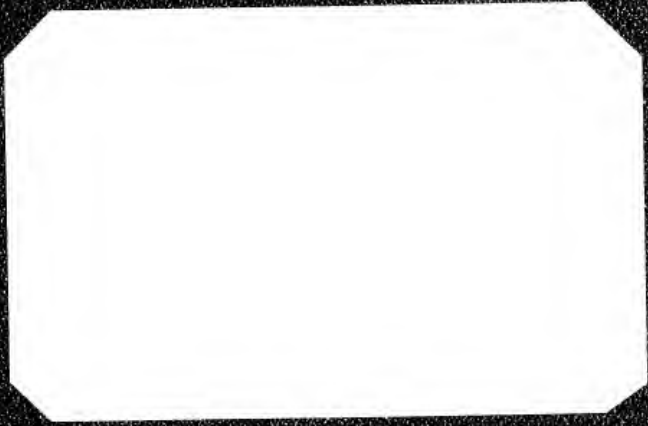


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[To replace the print of August 17. The only change is the addition of the Appendix on page four]

# The Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, Colored

JUNE, 1863 — SEPTEMBER, 1865

ADDRESS BEFORE THE BROOKLINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 28, 1914<sup>1</sup>

BY BURT G. WILDER, B.S., M.D., LATE SURGEON OF THE REGIMENT

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*The speaker praises the valor of the enlisted men and their conduct under distressing and unjust conditions as to pay and as to military recognition by the enemy; criticizes the general management of the Department of the South; concedes the prowess and heroism of the Confederates, and thinks they would have won but for our blockade, if they had armed their loyal Negroes, and if they had equalled the Federals in number; believes the Civil War might have been shortened by a year if liquor had been interdicted in our army; questions the control of battles by the Deity, and hopes for an expurgated Bible treating less of war.*

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Last Thursday evening, May 28, in accordance with the annual custom and by courtesy of C. L. Chandler Post 143, G. A. R., the meeting of the Society was held in Grand Army Hall, in the Town Hall. The speaker was Burt G. Wilder, emeritus professor of Neurology and Vertebrate Zoology in Cornell University, whose youth was passed in Brookline and Newton, and who, before joining the Fifty-fifth, had served nearly a year as medical cadet in a Washington army hospital, partly under the late Dr. Francis H. Brown of Boston and in company with the late Dr. J. F. Alleyne Adams of Pittsfield. On blackboards were written statistics<sup>2</sup> of the regiment, and there were shown photographs of some of the officers and enlisted men.

Dr. Wilder prefaced his address with complimentary mention of three Brookline victims of the Civil War who were not members of his regiment, *viz.*, C. A. Shurtleff, medical cadet, with whom he collected insects in boyhood; Lt. Col. C. L. Chandler, another beloved schoolmate, for whom this Post was named; and Brig.-Gen. E. A. Wild (previously the Wilder's family physician) who commanded the brigade including the 55th during the first three months of its service.

Of the sixty-eight commissioned officers<sup>3</sup> of the 55th, the two successive chaplains, W. Jackson and J. R. Bowles, were colored; likewise seven second lieutenants. The remainder were white, eleven being Harvard graduates; most of them had already seen service. The first commander was N. P. Hallowell of Philadelphia (late president of the National Bank of Commerce, Boston); his early retirement,

