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THE ORDEAL OF WILLIAM H. COWDIN AND THE OFFICERS OF THE FORTY-SECOND MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT: UNION PRISONERS IN TEXAS

by Gary Wilson

During the Civil War the North and South did not fight many significant battles in Texas, and few individuals recorded their war experiences. As a result, memoirs written by Union soldiers in Texas are unique and valuable. Even more rare are diaries kept by Union prisoners in Texas. During the course of the conflict the Confederate government incarcerated over 6,000 Union prisoners in the Lone Star state. One Federal officer, captured at the Battle of Galveston and believed to be Lieutenant William H. Cowdin, recorded his experiences in a diary for the year 1863.

Cowdin was born in Massachusetts in 1839. Not much is known of his early life until the Civil War. Cowdin joined the Union army in 1862 and received his commission as a lieutenant in the Forty-Second Massachusetts Regiment. Colonel Isaac S. Burrell commanded the unit, and he issued orders for his men to move into a camp of instruction at Readville, Massachusetts, in August, 1862. The Forty-Second Massachusetts did not reach full strength until November 11. Shortly afterwards Burrell received orders to Join Major General Nathaniel P. Banks's expedition in Louisiana, and the regiment departed Readville on November 21 for New York.

Cowdin left New York with his unit for New Orleans on board the Saxon. This transport carried companies O, G, and I of the Forty­Second Massachusetts and on December 18, 1863 landed near the Crescent City. General Banks instructed Burrell to proceed with his companies to Galveston. They departed New Orleans on December 22 and arrived at the Island City on Christmas Eve. The men immediately assumed defensive positions on Kuhn's Wharf, now Pier Nineteen. The Union soldiers removed large portions of the wharf plankings which impeded land approaches to their position. They also constructed two lines of barricades on the wharf. In the daytime the Union soldiers controlled the city, but they had to withdraw to the wharf at night. Until the remainder of his regiment arrived, Burrell assumed a defensive position.

Major General John Bankhead Magruder, Confederate commander of Texas, had arrived approximately one month earlier than did the Forty-Second Massachusetts. He immediately began devising a plan to liberate Galveston from Federal control. Magruder commissioned Captain Leon Smith to coordinate the naval fleet which consisted of the

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river steamers Bayou City and Neptune. The Union naval force at Galveston was comprised of the Harriet Lane, the Westfield, the Owasco, the Clifton, the Sachem, two armed transports, two large barks, and a schooner.  

Early in the morning of January 1, 1863 Magruder's land forces launched an assault on Kuhn's Wharf, but they were initially unsuccessful. Just as Magruder was about to order the withdrawal of his forces, however, the Bayou City and the Neptune arrived and engaged the Harriet Lane. The Confederates seized the Union vessel after a fierce struggle. This action resulted in a strategic advantage for the Confederates, especially over Burrell's Forty-Second Massachusetts. The Union force asked for and received a three-hour truce. During this period Magruder demanded the surrender of the Federal army on the wharf. Burrell had no choice but to capitulate."}

Prior to the battle Cowdin had been charged with protecting the regimental colors. When the attack began at 4:00 a.m., Cowdin ordered the first platoon to assume its position behind a barricade on the wharf. Burrell instructed all the men to lay down when the barrage began. Early in the attack Cowdin received a canister shot in his back. When the regiment surrendered the Confederates seized the unit's colors because no one assumed the responsibility of protecting them.  

Cowdin's wound was so severe that he remained hospitalized for almost three weeks. While he recuperated in Galveston, the Confederates transported their prisoners by rail to Houston. A large crowd waited approximately two hours in the rain to view the incarcerated men. When the prisoners arrived, the Confederates formed them into a line and marched them down Main Street. Some of the men, such as Burrell, hung their heads and appeared somber, while others seemed light-hearted. The southerners quartered the enlisted men in a cotton warehouse near Buffalo Bayou and housed the officers in Kennedy's Building at the corner of Travis and Congress Streets.  

