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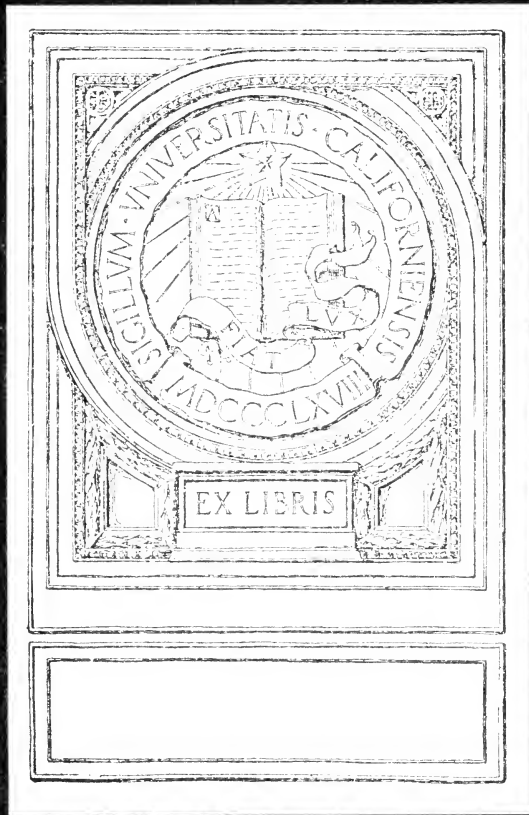
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THE FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEER INFANTRY
COLORADO

JUNE 1863—SEPTEMBER 1865

By BURT G. WILDER



THIRD EDITION

THE RIVERDALE PRESS
BROOKLINE, MASS.

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TO MMU
ABRORLAD

The Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, Colord

JUNE, 1863 — SEPTEMBER, 1865

ADDRESS BEFORE THE BROOKLINE (MASS.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 28, 1914

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

Third edition, revized, with additions and in Simplified Spelling, February, 1919¹

TO ANDREW CARNEGIE — whose efficient management of the Military Railroads and Telegraf Lines greatly facilitated the operations of the Civil War; whose regard for the African race has been abundantly shown; whose promotion of Simplified Spelling has diminisht labor and lengthend life; and whose munificent "Endowment for the Advancement of Teaching" has enabld the riter to employ upon his "Records and Recollections" the time that otherwise must hav been devoted to self-support — is gratefully dedicated the series of which this is a preliminary part.

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 hav won but for our blockade, if they had armd their loyal Negroes, and if they had equald the Federals in number; believes the Civil War might hav been shortend by a year if liquor had been interdicted in our army; questions the control of battls by the Deity, and hopes for an expurgated Bible treating les of war.

Among topics discust in the footnotes ar Drinking and Smoking by Soldiers; the Military Valu of the Negro; the late German Kaiser's Assumptions as to Divine Purposes; Oken's Laudation of War; and Sherman's "War is Hell."

¹ Under the title, "Professor Wilder talks of his regiment," a report of the address was publisht in *The Brookline Chronicle* of May 30, 1914. With some omissions, that report was reproduced in *The Guardian* (Boston) for June 6 under the title, "Dr. Wilder on 55th Mass." Revized by me, the original report was soon printed as a leaflet (the first edition) for limited distribution. With omissions, corrections, and additions — the last mostly as footnotes — the leaflet was reprinted as a four-page folio dated August 17, 1917; an Appendix was added to page 4, September 4, and on October 30 was inserted a slip with some additions. Of the second edition hav been distributed, *gratis*, 3,000 copies, *viz.*, to members of the regiment whose addresses wer known to me; to some members of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts (the others wil reciev copies of this, the third edition); to members of Grand Army posts of Boston, Brookline, Newton, and Ithaca, N. Y.; to many periodicals and public libraries; to colord citizens in varius parts of the cuntry, and to personal friends. This edition differs from the second in the rearrangement of paragrafs and notes, in the spelling of certain words (*see* belo), and in the incorporation of dates and other statistics obtained from the U. S. Pension Buro and from the manuscript book of Records of the Annual Meetings of the "Association of Officers of the Fifty-fifth"; the records ar signd by the successiv secretaries, Capt. Soule, Col. Fox, and Major Thurber; the first meeting was held in Boston, November 22, 1866; the 39th, the last recorded, November 17, 1904. My university duties never permitted me to attend the meetings. Those who wish copies of this edition should inclose self-directed one-cent envelopes, preferably of size No. 13 (6½ x 3½ inches); corrections and the present addresses of former members of the regiment wil be gratefully reciev'd. To those concern'd 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 probabl 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*.