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<sup>1</sup> Under the title, "Professor Wilder talks of his regiment," a report of the address was published in *The Brookline Chronicle* for May 30. With some omissions, that report was reproduced in *The Guardian* (Boston) for June 6 under the title "Dr. Wilder on 55th Mass." Revised by the speaker, the original report was soon reprinted as a leaflet of which the present is a copy with omissions, corrections, and additions, the last mostly as footnotes. The writer is preparing a history of the regiment based mainly upon his daily letters, which were all preserved. He solicits information — especially if derived from letters or diaries — from or about any of his comrades and respecting the actions, "Honey Hill," Nov. 30, 1864, "Grimball's Causeway," and "Rivers' Causeway." In the "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion" (referred to as "War Records" here and elsewhere in this leaflet) the first and most considerable of these actions is indexed also under "Grahamville, S. C." (now Ridgeland), Vol. XLIV, serial number 92; the other two under "James Island, Skirmishes, Feb. 10, 1865," and "July 2, 1864." Although the numbers engaged on both sides were comparatively small, the attack at Rivers' Causeway was regarded by the Confederate military authorities as seriously imperilling the safety of Charleston; see J. Johnson's "The Defence of Charleston Harbor," p. 215; C. C. Jones' "Historical Sketch of the Chatham Artillery," pp. 197-200; and "War Records," serial numbers 65 (pp. 14-15, 121-126) and 66 (pp. 546 *et seq.*). It was notable for the courage and initiative of the enlisted men of the 55th in the face of unexpected, short-range artillery fire, and under a confusion or misapprehension of orders — which, indeed, may have been disregarded. It was also notable for the heroism of the outnumbered Confederates. Valuable information has been obtained from their commander, the late Lieut. T. M. DeLorme, and from one of the gunners, William Mather, Dauberville, Pa.; but there remain to be elucidated several points, especially as to the infantry support and as to the exact location of the guns, and other survivors are asked to communicate with me. The forthcoming volume (14) of the "Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts" will contain an account of this action presented by me before the Society, December 2, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from the "Record of the service of the Fifty-fifth regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry" (based upon the letters and diaries of the late Lt. Col. C. B. Fox, and printed for the Regimental Association, Cambridge, 1868); also from the writer's address, "The Brain of the American Negro," given before the First National Negro Conference, June 1, 1909, and printed in its *Proceedings*, pp. 22-66; (reprints may be obtained at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and from Mr. Butler R. Wilson, 34 School Street, Boston).

<sup>3</sup> This enumeration is derived from the "Record" mentioned in Note 2; *Br.* prefixed to the rank stands for *Brevet*. So many have died that *now* is prefixed to the addresses of those known to be living at the date of printing this revised leaflet, August, 1917. After the names of cities or towns *Massachusetts* is to be understood unless otherwise stated.

caused by a severe wound, was deeply regretted. His successor was Brig.-Gen. A. S. Hartwell,<sup>4</sup> Natick, late Judge of the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands: Br. Col. C. B. Fox, Dorchester, and W. Nutt, Natick, both late members of the State Legislature: Major S. Wales, Chelsea: Lt. and Adj. W. P. Hallowell: Capt. and Adj. L. B. Perry, Natick, now Buffalo, N. Y.: Major W. Pratt, Sterling (detailed as ordnance officer on Morris Is., where, from the explosion of a shell, he received an injury that caused his death soon after the war): Capt. and Adj. C. W. Mutell, Springfield: Capt. W. D. Crane, Boston (killed at Honey Hill while acting as aid to Gen. Hartwell): Lieut. D. H. Jones, Winchester, N. H. (accidentally killed in Florida): Lieut. E. R. Hill, Salem (killed soon after the battle of Honey Hill): Lieut. L. C. Alden, Boston, the first officer commissioned, died from disease soon after the regiment reached the South: Br. Major R. J. Hamilton, then and now of Springfield: Capt. C. C. Soule, Brookline (died Jan. 7, 1913)<sup>5</sup>: Capt. J. Gordon, Chelsea (now Chicago, Ill.): Capt. C. P. Bowditch, Boston, after a year of service transferred to the Fifth Mass. Cavalry, Colored, now Jamaica Plain: Br. Major F. Goodwin, Boston<sup>6</sup>: Br. Major J. D. Thurber, Plymouth, his present residence<sup>7</sup>: Br. Major W. H. Torrey, Foxboro: Capt. G. M. Woodward, Worcester, severely wounded at Honey Hill: Capt. T. F. Ellsworth, Ipswich, led in saving Gen. Hartwell at Honey Hill: Capt. J. C. Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio, shot through the body at Honey Hill: Br. Major G. T. Garrison, eldest son of William Lloyd Garrison, regimental quartermaster, spring of 1864: Br. Major N. E. Ladd, Groveland, assistant provost-marshal, summer of 1865: Br. Major G. F. McKay, Boston, wounded Feb. 9, 1865, while on the staff of Col. E. N. Hallowell: Br. Capt. Robertson James, Newport, R. I.<sup>8</sup>: Lieut. T. L. Harman, Cambridge, now Boston: Lieut. E. A. Wood, Boston: Lieut. H. N. Sheldon, Boston, where he still resides; resigned 1915, as Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Mass.: Lieut. E. P. Gould, Cambridge, later Major in the 59th: Lieut. and Quartermaster G. B. Mussey, Edgartown: Lieuts. J. O. Mowry, Athol: W. Gannett, St. Louis: E. S. Stimpson, Salem: H. Holt, Andover: E. Fowler, Amesbury: A. Marsh, Fitchburg: W. C. Roberts, Weston: J. A. Bean, Natick: E. H. Jewett, Roxbury; P. N. Sprague, E. Weymouth: S. C. Starbird, N. Y. City: C. L. Roberts, Weston, now National Mil. Home, Ind.: G. H. Carter, Boston: J. H. Kingston, Lexington, Ky.: W. D. Messinger, Peterboro, N. Y.: J. T. Nichols, Royalston, N. Y.: A. H. Bradish, Boston: C. F. Lee, Templeton: G. A. Glidden, Natick: M. E. Hunter, Boston. The first surgeon was W. S. Brown, So. Reading, later Stoneham: the other assistant surgeons were W. M. Babbitt, Braintree, afterward surgeon 103d U. S. Colored Infantry: and W. H. Lathrop, Boston, now Lowell. The following colored non-commissioned officers were promoted to be second lieutenants: — J. M. Trotter, afterward Register of Deeds for the District of Columbia and father of the editor of *The Guardian*: W. H. Dupree, long the esteemed superintendent of Post Office Station A in Boston, where he still resides: C. L. Mitchell, Boston, and J. D. Shorter, Washington, D. C., both wounded at Honey Hill: A. W. Shadd, West Chester, Pa.: R. M. White, Sumter, S. C.: M. F. Becker, Africa: A. M. Jones, Charlotte Co., Va. At different times there served Dr. Wilder as "orderlies"<sup>9</sup> two enlisted men whom he came to know thoroughly and of whom he spoke in the highest terms in all respects; neither would taste liquor; David Lee of Co. C., lives in Xenia, Ohio; Andrew J. Smith, Co. B, in Grand Rivers, Ky.<sup>10</sup>