Cowdin soon left Galveston and joined the imprisoned Union officers in Houston. The Confederates frequently permitted the officers to visit the enlisted men. Cowdin learned in these visits that the enlisted prisoners received the same rations as the Confederate soldiers which consisted of rice, corn meal, dried and fresh beef, sugar, corn coffee, and small amounts of salt. The officers received a similar supply of food, except an irregular ration of flour.  

Not all the northern prisoners fared as well. There were two black troops, Amos and Revalion, captured with the Massachusetts regiment, as well as a small undetermined number of blacks who had served on the Harriet Lane. The Confederates sold Amos and Revalion as slaves for five hundred dollars each. The blacks of the Harriet Lane served
as convicts at the state penitentiary in Huntsville. Their treatment was harsh, and the Confederates did not release them until the conclusion of the war.\(^6\)

During the early period of the conflict, both governments promoted the exchange of prisoners. Most men who had been imprisoned seldom remained incarcerated for a long period of time. The prisoners in Houston heard rumors of a cartel soon after their capture. These rumors became a reality for all the enlisted men and some of the officers. On January 22, after less than one month of imprisonment, the Confederates paroled most of the prisoners in Houston. General Magruder first told the men he would send them to Vicksburg, Mississippi; however, because of the threat of disease, he decided to order them to Beaumont, Texas. The men traveled by rail to that town and later marched to Louisiana where the Confederates released them.\(^7\)

The day the men departed for Beaumont, Cowdin, along with the remaining officers, learned that the Confederates claimed a major victory at Sabine Pass.\(^1\) Three days later nine Union officers and approximately 100 enlisted men arrived in Houston as prisoners. The officers and enlisted men belonged to the Morning Light and Velocity, two Federal vessels at the battle. The southerners initially permitted the officers unguarded access to the city, but within a short time the Confederates only allowed two guarded Union officers to leave the warehouse at a time.\(^2\)

Boredom was an aspect of everyday life that the prisoners experienced. In order to diversify their daily routine, the Union men would sing songs, play cards, participate in gymnastic exercises, drill with wooden swords, play baseball, make clothes, read the Houston Telegraph, and engage in other activities. Prison life remained mundane until April 29, when General Magruder ordered the commissioned officers to be transferred to the state penitentiary in Huntsville.\(^3\)

Magruder concluded that a smaller force of Confederates would be needed to guard the prisoners at the state institution than in buildings at Houston. He complained that he had a limited number of men with which to defend Texas. He surmised that at Huntsville a small guard, armed only with pistols and lances, could adequately confine the Union officers. After the transfer of the prisoners he wrote J. S. Besser, financial officer of the prison, that Federal authorities had imprisoned Confederates in penitentiaries in the northern states.\(^4\)

On the morning of April 29 at detachment of Confederate cavalry escorted the nineteen prisoners to the Texas Central Depot. The train departed Houston about 10:20 a.m. and stopped for lunch some twenty-five miles distant at a hotel in Cypress City. Later in the afternoon the men arrived in Navasota, a town approximately forty-five miles from
Huntsville. They spent the night at the Morning Star Hotel. Cowdin noted in his diary that each man paid two dollars for dinner and retired to an eighteen square foot room, where they spent the night.14

After meeting with Sam Houston the next morning, Cowdin and the other prisoners departed Navasota at 6:20 a.m. That day the men traveled thirty-one miles in four wagons and spent the night at a Mr. Sandals's house. The party arrived at Huntsville the following day at noon and many of the citizens turned out to view the northern captives. When the men went inside the state penitentiary, the superintendent, Colonel Thomas Carothers, informed them that they would be confined to separate cells.14

