison in late 1864. Even those who lived to gain their freedom, never recovered their health, and spent the postwar years physically and emotionally scarred.<sup>79</sup>

During those many months in prison, members of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut faced new questions of bravery and cowardice. Stripped of

their guns and any real ability to fight the enemy, their only weapon was mental and physical toughness. Being brave now meant “waiting in quiet patience,” as rumors of exchange swirled and men starved and died.<sup>80</sup> Succumbing to disease and hunger in the squalid prison seemed much less dignified than dying in battle. “I had rather,” Ira Forbes wrote in his diary, “see men shot down while fighting for their country than see them dying in this manner.”<sup>81</sup> Abject cowardice now meant taking an oath of allegiance to the Confederacy to gain parole and release from the stockade.

At first, most soldiers from the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut refused paroles. They found refuge and strength in each other, keeping special tabs on how other members fared.<sup>82</sup> When a band of ruthless raiders from within the prison targeted new arrivals, the 16<sup>th</sup> stayed safe. Sergeant Major Kellogg recalled: “We as a regiment presented a united front, and were therefore too strong for them.” Kellogg admitted: “It required no little vigilance and sacrifice to adapt ourselves to all these circumstances of our prison life.”<sup>83</sup>

Prisoners too clung to their faith in God and country, and memories of home, to help them persevere. On July 4, 1864, Corporal Charles Lee mused: “This is the anniversary of our national independence and instead of celebrating it in Connecticut as I have done every year of my life except last year, I am a prisoner of war shut up in this nasty bull-pen with no immediate prospect of getting out. Yet I am perfectly willing to suffer it all, if it does anything towards saving the union.”<sup>84</sup> Oliver Gates marked the anniversary of his enlistment in his prison diary, acknowledging that he never believed he would be away from his wife and young daughter for so long. “But,” he reflected, “my Country needed my services and thus far [I] have tried to do a Soldier’s Duty faithfully and in an active service of two years we have necessarily seen more or less hardship but nothing can compare with this imprisonment [...] [N]o human suffering can exceed what we witness here.” He noted: “When I came in here three months ago I was a strong healthy man and could endure almost anything as I thought but now I am but the wreck of my former self almost a Cripple[.]”<sup>85</sup> This truly seemed to be the greatest test of their lives.

As the terrible ordeal continued, however, some did the unthinkable and swore their allegiance to the enemy so they could get out.

Augustus Moesner volunteered as a clerk so that he could obtain extra rations. Hiram Buckingham accepted a parole to become a hospital steward and Andrew Spring a cook.<sup>86</sup> Their actions brought scorn from their comrades. Kellogg judged such parolees "foolish" and George N. Champlin declared: "They have disgraced themselves." "I will die in prison," he affirmed, "before I will aid the Rebels one iota."<sup>87</sup> When Oliver Gates learned of his comrades' behavior he was equally disgusted. But later he too took the oath to save himself. He later reflected how "terrible we looked upon them [those who accepted paroles] then as the next thing to traitor but afterward we were glad to accept the same condition ourselves and we have learned to be more Charitable to others while we are ignorant of the nature under which they act."<sup>88</sup> It is unclear just how many members of the unit accepted paroles.

Meanwhile the remains of the regiment, a mere skeleton of its former self, continued as the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut stationed at Roanoke Island. The core of the unit was Company H which left Plymouth in the midst of the fight to ferry civilians away from the forts, and thus, escaped capture. Draftees made up the rest of the weakened unit, only worsening the regiment's already bad reputation. Even Lt. Col. Burnham, who had stubbornly defended the unit from rumors of cowardice, realized their dire straights. Rejoining the regiment after his own imprisonment, Burnham was shocked by what he saw. "The regiment is not only demoralized," he wrote his mother in January 1865, "but has been taken from the front and scattered about a company in a place on detached duty." "They were taken from the front," he explained, "because they deserted so freely to the enemy." And it was not merely a question of poor discipline or mismanagement, something that could be probably be fixed. It was, Burnham concluded, because "the material composing the regiment is evidently of the worst character." After more than two years stubbornly and publicly defending the 16th, even Burnham recognized their "evil reputation." He admitted his own unwillingness to lead a regiment "that cannot be trusted in [the] face of the enemy...." <sup>89</sup>