Like the 54th, the 55th was recruited mainly at the North; out of 980 only 182 were born in the slave states. Both regiments went into the field under the threat of the Confederate Congress to kill or enslave Negro soldiers, if captured, and to put their officers to death.

Both regiments enlisted with the assurance that in all respects they were to be treated as were the white troops. When, later, through administrative misunderstanding or pusillanimity, they were offered the pay of laborers, they refused to accept it and *served for more than a year without a dollar*; meantime many had been killed in battle or died of disease, and the families of some were in want.

At Honey Hill, November 30, 1864, after several other regiments had been repulsed, a battalion of the 55th charged the Confederate works, losing in a few moments, killed and wounded, about half the officers and one-third the enlisted men engaged. At Rivers' Causeway, July 2, 1864, after the repulse of two other regiments by unexpected artillery, the 55th enlisted men, without orders, charged and captured

<sup>4</sup> At Honey Hill, while leading the last charge, he was thrice wounded, his horse was killed and fell upon him, and he was saved with difficulty.

<sup>5</sup> Soule's company (K) led the charge at Rivers' Causeway; he was slightly wounded at Honey Hill, of which battle he has published an account; as head of the Boston Book Company he promoted the publication of Capt. Emilio's admirable history of the 54th (Shaw's), "A brave black regiment." He was very witty and the life of any gathering of officers; at one of these he perpetrated the following epitaph on the speaker of whom he was a beloved schoolmate:

*"Hic jacet Burtus, doctor medicinae; ferus natura, ferior nomine."*

<sup>6</sup> At Rivers' Causeway he was severely wounded in both thighs, and while upon the stretcher the cross-bar was broken by a piece of shell; the timidity of the bearers upon that occasion was overcome by the unwonted imprecations of the speaker, who believes they will be forgiven; he has a vivid memory of his sensations under musketry, canister, and shell, and maintains that "Who says he was never afraid under fire is probably either a fool or a liar."

<sup>7</sup> Thurber was slightly wounded at Rivers' Causeway; his company (F) had been trained in artillery; he and the non-commissioned officers carried friction-primers and at least one of the two guns captured on that occasion was turned and fired at the retreating enemy.

