

## **Heavy Laden**

The psychological aftereffects of war are not just a modern-day plight. Following the Civil War, numerous soldiers returned with damaged bodies or damaged minds. Drawing on archival materials, including digitized records for more than 70,000 white and African American Union army recruits, newspaper reports, and census returns, Larry M. Logue and Peter Blanck uncover the diversity and severity of Civil War veterans' psychological distress. Their findings concerning the recognition of veterans' post-traumatic stress disorders, treatment programs, and suicide rates will inform current studies on how to effectively cope with this enduring disability in former soldiers. This compelling book brings to light the continued sacrifices of men who went to war.

Larry M. Logue is Senior Fellow at the Burton Blatt Institute at Syracuse University. He received a PhD in American Civilization from the University of Pennsylvania. His books include *To Appomattox and Beyond: The Civil War Soldier in War and Peace* and *Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post-Civil War America*, coauthored with Peter Blanck.

Peter Blanck is University Professor at Syracuse University and Chairman of the Burton Blatt Institute. He received a Juris Doctorate from Stanford University, where he was president of the Stanford Law Review, and a PhD in Social Psychology from Harvard University. His recent books include Routledge Handbook of Disability Law and Human Rights, coedited with Eilionóir Flynn, and eQuality: The Struggle for Web Accessibility by People with Cognitive Disabilities.





#### CAMBRIDGE DISABILITY LAW AND POLICY SERIES

Edited by Peter Blanck and Robin Paul Malloy

The Disability Law and Policy series examines these topics in interdisciplinary and comparative terms. The books in the series reflect the diversity of definitions, causes, and consequences of discrimination against persons with disabilities while illuminating fundamental themes that unite countries in their pursuit of human rights laws and policies to improve the social and economic status of persons with disabilities. The series contains historical, contemporary, and comparative scholarship crucial to identifying individual, organizational, cultural, attitudinal, and legal themes necessary for the advancement of disability law and policy.

The book topics covered in the series also are reflective of the new moral and political commitment by countries throughout the world toward equal opportunity for persons with disabilities in such areas as employment, housing, transportation, rehabilitation, and individual human rights. The series will thus play a significant role in informing policy makers, researchers, and citizens of issues central to disability rights and disability antidiscrimination policies. The series grounds the future of disability law and policy as a vehicle for ensuring that those living with disabilities participate as equal citizens of the world.



#### Books in the Series

- Ruth Colker, When Is Separate Unequal? A Disability Perspective, 2009
- Larry M. Logue and Peter Blanck, Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post-Civil War America, 2010
- Lisa Vanhala, Making Rights a Reality? Disability Rights
  Activists and Legal Mobilization, 2011
- Eilionóir Flynn, From Rhetoric to Action: Implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 2011
- Isabel Karpin and Kristin Savell, *Perfecting Pregnancy:*Law, Disability, and the Future of Reproduction, 2012
- Alicia Ouellette, *Bioethics and Disability: Toward a Disability-Conscious Bioethics*, 2013
- Arie Rimmerman, Social Inclusion of People with Disabilities: National and International Perspectives, 2013
- Andrew Power, Janet E. Lord and Allison S. DeFranco, Active Citizenship and Disability: Implementing the Personalisation of Support, 2013
- Lisa Schur, Douglas Kruse and Peter Blanck, *People with Disabilities: Sidelined or Mainstreamed?*, 2013
- Eliza Varney, Disability and Information Technology: A Comparative Study in Media Regulation, 2013
- Jerome E. Bickenbach, Franziska Felder and Barbara Schmitz, *Disability and the Good Human Life*, 2014
- Robin Paul Malloy, Land Use Law and Disability: Planning and Zoning for Accessible Communities, 2014
- Arie Rimmerman, Family Policy and Disability, 2015 Peter Blanck, eQuality: The Struggle for Web Accessibility by Persons with Cognitive Disabilities, 2016



> Anna Arstein-Kerslake, Restoring Voice to People with Cognitive Disabilities: Realizing the Right to Equal Recognition Before the Law, 2017

Arie Rimmerman, Disability and Community Living Policies, 2017

Paul Harpur, Discrimination, Copyright and Equality: Opening the e-Book for the Print-Disabled, 2017

Aisling de Paor, Genetics, Disability and the Law: Towards an EU Legal Framework, 2017

Piers Gooding, A New Era for Mental Health Law and Policy: Supported Decision-Making and the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 2017

Larry M. Logue and Peter Blanck, *Heavy Laden: Union Veterans, Psychological Illness, and Suicide*, 2018





# **Heavy Laden**

Union Veterans, Psychological Illness, and Suicide

LARRY M. LOGUE PETER BLANCK

Syracuse University

With a Foreword by Elyn Saks





### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314 – 321, 3rdFloor, Plot3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107133495 DOI: 10.1017/9781316459782

© Larry M. Logue and Peter Blanck 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-13349-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.





Come unto him – all ye that Labour, come unto him that are heavy laden, and he will give you Rest.