Those final months of war seemed an eternity for the beaten and battered 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut. Survivors released from Confederate

prisons were given a short furlough, but had to return to service after thirty-days. Few had any stomach for remaining in the army at all. Sergeant Jacob Bauer felt depressed after having to return to the regiment so soon, finding army life tedious, discipline nonexistent and many of his comrades prone to excessive drinking. He, like many others, counted the days until his three-year enlistment was up or the war ended, whichever was sooner.<sup>90</sup> The month-long furlough to Connecticut only made their homesickness worse. "I never since I enlisted longed so much for next August," Cuzner wrote, "as I have since I came home. When my time is out[,] I shall not be thinking well, I have to report at such and such a time but will go and come when I please."<sup>91</sup> When the fighting ceased in April, the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut still awaited orders to go home.

Finally, the unit was mustered out in June, 1865. A mere one hundred and thirty men marched the streets of Hartford on the official day of mustering out before a shocked and saddened crowd of onlookers. A city official addressed the regiment's "thinned ranks," citing its "torn colors," as "convincing proof of your deeds of bravery." Lt. Col. Burnham also spoke, giving a final emotional farewell. Certainly, he would make no mention of cowards, nor would he spin tales of heroism. Instead, he honestly assessed the regiment's war record: "Although a less amount of glory in the field has fallen on our lot than to some others, no regiment from the State has been subjected to so much suffering." At that moment in June, nearly three full years after the regiment's creation, Burnham felt only pride: "...whenever in the future I am asked of what in all my life I am proudest, I shall always answer 'that I belonged to the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut in the Union army.'"<sup>92</sup>

Burnham's words were prophetic for nearly all of the regiment's veterans, indeed for most Civil War veterans. Pride would replace any lingering disillusionment, bitterness or war-weariness. Eventually, all talk of cowards abated, and instead, a celebration of heroes remained. By the turn of the century, few northern or southern veterans, publicly or privately, spoke of anything but brave, loyal warriors. When survivors from the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut met to dedicate monuments at Antietam and Andersonville, they too dwelled only on heroic sacrifice. On October 11, 1894, Reverend Charles Dixon described the 16<sup>th</sup>

Connecticut as entirely full of "noble men whose hearts glowed and burned with patriotic fire."<sup>93</sup>



The replica of "Andersonville Boy" stands today near the Connecticut state capitol in Hartford. The simple statue dedicated to all Connecticut soldiers incarcerated in southern prisons was meant to convey "courage and heroism that are developed in suffering." (*Photo taken by author.*)



The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut also led efforts to build a state monument at Andersonville, honoring all prisoners who died during the war. Three of the four commissioners chosen by the state to design the memorial were from the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut and they consulted with many fellow members. Seeking the appropriate image, the commission explained that they wanted “a figure which should represent a very young man, in Civil War uniform to the smallest details, and whose expressions should be that of courage and heroism that are developed in suffering,—strong, modest hopeful.” They wanted to portray “a typical soldier-boy of the northern people, and his bearing that of one who has learned poise by endurance.” He would be “the ideal young soldier, as he stood for all that is noble and loyal and enduring when he offered himself and his life, if need be for our loved country.”<sup>94</sup> Bela Lyon Pratt, a student of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, was named the sculptor and the man chosen as a model for “Andersonville Boy” was allegedly the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut’s former Sergeant Major Robert Kellogg. The bronze figure completed in 1907 depicts a young, beardless private, stripped of his gun and equipment, standing with his left foot forward and his kepi in one hand by his side. More civilian than soldier, only his uniform marks him as a warrior. The *Boston Transcript* characterized the statue as “a simple figure of a private infantry soldier, disarmed and helpless, standing with a sober foreknowledge of the very probable fate before him... “ He seemed “a mere boy, a typical New England lad” fresh from school and the New England town in which he resided. The paper described him as: “Manly and modest, he is one of the kind who take things as they come, without bravado and without posing. But there is something in the genuineness, the simplicity, the rugged naturalness of the boy’s bearing which makes it seem safe to predict that he will be constant and faithful to the end.”<sup>95</sup> A modern observer has noted that the statue has “little that identifies his terrible ordeal as a prisoner at Andersonville.”<sup>96</sup>