<sup>8</sup> At Grimbalf's Causeway, James Id., S. C., where Major E. Manigault, the Confederate commander, was captured, Capt. James acted as aid to Gen. Hartwell, the brigade commander. In Henry James' "Notes of a Son and Brother" (p. 376) is mentioned a spectacular dash by James, mounted, into the Confederate works, for which it is said he was breveted Captain. The novelist's statement is apparently based upon his memory of a letter received from his brother; I hope to receive confirmation from other participants in the action.

<sup>9</sup> Another orderly was Frank E. Thayer, a white boy of ten, who, with his mother's consent, accompanied me and proved very devoted and efficient; he became a merchant in Springfield.

<sup>10</sup> Besides other soldierly deeds at Honey Hill, when the color-sergeant was blown to pieces by a shell, Smith seized and saved the colors, and later was made his successor. This is mentioned in the "Record" referred to in Note 2, and I have called attention to it in a letter (accompanied by a picture of Smith) in *The National Tribune* for December 10, 1914; had it been *officially reported at the time*, Smith probably would now hold a "Medal of Honor for Distinguished Gallantry in Action" under the Act of Congress of April 27, 1916.



the guns and fired one upon the retreating enemy. Out of about 350, 10 were killed and 16 wounded; see notes I and 7.<sup>11</sup>

"I was never sick a day. I ascribe my immunity largely to riding horseback whenever possible and absolute avoidance of pork and whiskey.<sup>12</sup> Our regiment contained an unusually large porportion of officers who were either total abstainers or very temperate. If liquor could have been interdicted in our army, excepting as prescribed by the surgeons, I believe the war might have been shortened by a year, with concomitant saving of life, health, and treasure.

"The Confederate solliers, on the average, were as brave as our own, and as fully convinced of the righteousness of their cause; their higher officers were often better trained. With equal numbers, with resources undiminished by our blockade, and with the arming of loyal Negroes (advocated at last by Gen. Cleburne and others) the Confederates would probably have won.

"Excepting the original occupation of Port Royal, the reduction of Fort Pulaski, the seizure of the south end of Morris Island in July, 1863, and the advances upon Fort Wagner by 'parallels' after the fearful slaughter of July 18, the military record of the Department of the South presents an almost unbroken series of avoidable disasters, accompanied by useless expenditure of ammunition, as upon Sumter, and barbarous disregard of non-combatants and property, as in the bombardment of Charleston.<sup>13</sup> I am proud of the achievements of our regiment and most of the others, but I am far from proud of what was done by the Department of the South as a whole under the direction of the 'men higher up,' most of whom are now dead.

"Wars are simply duels between nations. Commonly they have no better occasion than duels between individuals, and might be averted by the exercise of common sense, self-restraint, and the inter-mediation of disinterested parties. Might not the maintenance of the Union and the abolition of slavery have been accomplished without the Civil War, horrible and costly in itself and bitter in its consequences?

"Why then, did we, the peaceable, religious youths of the early sixties, enter the army as a matter of course? Partly because the Gospel of Peace had not been preached. Largely because we *were* religious. Because at church and in our homes we had listened to the Old Testament narratives of wars as if inseparable from human history. Even when explained (as by Swedenborg) upon the basis of an 'internal sense,' those warlike passages are not wholesome reading for the young. I hope to live to see the Bible expurgated of such and other unedifying matter.

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Whether, without the "stone that the builders rejected" at first, the Union edifice could have been restored

Please attach this slip between the two leaves of the folio, "The Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, Colored, . . . By Burt G. Wilder, Surgeon of the Regiment; printed Aug. 17, 1917; Appendix added Sept. 4, 1917."

The list of officers on the second page should have included not only Capt. C. E. Grant (added in the Appendix) but also Lt. W. P. Boynton, Boston. He was killed in the battle at Honey Hill near and at the same time with Capt. Crane, his dearest friend.