This news greatly upset the men. Dr. Arial Cummings, a non-combatant, drew up a petition which the prisoners signed. The surgeon, along with Frank Veazie, also a non-combatant and the officers' cook, took the petition to Houston. The petition, however, did not result in the immediate release of the men. Instead, the Confederates forced the prisoners into their individual five foot by eight foot cells. Cowdin commented, “We are now in cells looking through bars. This is what I call a splendid May day.”15

The next nine mornings the guards in the penitentiary released the convicts for work, while the Union prisoners mingled in the prison yard. When the convicts returned for lunch, the guards once again locked up the officers. The northern men returned to the yard when the convicts had finished their lunch. The guards also seized their watches, pipes, and other personal belongings. The guards did permit the men to attend church, and Superintendent Carothers visited the nineteen men on more than one occasion. Other visitors included Sam Houston and his family.11

Gradually the living conditions began to improve for the officers. Acting on his own authority, Carothers obtained enough lumber to have several cots constructed for the men. He then transferred the prisoners of war from their small individual cells to a large upper story room. Five days later, on May 14, three more prisoners who had served on the Morning Light and Velocity joined the other men.19

During the day the prisoners wrote and received letters, plus entertained visitors. Based on letters received and comments from visitors, as well as newspaper articles, rumors began to circulate that the two sides had agreed upon a prisoner of war exchange, but these rumors proved false. Actually, a controversy had emerged between Texas state and Confederate officials over the right of the southerners to confine Union prisoners in the penitentiary. By June, 1863, Superintendent Carothers decided to transfer the men at Huntsville to Camp Groce, a new prisoner of war camp two miles east of Hempstead, Texas.16
Camp Groce was the first permanent Confederate military prison west of the Mississippi River. The camp was near a stream, Clear Creek, and consisted of several long, wooden barracks. The Houston and Texas Central Railroad ran approximately three hundred yards from the camp. The first Union prisoners at Camp Groce consisted of about 110 men, and they arrived on June 13 from Houston.

Eleven days later Lieutenant Cowdin and his fellow captives learned from General Magruder that they would be departing Huntsville for Camp Groce. On June 27 all the Union officers, except Colonel Burrell, who was sick with rheumatism, and Captain Sherive, left the prison. The men loaded their belongings in three wagons, but they had to pay ten dollars per person for the use of the wagons. They traveled twelve miles the first day and spent the night in an old school building. The second day the party made twenty-one miles, even after having trouble with one of the wagons. On June 30 the men arrived at Navasota, and they departed that town by railroad for Camp Groce the following day.

When the men of the Forty-Second Massachusetts entered the compound, the total number of prisoners was approximately twenty-nine officers, seventeen soldiers, and eighty-six seamen. The prison population slowly increased in the summer when the Confederates sent a small number of officers captured in Louisiana to Camp Groce. Cowdin wrote that there were seven officers, as well as seven civilians.

The sudden influx of these men into Camp Groce, coupled with a muggy climate, produced unhealthy conditions. There were two deep wells, but the water was not good in either. The barracks were also poorly constructed and did not provide complete shelter from rain storms and cold winds. The Confederates, at first, housed officers and enlisted men together in the barracks. In September, Colonel Burrell, who had recently arrived from Huntsville, and three of the highest ranking officers, moved to an area separate from the main body of prisoners.

Although Camp Groce was overcrowded, the Confederates implemented some changes which slightly improved the prisoners' living conditions. One of these improvements involved a change in command. Since the prisoners of the Forty-Second Massachusetts had arrived at the camp, they had been guarded by a Captain Buster and his company of men. Buster, even though a pleasant man, proved too indifferent towards the treatment of the prisoners. Buster's second in command, a Lieutenant Morgan, treated the prisoners harshly. Consequently, the Confederates largely disregarded the needs of their captives. Cowdin noted, however, that on September 18 a new guard of Texas militia replaced Buster and his men. Lieutenant Colonel John Sayles and Major
James S. Barnes commanded the battalion.”