At the monument’s dedication in October 1907, an aging Robert Kellogg stood beside the likeness of his younger self, and briefly addressed a crowd of fellow comrades, family and state officials. Remembering how daunting the prison experience was in “testing the courage of the bravest,” he stressed that “Connecticut boys,” especially his fellow comrades from the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut, “stood for order and

restraint." Referring to offers for parole, he stated: "Solicitations to enter the military service or civil employment of the Southern Confederacy were turned aside with scorn by them, though acceptance meant instant release from the fate that now so clearly stared them in the face." Prisoners died "not in the heat and excitement of the battle," but "in the loneliness of a multitude, with a comrade only by their side, within an enemy's lines and under a hostile flag." "One by one," he recalled, "our brave boys gave up the fight and passed away...." "Andersonville," he concluded "becomes an object lesson in patriotism," where Americans could visit "to learn again and again the lessons of heroic sacrifice made by those who so quietly sleep in these long rows of graves."<sup>97</sup>

Kellogg's words, and the statue itself, conveyed renewed affirmations of the regiment's courage, but they also represent a subtle shift away from the traditional dichotomy of hero vs. coward. His emphasis, some forty years after the war, was on self-control, patriotism and quiet dignity, traits needed to withstand extended imprisonment but not necessarily violent combat.

Other postwar records grew silent about the regiment's failures and disappointments. Newspapers, published histories, public speeches, and private letters repeatedly labeled them "noble," "gallant," "brave" and the "Fighting 16<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Volunteers."<sup>98</sup> With time, all the many versions of and reactions to cowardice—in battle, camp and prison, between privates and officers, soldiers and civilians—vanished.

This essay has focused on a single northern regiment's Civil War experiences and its grapplings with bravery and cowardice. Certainly, the analysis presented here is not meant to end discussion or suggest any broad generalizations about the topic. Instead, this essay is merely a starting point to reassess accepted assumptions about Civil War soldiers. Yes, there were some who remained "loyal, true and brave," never questioning their initial ideology to fight and fight well. But then there were others, like the men studied here, who from the shock, monotony, and sufferings of war, behaved poorly, even disgracefully. These stories too deserve a place in our history of the war.

## Endnotes

1. James I. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 222; see also Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943), Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Earl Hess in his *Union Soldiers in Battle: Enduring the Ordeal of Combat* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997) and Steven Woodworth in his edited *The Loyal True and Brave: America's Civil War Soldiers* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2002), concur with Robertson, Wiley and McPherson that the majority of Civil War soldiers behaved honorably and courageously. The exception is Gerald Linderman whose fascinating but controversial *Embattled Courage* sees both concepts of courage and cowardice as fluid and changing. He also recognizes that postwar America purified the war of "any reference to war's fear and futility; community ritual celebrated all wounds as evidence of courage and enshrined all deaths as efficacious deaths." See Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*. (New York: Free Press, 1987), 284. Nonetheless, since Linderman based his conclusions exclusively on printed postwar memoirs, the accuracy of his arguments is suspect. My research here focuses on wartime sources, both public and private, although some postwar accounts are consulted. There have been important works on desertion, especially related to the South, but the topic of soldier cowardice has not received comparable treatment. The definitive study of desertion remains Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (Reprint 1928, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). See also Brian Holden Reid and John White, "A Mob of Stragglers and Cowards': Desertion from the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865, *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 8 (1985): 64-77.
2. James Robertson cites phrases such as "showing the white feather," having "cannon fever" or "chicken heart disease," to mean acting the coward, although in my research I have not found any of these phrases used. Interestingly, Robertson provides no sources for these allegedly contemporary phrases. See Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 216-17. The opposite of cowardice was of course courage, and as Gerald Linderman has explained, courage to Civil War soldiers meant self-control, maturity and manliness, and even piety. Thus, the lack of it implied weakness, immaturity and godlessness. It is important further to note, that there seemed to be a dramatic difference between being afraid, even admitting to it, and act-