The proposition to provide tobacco in the U. S. Army ration, and its common inclusion among the supplies sent our new soldiers by their relatives and friends, lead me to add the following summary of portions of an address on "Narcotics" given Oct. 10, 1917, before the Norfolk County Woman's Christian Temperance Union: (1) So far as I can recall, during the Civil War, on an average not more than one in ten of our soldiers were habitual smokers; yet that war was fought and won. (2) The International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations has recently published (Association Press, 124 E. 28th Street, New York) a volume of 188 pages entitled "The Physical Effects of Smoking." The authors, Dr. George J. Fisher and Prof. Elmer Berry, conducted numerous careful and impartial experiments to show the effects of smoking upon heart rate and blood pressure, neuro-muscular precision, accuracy in baseball pitching, etc. They conclude (p. 177) that "clear eyes, steady nerves, and muscles capable of accurate response do not go with smoking; athletic trainers have long refused to permit men in training to smoke; evidently they are eminently justified in their position." In an introductory note Prof. Irving Fisher says: "The following essay would seem to indicate that smoking is more injurious than we have suspected. It will give pause to those who smoke or contemplate smoking, if they value their physical and mental alertness." (3) If youths can refrain from smoking for the sake of victory in sports they can and should when their country and civilization are at stake. (4) Those who find it difficult to overcome the habit may well inquire into the merits of the remedies advertised by Edw. J. Woods, 534 Sixth Avenue, New York, and the Newell Pharmacal Co., 717 Locust Street, St. Louis, Mo. The latter came to my notice too late for investigation. Respecting the former I wrote to three of the persons named in the circular, a builder, a physician, and a clergyman. They assured me that their relief was prompt and permanent. One added that "the person who takes it must be willing to quit." (5) In a small folio entitled "The Food Supply and the Human Submarine," Henry W. Farnam, Professor of Economics in Yale University, forcibly presents statistics respecting the enormous cost of alcoholics and tobacco; he then says: "If we would but cut our tobacco consumption in half we should release over 100,000, of whom about half are men." (6) If we should be defeated in the present "World War" it would be due, in part at least, to our wanton waste of labor and material at home, and to our unwisely supplying our fighters abroad with a poison that impairs their efficiency.

Burt G. Wilder, M.D., 93 Waban Hill Road, North, Chestnut Hill, Mass., Oct. 30, 1917.

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<sup>11</sup> In Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln, a history" (vol. 6, pp. 465-466) are letters from which the following are extracts: — From President Lincoln to General Grant, Aug. 9, 1863: "I believe it is a resource which, if vigorously applied now, will soon close the contest." From Grant to Lincoln, Aug. 23: "I have given the subject of arming the negro my hearty support. . . . They will make good soldiers." "Sambo's right to be kilt" was pungently verified by an Irish officer, Charles G. Halpine ("Private Miles O'Reilly") as recorded in the "Photographic History of the War," vol. 9, pp. 176-7. How the opportunity was embraced is eloquently told by Col. N. P. Hallowell, "The Negro as a soldier in the war of the Rebellion," read before the Mil. Hist. Soc. of Mass., Jan. 5, 1892, pp. 29, printed Boston, 1897, published 1913 in Vol. XIII of "Papers of the M. H. S. M.," pp. 289-313. "We called upon them in the day of our trial, when volunteering had ceased, when the draft was a partial failure, and the bounty system a senseless extravagance. They were ineligible for promotion, they were not to be treated as prisoners of war. Nothing was definite except that they could be shot and hanged as soldiers. Fortunate indeed is it for us, as well as for them, that they were equal to the crisis; that the grand historic moment which comes to a race only once in many centuries came to them, and that they recognized it; and when the war closed the names of one hundred and eighty-six thousand men of African descent were on the rolls."

Whether, without the "stone that the builders rejected" at first, the Union edifice could have been restored at all, it is now useless to discuss; certainly the struggle would have been greatly prolonged without the colored soldiers. To their fidelity, industry, valor, and occasional initiative, abundant testimony is supplied by the "War Records" (e.g., serial number 46, pp. 328-330, 362, and elsewhere), and by papers (e.g., "The Colored Troops," Gen. Selden Connor, in "War Papers," Maine Commandery of the Loyal Legion, vol. 3, pp. 61-82), "The Negro as a Soldier," by Brig. Gen. A. S. Burt, U.S.A., retired, "The Crisis," Feb. 11, 1913. Nevertheless, in the "Photographic History of the Civil War" their services are scantily set forth; in that magnificent travesty of history, the photo-play, "The Birth of a Nation," and in Thomas Dixon's interesting novel, "The Southerner" (pp. 331, 332, 355, 353, 435-438) they are grossly misrepresented. From intimate association during two years and three months, from the sources of information above referred to, and from reports of the Spanish War (e.g., Col. R. L. Bullard's article, "The Negro Volunteer," *Jour. Military Service Institution*, July, 1901, pp. 29-39) and from accounts of the recent troubles in Mexico, I conclude that the average Negro is a natural soldier, and that, in the present emergency, the failure to enlist his active and cordial co-operation would be an error, gigantic if not fatal.