George Frideric Handel, "He Shall Feed His Flock,"
 Messiah (manuscript courtesy of Pierpont Morgan
 Library Department of Music Manuscripts
 and Books)





# **Contents**

page xiii
xvii
xxi
XXV
1
9
31
47
73
109
153
193
217

| xi |



### **Contents**

Appendix: Sizing Up Sources	221
Bibliography	229
Index	255



# **Figures**

1.1	A certificate of discharge for disability	page	25
2.1	Massachusetts suicides per 100,000 men, from	_	
	town clerks' reports, 1860–1900;		
	Massachusetts suicides per 100,000 men, from	_	
	medical examiners' reports, 1885–1900		38
2.2	Massachusetts death register for 1898,		
	recording former Pvt. Richard G. Lillie's		
	suicide by gunshot on April 25		42
2.3	Modified Massachusetts suicides per 100,000		
	white men		42
2.4	Former Sgt. Alfred Leeper of the 115th Illinois		
	Infantry, about 1900		44
4.1	Page from the Massachusetts state census of		
	1865, listing some of the residents of the		
	Discharged Soldiers Home in Boston		92

| xiii |



# List of Figures

4.2	The State Lunatic Hospital at Taunton,	
	Massachusetts, whose superintendent insisted	
	that only a few Union veterans suffered from	
	war-connected mental illness	95
5.1	Two physicians who treated soldiers and	
	veterans	122
5.2	Two physicians who attempted to publicize	
	Civil War veterans' anxiety disorders	125
5.3	Newspapers occasionally connected suicides	
	with Civil War service; former Pvt. Harrison	
	Horr's death, however, illustrates news	
	reports' more common practice of overlooking	
	veterans' service and connections with their	
	suicides	130
5.4	Images from the Central Branch of the	
	National Home for Disabled Volunteer	
	Soldiers, Dayton, Ohio	141
5.5	Surgeon's certificate from pension	
	examination of Charles Cole, describing his	
	suicide attempt in 1907	144
6.1	(a) The main building of the Government	
	Hospital for the Insane (later known as	
	St. Elizabeths), Washington, DC. The Hospital	
	was the main care facility for active-duty	
	service members and soldiers' home residents	
	with mental illnesses. (House Doc. 5, 55th	
	Cong., 3rd sess.). (b) The Hospital for the	
	Insane segregated patients by race, reserving	

xiv



# **List of Figures**

	the West Lodge for African-American men.	
	(RG 418-G331, National Archives)	162
6.2	Edmund Delaney was among thousands of	
	black soldiers assigned to postwar occupation	
	duty in the South	166
6.3	Claimant's statement recorded on the	
	Surgeon's certificate for the pension	
	examination of Francis Buxton	177
6.4	Page from the federal veterans' census of 1890,	
	Joseph Shipley of the 9th US Colored Infantry	
	listed as the fourth entry and remarks below	187
7.1	Photograph of Andersonville Prison by A. J.	
	Riddle, August 1864	202

| xv |





# **Tables**

1.1	Selected characteristics of veterans sampled	
	from 1865 New York census	page 15
1.2	Dependent relatives with blank occupation	
	listings, veterans and nonveterans sampled	
	from 1865 New York census	17
1.3	Average personal property in 1870, EI	
	samples of veterans and IPUMS sample of	
	men age 20–59	21
1.4	Average personal property in 1860, EI	
	samples of men who enlisted and IPUMS	
	sample of white men age 15–59	23
1.5	Deaths after reaching selected ages per 1,000	
	veterans in EI samples compared to estimate	S
	for US population, 1870-1879 and 1890-1899	28

xvii



### **List of Tables**

2.1	Massachusetts suicides reported by town	
	clerks and medical examiners, and difference,	
	1885–1900	38
3.1	Suicides of Massachusetts men age 20 and	
	older, 1860–1865	55
3.2	Suicides of Massachusetts men age 20 and	
	older, 1856–1859	56
3.3	Suicides of Massachusetts women, 1856–1865	58
3.4	Marital status and recorded parents,	
	Massachusetts male suicides age 40 and older	61
3.5	Overall death and suicide rates for	
	Massachusetts men age 40 and older,	
	1861–1862 and 1863–1864	64
3.6	Overall death and suicide rates for	
	Massachusetts men age 40 and older in three	
	regions, 1861–1862 and 1863–1864	65
4.1	Deaths from 1866 to 1870 per 1,000 veterans,	
	EI sample members	89
4.2	Suicide rates of Union army veterans and	
	civilian men age 20–50 in Massachusetts,	
	1865–1870	99
4.3	Motives reported in the press for suicides,	
	Massachusetts veterans and civilians age 20	
	to 50, 1865–1870	100
5.1	Rates of "insanity" in the 1890 federal census,	
	Union veterans and civilian men age 40–79	114

xviii



### **List of Tables**

5.2	Suicide rates for Massachusetts veterans and	
	civilian men in state and federal census years,	
	1870–1900	127
5.3	Suicide rates for pensioners and nonpensioned	
	Union veterans in Massachusetts, 1875, 1880,	
	1885, 1890	133
5.4	Suicide motives reported in the press,	
	Massachusetts veterans and civilians of	
	comparable ages, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890,	
	1895, 1900	134
6.1	Diagnosed disorders of African American Civil	
	War volunteers and a sample of white soldiers	
	sent to the Government Hospital for the	
	Insane	168
7.1	Suicide rates among veterans, Massachusetts	
	quinquennial aggregate, 1870–1900, and	
	National Violent Death Registration System	
	states, 2014	214
A.1	Census identification of Union veterans	226