ing on it. Linderman disagrees and argues that merely feeling fear "was to be a coward, Civil War soldiers thought." See Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 18; also 8, 10, 23, 25, 64. Margaret Creighton has most recently argued that the definition of courage needs to be expanded beyond armed "physical daring" to include women's nurturing self-sacrifice and African-Americans' steady perseverance during the crisis. See Margaret Creighton, *The Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History, Immigrants, Women and African Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), x.

3. Reid and White, "A Mob of Stragglers and Cowards," 64-65.
4. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 128; also Margaret Creighton, *The Colors of Courage*, viii-ix. Draftees drew special scorn from the early volunteers who looked down on them as "bounty-jumpers, cowards and the refuse of the cities." See Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 2.
5. The state of Connecticut had a quota of 7,155 men to fill and by the end of August, 1862 the state surpassed that number. See W. A. Croffutt and John M. Morris, *Military and Civil History of Connecticut During the War of 1861-1865* (New York: Ledyard Bill, 1869), 223-29. The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut was one of two Hartford County regiments; the 14<sup>th</sup> Connecticut was the other unit formed at the same time and it enjoyed a much more storied war experience.
6. Croffutt and Morris, *Military and Civil History of Connecticut*, 227-29, also 276; Bernard Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard Co., Printers, 1875), 5; *Catalogue of the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st Regiments and the Second Light Battery Connecticut Volunteers; and the 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th Regiments Connecticut Volunteers for Nine Months, Compiled from Records in the Adjutant-Generals Office 1862* (Hartford: Press of Case, Lockwood and Company, 1862), 47-67; "Muster and Descriptive Rolls, 16th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers," Records of the Military Department, Connecticut Adjutant General's Office, RG 13, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, CT; hereinafter referred to as CSL.
7. James McPherson's *For Cause and Comrades* contends that ideology and patriotism strongly induced the first two years of volunteer enlistment and kept men in the ranks through the entire conflict.
8. This description of Fort Williams is based on a variety of soldiers' firsthand accounts including Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers* 5; George Robbins, "Recollections," George Robbins Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut, hereinafter referred to as CHS; William H. Relyea, "History of the 16th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry,"