<sup>12</sup> Likewise—and since, to the age of 76—to abstention from tobacco. Grounds for not joining the ranks of the present vast majority of voluntary slaves to a habit costly, needless, unwholesome, unjust, and a firemenace, are stated in documents obtainable from Dr. C. G. Pease, president of the Non-Smoker's Protective League of America, 101 W. 72d St., N. Y. City, and in (among others) the following letters from me: "The Cigaret Smoker," *New York Tribune*, March 24, 1911; "When Author's are Empty," *Boston Globe*, June 18, 1915; and "Would Christ Smoke?" *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 21, 1916.

<sup>13</sup> That and all other officially authorized misdeeds on both sides during the Civil War pale beside the atrocities ordered or connived at by the Imperial German Government during the last three years. There would be less surprise at the apparently recent outbreaks of Teutonic atavistic military mania (as exemplified in the section on "War-Worship" on pp. 133-59 of the "Gems of German Thought," compiled by William Archer, 1917) were there more general knowledge of the "Physiophilosophy" of Prof. Lorenz Oken of Munich (translated by Tulk, London, 1847, first read by me in 1867): "The art of War is the highest, most exalted art; the art of freedom and of right, of the blessed condition of Man and of humanity—the Principle of Peace." "*Die Kriegskunst ist die höchste, erhabenste Kunst; die Kunst der Freiheit und des Rechts, des seligen Zustandes des Menschen und der Menschheit — das Prinzip des Friedens.*" This is an amplification of one of the concluding sentences of the original edition of 1910: "*Der Held ist der Gott der Menschheit.*" Herein may be the answer to the question of Cassius, "Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed?"

"The 'War Records' contain frequent ascriptions of victories to an 'overruling Providence.' The Confederate commanders were more confident than ours. Nevertheless the final outcome was adverse.† Were there two 'Gods of War,' and did one retire? No. War is an invention of the Devil,<sup>15</sup> and he may encourage, restrain, or deceive. Unless we are prepared to concede that the Deity sanctioned the murder of Abraham Lincoln — the greatest calamity that ever befell this nation, especially the southern portion of it — we have no right to assume that over human battles He exercises any more control than over a dog-fight."

A striking example of feminine superiority and domination was found by the speaker during his service, in the shape of a spider, *Nephila*, afterwards described in scientific periodicals and (with illustrations) in the *Atlantic* for August, 1866. The female not only makes the net and catches the prey but weighs at least 100 times her mate; that is as if the average man of 140 pounds should attach himself to a woman of seven tons. Under such conditions Equal Suffrage would soon cease to be an academic question.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> As remarked by me at a meeting of the Brookline Historical Society, April 14, 1915 (reported in *The Chronicle* of the 17th): "The Confederate commanders made much more frequent and confident declarations of their partnership with the Deity than did the Union generals; a fact worth reflecting upon by the Kaiser and his apologists. Commending ex-President Eliot's recent reply to a clergyman's query, 'When may we begin to pray for peace?' — 'When Germany is at least driven back into her own territory, and when she has been forced to pay full indemnity to Belgium.' — (*Boston Herald*, April 13, 1915), Dr. Wilder insisted that — whatever influence (by formulating and crystallizing convictions into effective manifestations), they may exert directly upon the supplicants, or indirectly upon other human beings — there is no scientific evidence that supplications have ever affected the purposes of the Deity or changed the order of Nature." In the better and wiser times to come the collation of antagonistic appeals to an assumed single Deity during the Civil War and during the last three years may serve to indicate how slight has been our progress from belief in "Tribal Gods" and in the direct interference of an Almighty. Indeed, to specify undesirable conditions is to ascribe ignorance to Omniscience; to implore relief from them is to imply a lack of benevolent interest in our affairs. The assumption by Kaiser Wilhelm Hohenzollern of acquaintance with the political and military plans of the Almighty is paralleled only by the Rev. William Sunday's declaration of familiarity with the Divine scheme of salvation.