xix





# Foreword

"I have a major mental illness... If you are a person with mental illness, the challenge is to find the life that's right for you. But in truth, isn't that the challenge for all of us, mentally ill or not?" In my 2007 memoir, *The Center Cannot Hold: My Journey through Madness*, I wrote these words. Although I have been fortunate to receive for my work on mental illness numerous honors, including a 2009 John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Fellowship (the so-called Genius Grant), in many ways, the memoir was my "coming out" as a person with schizophrenia.

Yet, despite the voluminous writings on the medicalization of mental illness, it is still difficult to grasp the very personal nature of the mind's operation. Fixing a line beyond which lies psychosis is difficult. How do we distinguish difference, or eccentricity, from frank medical illness?

xxi



#### Foreword

The study of suicide is similarly contested: the act is easier to define, but its inducements remain persistently elusive. If this is the case today, what is to be gained from investigating the US Civil War era, when masturbation was considered a major cause of mental illness and overcivilization was blamed for suicides?

Heavy Laden offers a compelling answer. The book takes its place in the lively debate about the fate of military veterans past and present. Mental illness and suicide among veterans are grave concerns in our own time; some historians have pointed to parallel symptoms among Civil War soldiers and veterans, while others contend that reading present issues into the past misrepresents ex-soldiers' readjustment. Larry M. Logue and Peter Blanck take a fresh approach to the debate. They use data from Union army veterans to explore tendencies toward mental illness and suicide, complementing this information with testimony from veterans themselves.

Logue and Blanck's approach then weaves individual case examples into a more systematic narrative of Civil War suicides. The approach, that is, provides both individual stories that grab the reader and more extensive, quantitative data comparing different groups around suicide, which put the individual stories into a richer context.

The authors recognize the need to consider the past on its own terms. Designations such as insanity, melancholia, and irritable heart have changed or disappeared since the

xxii



Foreword

nineteenth century. Translation of past diagnoses can be frustrating, but Logue and Blanck adopt a different tack. They make comparisons with civilians, as in the increased concealment of veterans' "insanity" from census-takers. The authors also compare the races, as in African Americans' greater reluctance to claim insanity in medical examinations for pensions.

Though the past was its own world, it retains links to our time. Logue and Blanck present a telling comparison between Union veterans' suicide rate in Massachusetts and that of ex-soldiers in 2014. Surprisingly, given the likely greater stigma against suicide then, the nineteenth-century rate was higher; perhaps treatment is better now. The authors thoroughly explore the implications of this finding, which brings the relationship between past and present into sharper focus. This book opens new scholarly dimensions and unique benchmarks for considering earlier veterans' so-called nervous afflictions.

Logue and Blanck's work here also builds upon and extends their 2010 book *Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post–Civil War America*, which was another seminal investigation of discrimination in the Civil War pension system as experienced by Union army veterans with differing disabilities and ethnicities, and by African Americans. Once again, Logue and Blanck offer ground-breaking analyses and insights of how veterans across the spectrum of humanity perceived and coped with warfare's consequences. Logue and Blanck brilliantly open up new

xxiii



#### Foreword

historical vistas, reminding me of the promise by which I closed *The Center Cannot Hold*: "the humanity we all share is more important than the mental illness we may not."

Elyn Saks

xxiv



# **Acknowledgments**

e would hardly say that our project was light work, but we will gladly confirm that it profited from the help of many hands. Our exploration of primary sources was aided by Jack Eckert of the Countway Medical Library at Harvard University; William Creech of the National Archives staff; Noelle Yetter of the Early Indicators project; Gilbert Abbe of the Genealogical Society of Utah's Family History Library; and Mary Killeen, Philip Ross, and Diana Foote of the Burton Blatt Institute at Syracuse University.

Burton Blatt Institute staff members were also willing and able participants in manuscript preparation. We are especially grateful to William Myhill, Jack Cronin, DaThao Nguyen, and Michelle Woodhouse. Celestia Ohrazda and Sally Weiss helped us obtain feedback for our findings.

XXV



#### Acknowledgments

The program of research for this project is supported, in part, by grants to the Burton Blatt Institute; information is available at http://bbi.syr.edu. We also deeply appreciate comments on our manuscript by Eric Dean and Jay Winter.

Our families helped in ways that eclipse mere acknowledgments. Barbara Logue's contribution as life coach, patient listener, and constructive critic has been inestimable. Bertha and Albert A. Blanck, no longer alive, and Wendy, Jason, Elise, Daniel, Albert, Caroline, and Harry Blanck are the sun around which all Peter Blanck's life endeavors revolve.

A portion of Chapter 2 was originally published as Larry M. Logue, "Elephants and Epistemology: Evidence of Suicide in the Gilded Age," *Journal of Social History* 49 (2015): 374–386. It is used here with the permission of Oxford University Press.

xxvi