Sayles and Barnes proved more compassionate than Buster and Morgan. The new commanders authorized all prisoners to have bathing privileges in a nearby stream, to purchase extra supplies, and to exercise outside the compound. The new commanders also instructed the prisoners to build more cabins, chop wood, cook rations, build stools and tables, and to make other improvements within the camp. By keeping them occupied, the morale of the northerners rose. One prisoner commented, “Those labors which the rebels have imposed on our men ... have been, I think, the prisoner’s greatest blessings.”

The improved living conditions of the prisoners, however, did not last into the month of October. In September a major event in the war in Texas occurred which affected Cowdin and his fellow prisoners. On September 4 a Federal expedition of 5,000 men left New Orleans destined for Sabine Pass, Texas. The fleet consisted of eighteen transports and four gunboats. Fort Griffen, the only fortification at Sabine Pass, was the initial objective of the force. On September 8 the Union fleet attempted to sail up the Sabine River, but Lieutenant Richard Dowling, commander of the fort, along with forty-two men, captured two gunboats, Clifton and Sachem, thirteen guns, and approximately 350 prisoners.

Cowdin recorded that 220 of the prisoners arrived at Camp Groce on September 14. These included only enlisted men of the Clifton and Sachem, plus the enlisted marines and soldiers of the 75th New York. The naval and army officers did not arrive at the camp until October 5. Many of the wounded men had arrived five days before the officers. The sudden influx of men into Camp Groce forced the Confederates to strengthen their security. On October 28 Barnes ordered his men to construct a stockade which encircled the camp. The height of the walls prevented the prisoners from escaping over the top.

With the prospects of escape diminished, the prisoners of the Forty-Second Massachusetts increasingly hoped that the Federal government would be able to exchange them with Confederate prisoners. Rumors of such a prisoner cartel had begun to flourish soon after the unit’s capture at Galveston. Cowdin frequently noted in his diary that he had read newspaper reports in which both sides regularly exchanged prisoners in other geographic regions of the conflict. The Confederates insisted that they had repeatedly tried to arrange a prisoner exchange, but that the United States government had refused to negotiate.

Many of the prisoners believed their captors and became anxious after several months of imprisonment. In June, 1863, John Roberts, one of the captured officers at Camp Groce, wrote Lieutenant Colonel Richard Irwin, Assistant Adjutant General in the Department of the
Gulf, and informed him that many of the prisoners believed that their government had forgotten them." Eventually, even Colonel Burrell wrote a letter in an attempt to emphasize the plight of his men. On November 10, 1863, he wrote Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and told him that previous letters had been sent to Major General Nathaniel Banks and Rear Admiral David Farragut. The colonel stated that he had never received a reply. Burrell additionally wrote that two officers under his command had died, plus several others were sick.11

Before Stanton could respond to Burrell's letter, S. S. Anderson, Assistant Adjutant General of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, instructed General Magruder to parole all enlisted prisoners at the earliest possible moment. Anderson also ordered Magruder to send the officers of the Harriet Lane to Shreveport, Louisiana, the site where the Confederates were to parole the enlisted men. Magruder instructed Major Waldemar Hyllested to parole the men. The commander of the district of Texas first ordered these prisoners to Tyler, Texas, and from there they were to march to Shreveport.11

Cowdin wrote in his diary that on November 16 Major Barnes informed the prisoners at Camp Groce of the impending arrangements. Two days later the major ordered all the Union officers, except those of the Harriet Lane, to reduce their personal belongings to what they could carry. Cowdin and the other officers of the Forty-Second Massachusetts suspected that they too would soon be paroled. The officers of the Harriet Lane departed Camp Groce on November 20, the same day the enlisted men signed their parole papers. Cowdin and the other officers, plus the enlisted men, remained at the camp.11

On December 7 the officers of the Forty-Second Massachusetts moved in with the officers of the Clifton and Sachem and prepared for the march to Camp Ford in Tyler, Texas. Two days later the enlisted prisoners left Camp Groce.11