<sup>15</sup> As stated by me in a letter to the editor of the *New York Tribune* (Nov. 4, 1914) this phrase is substantially identical with one used by Col. C. B. Fox in a letter to his wife (dated "Folly Island, S. C., Jan. 26, 1864") transcribed in a manuscript volume deposited at the Massachusetts Historical Society which I was privileged to read in March and April, 1914. The phrase naturally suggests that which is popularly attributed to Gen. W. T. Sherman and this is a fitting occasion for dispelling the confusion between it and another epigram less widely known, *viz.*, "War is cruelty." This occurs in Sherman's letter of Sept. 12, 1864, addressed to the Mayor of Atlanta, Ga., justifying the expulsion of the inhabitants of that city. It is printed in the "War Records," vol. 39, serial number 78, pp. 418-419, and is reproduced in Bowman and Irwin's "Sherman and his Campaigns" (p. 225) and in the "Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman," vol. 2, pp. 125-127. The other phrase, "War is Hell," is the one commonly quoted. Nevertheless, as related in the footnote to p. 309 of "Sherman's Home Letters" (edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, New York, 1909) Sherman himself could not recall the occasion of its utterance, and its authenticity was not regarded as sufficiently established to warrant placing Henry Van Dyke's quatrain containing it on St. Gaudens' equestrian statue. In *The National Tribune* of Nov. 26, 1914, Mr. Charles O. Brown, the popular lecturer, declared that, at the graduating exercises of Orchard Lake Military Academy, near Pontiac, Mich., June 19, 1879, Sherman closed his address with these words, which he says are remembered as distinctly as if it were yesterday: "I have seen fields devastated, homes ruined, and cities laid waste; I have seen the carnage of battle, the blood of the wounded, and the cold faces of the dead looking up at the stars. That is war. *War is Hell.*"

<sup>16</sup> As the eradication of Slavery was a secondary object and result of the War for the Preservation of the American Union, so the present World War Against Military Autocracy may, as a "by-product", demonstrate the fitness of Woman for unwonted physical, intellectual, and political activities.

[Reprinted, August 17, 1917, revised, from *the Brookline (Mass.) Chronicle* of May 30, 1914.]

Copies of this leaflet have been sent to all named in it whose addresses are known to the undersigned. Additional copies will be mailed if the request is accompanied by ten cents and a directed one-cent envelope.

BURT G. WILDER

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[Appendix added September 4, 1917]

Through an inexcusable oversight in transcription there was omitted from line ten of page two the name of one of our few survivors, Capt. C. E. Grant, Boston, now Worcester. At Rivers' Causeway he acted under fire as aid to Gen. Hartwell, the brigade commander.

Equally inexcusable was the omission from note 11 of the name of one of the earliest, best informed, and most emphatic of the witnesses to the soldierly qualities of the Negro, the late Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the organizer and first commander of the First South Carolina, afterward the 33d U. S. Colored Troops. His favorable testimony is vividly related in the volume, "Army Life in a Black Regiment," especially in the chapter, "The Negro as a Soldier." As the result of a serious injury received in the expedition "Up the Edisto," July, 1863, Colonel Higginson was compelled to come north in May, 1864, and to resign in the following October. Therefore he was not present at Rivers' Causeway, in which his regiment participated. A partial account of the action was published as a letter in the *New York Evening Post* of July 26, 1864, and reproduced in Appendix D in the first edition (1882) of the volume named above; and the references to the action on pages 249, 252, and 356 of the second edition (1900), will be considered in the paper referred to at the end of note 1.