- 3-4, William H. Relyea Papers, CHS; Robert H. Kellogg to father, August 19, 1862, Robert H. Kellogg Papers, CHS; Charles Gilbert Lee Diary, August 20-23, 1862, CHS; see also Croffutt and Morris, *Military and Civil History of Connecticut*, 229.
9. John Keegan discusses this belief that professional officers have in the "rules of war," and the necessity of drill in *The Face of Battle* (New York: Viking Press, 1976): 18-20. For biographical details on Col. Beach see Relyea, "History of the 16th Connecticut," 3; *Hartford Courant* 9 & 15 August 1862; John C. Kinney, "The Memorial History of Hartford," in J. Hammond Trumbull, ed., *The Memorial History of Hartford County Connecticut, 1633-1884* 2 Vols. (Boston: Edward L. Osgood Publisher, 1886), II: 1n, 98; "Francis Beach," in *Military and Biographical Data on Officers and Men of the Regiment*, Box 7, Folder "Officers," RG 69:23, George Q. Whitney Collection, CSL, and Rev. W. H. Gilbert, *Sermon Delivered in Granby, Conn., Jan. 4, 1863, at the Funeral of Roswell Morgan Allen, Private in Co. E., 16th Reg't. C.V. Who Died at the Hospital Near Washington, Sunday, Dec. 28, 1862.* (Hartford: Charles Montague, 1863), 12.
  10. Robbins, "Recollections."
  11. Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers*, 5.
  12. "Unfeeling," from Gilbert, *Sermon*, 12; "fill his back full of bead," from Relyea, "History of the 16th Connecticut," 4. Another soldier confirmed this angry sentiment against Beach in a letter written just three days before Antietam when he too stated: "Many of the men swear they will shoot him [Beach] if he ever goes into action with us." See J. Edward Shipman to "Friend Hubbard," September 14, 1862, Lewis Leigh Collection, Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA, hereinafter referred to as MHI; see also Croffutt and Morris, *Military and Civil History of Connecticut*, 228-29; 265. Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers*, 6.
  13. William H. Relyea, *16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteer Infantry*, Relyea, William H. *16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteer Infantry; Sergeant William H. Relyea*, John Michael Priest, Editor in Chief (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2002), 7.
  14. *Hartford Daily Courant* 12 September 1862; *Hartford Evening Press*, 29 August 1862. See also Croffutt and Morris, *Military and Civil History of Connecticut*, 229; Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers*, 6.
  15. See for example the *Hartford Daily Times*, 23 & 24 July 1862.
  16. *Hartford Daily Times*, 14 August 1862.
  17. *Hartford Daily Times*, 13 September 1862.
  18. Letter published in the *Hartford Daily Courant*, 12 September 1862.

19. Jacob Bauer to Emily Bauer, September 5, 1862, typescript copy of original, "16th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers," File Folder, Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Maryland, hereinafter referred to as ANB.
20. Relyea, *16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteer Infantry*, 24.
21. Description of Antietam based on John Niven, *Connecticut for the Union: The Role of the State in the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 222-23; Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers*, 16-17; Blakeslee, "The Sixteenth Connecticut at Antietam," 19; Robbins, "Recollections," Relyea, "History of the 16th Connecticut," 27. A more extended discussion of the 16<sup>th</sup> at Antietam is Lesley J. Gordon, "'All Who Went Into That Battle Were Heroes': Remembering the 16th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers at Antietam," in *The Antietam Campaign*, ed. by Gary Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 169-91.
22. Leland O. Barlow to sister September, 23, 1862, Leland O. Barlow Papers, CSL. October regimental returns listed twenty-eight men as deserters, most leaving the day of battle, three disappearing before September 17, and seven deserting after Antietam. See Monthly Returns, 16th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, October 1862," Records of the Military Department, Connecticut Adjutant General's Office, CSL, RG 13; also Blakeslee, *History of the 16th Connecticut*, 17-19. Total casualties for the 16th Connecticut at Antietam were over 25%. Out of an estimated 940 soldiers engaged, the 16th Connecticut lost 43 killed, 164 wounded, 20 captured, and 19 desertions. Casualty numbers do vary from source to source. My numbers are abstracted from *Adjutants-General Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Army and Navy of the United States During the War of the Rebellion* (Hartford: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1889), 619-39; hereinafter referred to as *Adjutant-General Record of Service*. The regiment's monument erected at Antietam in 1894 lists 779 engaged, 43 killed & 161 wounded.
23. Francis Beach to J. D. Williams, September 19, 1862, copy of original, ANB.
24. *Hartford Daily Courant* 18 September 1862.
25. *Hartford Daily Courant* 23 September 1862.
26. *Hartford Evening Press*, 27 September 1862.
27. *Hartford Daily Times*, 23 September 1862.
28. *Hartford Daily Courant*, 22 September 1862.
29. *Hartford Daily Times*, 23 September 1862.
30. *Hartford Daily Times*, 27 September 1862.