In this edition, *excepting in quotations from other riters*, the spelling conforms mainly to the rules last adopted by the Simplified Spelling Board, of the Advisory Council of which I became a member, October 23, 1907. The Circulars of the Board may be obtaind, *gratis*, from the secretary, Mr. H. G. Paine, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City. Deviations from the recommendations of the Board as a whole commonly follo the proposals of Henry Holt, LL.D., one of the original members of its Executiv Committee, in the article, "Economized Commercial Spelling," revized and reprinted from *The Unpopular Review* for October-December, 1915.

From the *Brookline Chronicle*, May 30, 1914. — "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 Brookline Historical 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 [Judiciary Square] partly under the late Dr. Francis H. Brown of Boston, and in company with the late Dr. J. F. A. Adams of Pittsfield. On blackboards were written statistics.²

"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, after losing an arm in battle, commanded the brigade including the 55th during the first three months of its service."³

Of the sixty-eight commissioned officers⁴ of the 55th the two successive chaplains were colored; also eight who were non-commissioned officers when the regiment entered the service, who were commissioned at different later dates, and in some cases not mustered for various reasons never to their own discredit. Excepting these ten, all the officers were white; eleven were Harvard graduates; nearly all had seen previous service.

The first commander of the 55th was N. P. Hallowell of Philadelphia, late president of the National Bank of Commerce, Boston; his retirement, November 2, 1863, caused by a severe wound received at "Antietam," was deeply regretted. He died April 11, 1914. As commander he was succeeded, in turn, by A. S. Hartwell,⁵ Natick, C. B. Fox,⁶ Dorchester, and W. Nutt,⁷ Natick.

In the following list of the other officers the rank is that under which they were mustered out; *r.* stands for *resigned* and *d.* for *died*. Unless otherwise stated it may be inferred that they were mustered out with the regiment August 29, 1865. The members of the "Field and Staff" are named first.

Major S. Wales, Chelsea; *r.* November 22, 1864; *d.* September 14, 1895. — Major W. Pratt,⁸ Sterling. — Surg. W. S. Brown, South Reading; *r.* July 1, 1865; *d.* January 6, 1910, in Stoneham. — Surg. B. G. Wilder; see initial paragraph. — Asst.-Surg. W. M. Babbitt, Braintree; surgeon 103d U. S. Infantry, colored, March 7, 1865–April 30, 1866; *d.* November 25, 1914. — Asst.-Surg. W. H. Lathrop, Boston; *d.* December 25, 1917. — Quartermaster G. B. Mussey, Edgartown; *r.* August 19, 1864; *d.* October 23, 1913. — Quartermaster J. O. Mowry, Athol; *d.* September 18, 1884. — Capt. and Adj. L. B. Perry, Natick, now Buffalo, N.Y. — Lt. and Adj. W. P. Hallowell, brother of the first commander; *r.* from ill health February 12, 1864; *d.* April 10, 1894. — Capt. and Adj. C. W. Mutell, Springfield; *d.* November 18, 1912. — Chaplain W. Jackson, New Bedford; *r.* January 14, 1864. — Chaplain J. R. Bowles, Chillicothe, O.; *r.* June, 1865; *d.* September 3, 1874. — Capt. W. D. Crane,⁹ killed at "Honey