The officers of the Forty-Second Massachusetts, the Clifton, and the Sachem drew fifteen days rations on December 10, and the following day the Confederates awakened the thirty-five prisoners before 5:00 a.m. to begin the march to Camp Ford. The officer in charge was a Captain Davis. The trek started at 8:30 a.m. and continued until early in the afternoon. The prisoners, being weak from almost a year in captivity, could only march approximately fourteen miles. Cowdin noted that he collapsed twice during the day and had to be carried in one of the wagons.11

The following day, December 12, the prisoners marched about fifteen miles and camped near Anderson, Texas. Some of the prisoners continued to have difficulty walking through the black and sandy soil and had to ride in wagons. The party made sixteen miles the next day
and halted twenty-one miles from Huntsville.

The routine continued as the men passed through Huntsville, averaging about sixteen miles per day. They reached the Trinity River on December 16, but it took them an hour to cross because rains had swollen the river to 700 feet in width. After crossing the river, the men pressed on toward Crockett, Texas. The party arrived at the Neches River on December 21, and the next day they reached Tyler, arriving at Camp Ford at 2:00 p.m.46

Camp Ford, located approximately four miles northeast of Tyler, was established in 1862 as a conscript training camp. The Confederates converted the site into a prisoner of war camp on July 30, 1863, when the Walter P. Lane Rangers arrived with forty-eight northern captives. The Confederates only incarcerated a small number of men until November, 1863, when they sent 461 prisoners to Camp Ford who had been captured at Stirling Plantation, Louisiana. During the same month local citizens and Confederate soldiers constructed a stockade around the compound. Most of these prisoners did not remain at Camp Ford through the end of November. Only sixty-five prisoners were at the prison when Cowdin and his fellow officers arrived on December 22.47

Cowdin described the compound as “a barren looking camp” and as “the most miserable hole we have been in.” The day of his arrival, Cowdin pitched his tent because there were not enough log cabins to accommodate all the men. The following day the prisoners built a cook house and received meal, sugar, salt, and rye for rations. By Christmas the men had completed construction on a cabin. They laid the floor and finished the bunks shortly afterwards. These modest improvements did not, however, result in higher morale for the prisoners.48

The number of prisoners remained small until the spring of 1864 when the Confederates sent over 3,600 captives to Camp Ford. Most of these men had been captured at the battles of Mansfield and Pleasant Hill, Louisiana. Additional prisoners arrived at the compound through the first week of July when the camp reached its population peak of approximately 4,800 officers and men.

Almost immediately after the Confederates sent 180 prisoners to the camp on July 6, 1864, both sides conducted an exchange. Cowdin, along with the remaining officers of the Forty-Second Massachusetts Regiment, departed Camp Ford on July 9. They travelled to New Orleans and arrived at midnight on July 23. They stayed there until July 31, receiving two months pay to cover their immediate needs. The unit departed for New York on the steamer Matanzas and arrived in seven days. On August 9 they returned to Boston. All of the men were in fair health except Cowdin, who suffered from chronic diarrhea, and Lieutenant Brown P. Stowell.49
Cowdin and the other men received their discharge in Boston on the date of their arrival in that city. Cowdin remained in Boston after the war, but the after effects of the wound he had sustained during the Battle of Galveston, along with his sickness, plagued him throughout the remainder of his life. He died on August 2, 1895 in Boston at the age of fifty-six."

NOTES

1Charles P. Bosson, History of the Forty-Second Regiment Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteers, 1862, 1863, 1864 (Boston: 1886), 132; Leon Mitchell, Jr., "Camp Ford, Confederate Military Prison," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 66(1962):3. The diary is housed at the Rosenberg Library in Galveston, Texas. Although the diary is not signed, significant evidence indicates that Cowdin was the author. Bosson noted in his work that only one officer of the Forty-Second Massachusetts Regiment was wounded during the Battle of Galveston; First Lieutenant William H. Cowdin of Company D received a ball in the back. Cowdin recorded that he was wounded during the battle. Also, the author wrote in late 1863 that the Confederates sent him to Camp Ford, near Tyler, Texas. He stated that he arrived on December 22, 1863. Mitchell maintained in his article that the officers of the Forty-Second Massachusetts arrived at Camp Ford on that date. Therefore, the author of the diary must have been an officer of the Forty-Second Massachusetts who was wounded at the Battle of Galveston. According to recorded evidence, Cowdin is the only individual who matches that circumstance.

2Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 1-3, 15.


6Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 109-111. Magruder demanded that Burrell surrender unconditionally. The officers and enlisted men retained their personal belongings. The Confederates, however, took all United States property except knapsacks, haversacks, and canteens. The same day the crew of the Harriet Lane joined the captured men of the Forty-Second Massachusetts; William H. Cowdin, Diary, January 1, 1863.

7Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 130-31. The Confederates took Cowdin and the other wounded Union soldiers to a hospital. The southerners transported the other captured men to Houston on January 2. Arial I. Cummings, surgeon of the Forty-Second Massachusetts, remained with the wounded until January 18; Houston Telegraph, in Civil War scrapbook at Rosenberg Library in archives, no date.
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Cowdin, Diary, January 19, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 173.

Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 175.

Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 175-77. Not all of the enlisted men left Houston. Several remained because of illness or to recover from their wounds; Cowdin, Diary, January 22, 1863; Lieutenant W. J. Howerton to Major B. Bloomfield, Official Records, series 2, vol. 5, 852-53.

Cowdin, Diary, January 22, 1863.


Cowdin, Diary, January 29, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 417. When the captured officers first reached Houston, the Confederates allowed them liberty of the city; however, this arrangement only lasted about one week. Cowdin, Diary, February 12; March 11, 12, 21, 31, 1863.

General Magruder to J. S. Besser, September 11, 1863, Official Records, series 2, vol. 6, 282-83. Magruder mistakenly thought Besser was the superintendent of the prison. The superintendent was actually Thomas Carothers.

Cowdin, Diary, April 29, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 419.

Cowdin, Diary, April 30, May 1, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 419-20.

Cowdin, Diary, May 1, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 419.

Cowdin, Diary, May 2-9, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 420; William Seale, Sam Houston's Wife: A Biography of Margaret Lea Houston (Norman, Oklahoma, 1970), 225. Houston claimed that his only amusement was walking to the penitentiary to talk with the Union prisoners.

Cowdin, Diary, May 7, 9, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 420-21.


Cowdin, Diary, June 27-30, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 421.

Mitchell, “Camp Groce,” 16; Cowdin, Diary, August 1, 1863.


Mitchell, “Camp Groce,” 16; Cowdin, Diary, September 18, 1863.


Cowdin, Diary, September 14, 30, 1863, and October 5, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 425.

Cowdin, Diary, August 8; October 14, 27; November 16, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 424.

First Lieutenant John Roberts to Lieutenant Colonel Richard B. Irwin, June 26, 1863, Official Records, series 2, vol. 6, 53-54; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 424. A major reason for the delay in paroling the Union prisoners was that the federal government was insisting that the South treat black prisoners on par with white prisoners.

Colonel Isaac S. Burrell to Edwin M. Stanton, November 10, 1863, Official Records, series 2, vol. 6, 493-94; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 427. During Cowdin's stay at Camp Groce, four officers and eighteen men died. Approximately ten or twelve of these men were sailors.


Cowdin, Diary, November 16, 20, 1863.

Cowdin, Diary, December 7, 9, 1863.

Cowdin, Diary, December 10, 11, 1863; Bosson, Forty-Second Massachusetts, 427.

Cowdin, Diary, December 12-22, 1863.


Cowdin, Diary, December 23, 25, 31, 1863. Cowdin's diary ends on December 31, 1863. He probably began a new diary with the beginning of 1864; however, this author has not been able to locate it.