31. Martin VanBuren Culver to Brother, September 21, 1862, Martin VanBuren Culver Letters, 1862-1865. Transcribed letters in possession of author.
32. Wartime letter Quoted in Relyea, "History of the 16th Connecticut," 43-44.
33. William H. Relyea to wife, September 26, 1862, William H. Relyea Letterbook, CHS.
34. William H. Drake to Timothy Loomis, September 29, 1862, Civil War Letters Collection, CHS.
35. George Robbins to sister, September 23, 1862, George Robbins Letters, CHS.
36. Elizur D. Beldon Diary, September 19, 1862, CHS.
37. John B. Cuzner to Ellen, September 21, 1862, typescript copy of original, ANB.
38. Jacob Bauer to Emily Bauer, September 20, 1862, ANB. A few weeks later Bauer reassessed his view of the rout. If he survived the war, he wrote to his wife, he would return to Antietam and show her where "the heros [*sic*] rest side by side." The 16th had its share of cowards, Bauer wrote, but he was not one of them. Cowards were the ones who cursed the most, he maintained, "...and they were the ones who stayed back in the hour of trial." See Jacob Bauer to Emily Bauer, October 2, 1862, ANB. For a more extended discussion of how the regiment's initial impressions of Antietam changed see Gordon, " 'All Who Went Into That Battle Were Heroes.' "
39. Robert H. Kellogg to father, September 20, 1862, Robert H. Kellogg Papers, CHS. Kellogg retained this impression one month after Antietam when he wrote his father that that Lee and his army had retreated in "complete disorder from Maryland" and "skedaddled over the river." See Robert H. Kellogg to Father, October 17, 1862, Robert H. Kellogg Papers, CHS.
40. John H. Burnham to Sarah B. Burnham, October 4, 1862, John H. Burnham Papers, CSL.
41. *Hartford Daily Times*, 20 November 1862.
42. Martin VanBuren Culver to Brother, November 16, 1862, Martin VanBuren Culver Letters, 1862-65.
43. *Hartford Daily Times*, 8 & 9 December 1862. Italics from original.
44. Leland O. Barlow to father, December 24, 1862, Leland O. Barlow Papers, CSL.
45. Leland O. Barlow to Jane Barlow, December 29, 1862, Leland O. Barlow Papers, CSL.

46. Harrison Woodford to "My Dear Friends at Home," December 25, 1862, Letters of Harrison Woodford, transcriptions in possession of the author.
47. Martin VanBuren Culver to "Brother Jon," December 31, 1862, Martin VanBuren Culver Letters, 1862-65.
48. Leland O. Barlow to Jane Barlow, December 29, 1862, Leland O. Barlow Papers, CSL.
49. John H. Burnham to Sarah and Lottie Burnham, January 12, 1863, John H. Burnham Papers, CSL.
50. Martin VanBuren Culver to Brother, January 19, 1863, Martin VanBuren Culver Letters, 1862-1865.
51. *Hartford Daily Courant*, 21 March 1863.
52. *Hartford Daily Courant*, 27 March 27, 1863.
53. Martin VanBuren Culver to Brother, April 22, 1863, Martin VanBuren Culver Letters, 1862-1865.
54. Robert H. Kellogg to father, April 18, 1863, Robert H. Kellogg Papers, CHS.
55. Robert H. Kellogg to Father, April 25, 1863, Robert H. Kellogg Papers, CHS.
56. Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers*, 36; also 107; See also Steven A. Cormier, *The Siege of Suffolk: The Forgotten Campaign, April 11-May 4, 1863* (Lynchburg, VA: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1989), 230-33.
57. Robert H. Kellogg to father, May 6, 1863, Robert H. Kellogg Letters, CHS.
58. Blakeslee, *History of the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers*, 37, also 34, 107.
59. Relyea, *16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteer Infantry*, 84. Beach resigned on May 18, 1863. See *Adjutant-General Record of Service*, 635.
60. If desertion can be classified as cowardly, especially desertions just before or after battle, regimental records indicate very low desertion at this time too. Seven men deserted the unit between February 11 and April 17, 1863; but only two deserted between May 1 and July 7, 1863. In middle June the regiment moved to Portsmouth where it remained for several months. From early July until mid September, there was another wave of deserters, six recorded in the adjutant general's records. Numbers abstracted from *Adjutant-General Record of Service*, 619-39.
61. This description of the regiment's camp at Portsmouth is drawn from a variety of firsthand accounts including Leander Chapin to mother, November 25, 1863, CHS; Austin D. Thompson to Electra Churchill, November 30, December 6 & 19, 1863, CHS; Joseph Barnum's Diary, January 6,