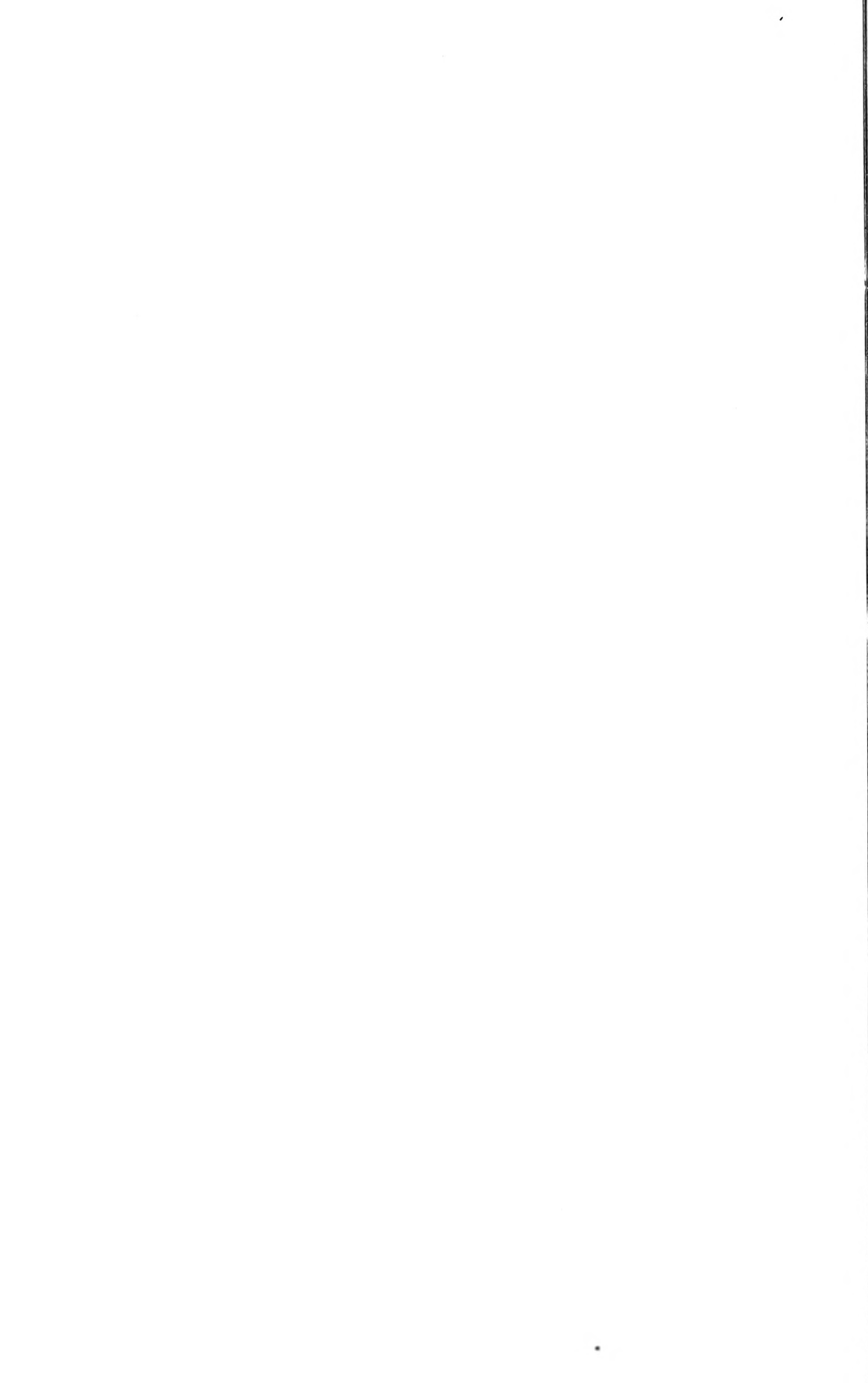
Addition to note 12, page three. — Never have I suffered from indigestion. The immunity is ascribed not only to discrimination and moderation in respect to food, but also to *thorough mastication*. The habit was formed from the example and precept of my vegetarian parents and was urged upon my pupils at Cornell from its beginning in 1868 so long as hygiene was embraced in my department. The dictum, "Eat slowly; masticate well; five minutes more at dinner may give you better use of an hour afterward," occurs in all the editions of my "Health Notes for Students" (now out of print). Even in the field, when conditions permit, the wise commander will not unduly abridge the time for meals.

To former comrades and to others concerned in gathering and preserving military records is commended the use of paper slips 3 x 5 inches; that is approximately the size of those which, unaware of their probable prior employment by others, I began to use in 1867, as stated in a paper, "On a method of recording and arranging information," printed on p. 242 of volume xi of the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History.





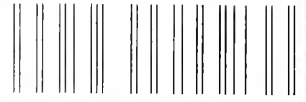








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