- 1864, CHS; See also Robert H. Kellogg, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons: Giving a Complete History of the Inhuman and Barbarous Treatment of Our Brave Soldiers by Rebel Authorities, Inflicting Terrible Suffering and Frightful Mortality, Principally at Andersonville, Ga, and Florence, S.C. Describing Plans of Escape, Arrival of Prisoners, with Numerous and Varied Incidents and Anecdotes of Prison Life* (Hartford, Conn: L. Stebbins, 1865), 205.
62. "Nomads" from Relyea, "History of the 16th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, 140. For more on the regiment at Portsmouth see Lesley J. Gordon, "Surely They Remember Me': The 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut in War, Captivity and Public Memory," in *Union Soldiers and the Northern Homefront; Wartime Experiences, Postwar Adjustments*, ed. by Paul A. Cimbala and Randall Miller (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 2002), 334-36.
63. *Hartford Daily Times* 10 September 1863. Steele had requested a furlough just days before he penned this letter to the *Times*. See Edgar E. Strong to John B. Clapp, September 1, 1863 in Horace B. Steele Papers, CSL. It does seem significant too, that Horace's brother Nathan, a 35 year-old married gunsmith, deserted the regiment in early March 1863. See Adjutant General Record of Service, 630.
64. *Hartford Daily Courant*, 25 September 1863.
65. *Hartford Daily Times*, 7 October 1863.
66. The *Times* refused to publish anymore on this subject stating: "In justice to the soldier who writes this, and much desires us to print it, we give it place, but we prefer not to continue this unpleasant controversy in these columns." See *Hartford Daily Times*, October 7, 1863. Historians have already recorded changes in definitions and reactions to desertion among southern soldiers, although less so among northern men. Drew Gilpin Faust has explored the issue of Confederate desertion and how it played against southern familial obligations and Confederate nationalism in *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). Brian Holden Reid and John White contend that the wide-spread desertion in both armies was mainly an issue of inconsistent military discipline clashing with Civil War volunteers' natural propensity for self-autonomy. They dismiss the "cases of overt cowardice in the face of the enemy," as rare and seemingly inconsequential. See Reid and White, 64; also 75.
67. Leland O. Barlow to Jane C. Barlow, April 11, 1864, Leland O. Barlow Papers, CSL.
68. George N. Champlin Diary, March 24, 1864, CSL.
69. Austin D. Thompson to Electra Churchill, August 17, 1863, CHS.
70. Leander Chapin to Gilbert Chapin, March 19, 1864, MS 82945, CHS.

71. John H. Burnham to Sarah B. Burnham, January 18, 1864, John H. Burnham Papers, CSL.
72. John H. Burnham to Sarah B. Burnham, March 10, [1864], John H. Burnham Papers, CSL.
73. Kellogg, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons*, 29; also a slightly different account of this is included in Relyea's "The History of the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteers," 172.
74. Samuel Grosvenor Dairy, April 20, 1864, CHS. When the fighting started on April 17, Company H escorted women and other civilians from Plymouth to Roanoke Island. They would continue in active service as the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut even though they numbered only about 100 men. For more on the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut and the siege of Plymouth, see Gordon, "Surely They Remember Me," 339-41.
75. Kellogg, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons*, 33.
76. Oliver Gates Diary, [May, 1864], CHS, punctuation added by author.
77. *Hartford Evening Press*, 26 April 1864.
78. Robert H. Kellogg to father, April 20, 1864, Ms 68013, CHS; also Kellogg, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons*, 37.
79. Not all members of the captured 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut arrived at Andersonville at the same time and commissioned officers were sent to Macon instead and soon exchanged including Col. Beach and Lt. Col. Burnham. Numbers vary regarding prisoners and deaths. Kellogg estimates 300 men from the regiment were imprisoned at Andersonville of which nearly one third died. Other accounts give higher estimates. See for example, *Dedication of the Monument at Andersonville Georgia October 23, 1907 In Memory of the Men of Connecticut Who Suffered In Southern Military Prisons 1861-1865* (Hartford: the State of Connecticut, 1908), 32; Kellogg, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons*, 61. The best studies of the prison include: William Marvel, *Andersonville, The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), and Ovid L. Futch, *History of Andersonville Prison* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968).
80. George N. Champlin Diary, November 7, 1864, CSL.
81. Ira Forbes Diary, May 6, 1864, Civil War Manuscripts Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT. Hereinafter referred to as YU.
82. Nearly all the diaries consulted for this essay mention deaths within the regiment. See for example, Ira Forbes, YU; George N. Champlin Diary, CSL; Robert Kellogg Diary, CHS, Oliver Gates Diary, CHS, Samuel Grosvenor Diary, CHS and, Paul C. Helmreich, editor, "The Diary of Charles G. Lee in the Andersonville and Florence Prison Camps, 1864," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* Vol. 41 (January 1976): 19-24.

83. Kellogg, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons*, 67-68.
84. Helmreich, ed., "Diary of Charles G. Lee," 20.
85. Oliver Gates Diary, August 10, 1864, CHS.
86. All three of these men testified for the defense at the Henry Wirz trial. See N.P. Chipman, *The Tragedy of Andersonville: Trial of Captain Henry Wirz The Prison Keeper* (Sacramento, CA: published by the author, 1911), 173-74; 224-25, 251-52, 327-28; Robert Kellogg testified for the prosecution.
87. Robert Kellogg Diary, May 23, 1864, CHS; George N. Champlin Diary, June 27, 1864, CSL.
88. Gates accepted the parole after the transfer to Florence. See Oliver Gates Diary, June 22, 1864, CHS; "an Explanation" written on the final pages of Diary III.
89. John H. Burnham to Sarah B. Burnham, January 10, 1865, John H. Burnham Papers, CSL.
90. Jacob Bauer Diary, February 17, 1865; March 6, 1865; March 18, 1865; March 23, 1865; May 11, 1865, MHI.
91. John B. Cuzner to Ellen Van Dorn, February 9, 1865, CHS.
92. *Hartford Daily Courant* 30 June 1865.
93. Invocation" by Rev. Charles Dixon, in *Souvenir of Excursion to Antietam and Dedication of Monuments of the 8<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Regiments of Connecticut Volunteers October 1894* (Hartford, 1894), 54. For more on the regiment's memory of Antietam, see Gordon, "All Who Went Into That Battle Were Heroes."
94. *Dedication of the Monument at Andersonville Georgia October 23, 1907 In Memory of the Men of Connecticut Who Suffered in Southern Military Prisons 1861-1865* (Hartford: the State of Connecticut, 1908), 23.
95. Quoted in *Dedication of the Monument at Andersonville*, 71.
96. David F. Ransom, "Connecticut's Monumental Epoch: A Survey of Civil War Memorials," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* Vol. 58 (1993): 231. It is Ransom who claims that Kellogg was the model for the statue, although no other evidence has surfaced to support this.
97. Kellogg's address in *Dedication to the Monument at Andersonville*, 34-37. A duplicate of the statue was also placed in Hartford near the state capitol building. For more on the 16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut and the Andersonville commemoration see Gordon, "Surely They Remember Me," 356-60.
98. See for example the *Hartford Courant* 17 September 1907; the *Hartford Times*, 1 August 1908; the *Hartford Post* 29 August 1912; and Relyea, *16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Volunteers*, xiv. Relyea does complain of cowardice at Antietam, actually listing the names of deserters, 172-73.

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