² 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 Col. Charles B. Fox, and printed for the Regimental Association, Cambridge, 1868; also from my 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 from Mr. Butler R. Wilson, 34 School Street Boston. I am preparing a more complete history of the regiment, based upon my letters — approximately daily — which were all preserved, supplemented by later documents, published and unpublished. I desire further information (especially if derived from letters or diaries) from or concerning any members of the regiment, and respecting the actions, "Honey Hill," "Grimball's Causeway," and "Rivers' Causeway." In the "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion" (referred to as "War Records" in this part) the first named and most considerable of these actions is indexed also under "Grahamville, S. C." (now Ridgeland), serial number 92; the other two under "James Island, Skirmishes," February 10, 1865, serial number 99, and July 2, 1864, serial numbers 65 and 66, respectively. Several of the volumes of the "War Records" comprise more than one part, separately pagged and indexed, and designated "serial numbers," as explained in the General Index, serial number 130.

³ The *Brookline Chronicle* for December 8, 1918, has a group picture including Wild, Chandler, and Chandler (wrongly spelt *Chandler*) who married a sister of the second.

⁴ This enumeration is derived from Col. Fox's "Record" mentioned in note 2. The seven who had died before the printing of that pamphlet were therein placed in a separate category (pp. 90–97); in this part they are enumerated with the rest according to the rank under which they were mustered out. *Br.* stands for *Brevet*. So many have died that *now* precedes the addresses of the few known by me to be living at the date of printing this third edition. Unless otherwise stated *Massachusetts* is to be understood after the names of cities and towns.

⁵ *Hartwell*, after previous service from May, 1861, was commissioned Lt.-Col. of the 55th May 30, 1863, and Colonel, December 11. At "Honey Hill," November 30, 1864, while leading the last charge, he was twice wounded, his horse was killed and fell upon him, and he was saved with difficulty; see note 15. For this he was brevetted Brig.-General, U.S. Vols. He was a member of the General Court (Mass. Legislature) 1866–7, became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands in 1907, resigned in 1911, and died August 30, 1912.

⁶ *Fox*, after previous service from April 17, 1861, was commissioned Major in the 55th, June 1, 1863, Lt.-Col., December 1, and Brevet-Colonel, U. S. Vols., March 13, 1865. He was a member of the State Legislature, 1865–6 and died March 30, 1895. During much of our service with the 55th we were congenial tent-mates. So far as known to me we were the only members of the regiment who rode home practically every day and whose letters were all preserved. Selections from his letters were afterward transcribed by him into blank books that were deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society; I was privileged to read them in March and April, 1914.

⁷ *Nutt*, after previous service from May, 1861, was commissioned Captain in the 55th, May 31, 1863; Major, November 28, 1864; Lt.-Col., June 25, 1865; and Brevet-Colonel, U. S. Vols., to date from March 13. He served his town in many capacities, was State Senator in 1902, and died October 30, 1909.

⁸ *Pratt* was early detailed for engineer duty on Morris Island; a shell exploded near him causing an injury to the brain that resulted in his death, December 30, 1866.

⁹ *Crane*. — Served at "Honey Hill," November 30, 1864, as aid and chief-of-staff of Col. Hartwell, there in command; after his horse was wounded he continued to advance but was soon killed; his body and that of Lieut. Boynton, his intimate friend, killed at the same time, were buried on the field by order of Col. Colcock, the Confederate commander.

Hill." — Br. Major R. J. Hamilton, Springfield, his present residence. — Capt. C. E. Grant,¹⁰ Boston, now Worcester. — Capt. C. C. Soule,¹¹ Boston; *d.* January 7, 1913. — Capt. J. Gordon, Chelsea, now Chicago, Ill.; *r.* from il helth, July 20, 1864. — Capt. C. P. Bowditch,¹² Boston, now Jamaica Plain. — Br. Major F. Goodwin¹³; *d.* September 26, 1895. — Br. Major J. D. Thurber,¹⁴ Plymouth his present residence. — Br. Major W. H. Torrey, Foxboro; *d.* April 14, 1914. — Capt. G. M. Woodward, Worcester; severely wounded at "Honey Hill"; *d.* September 24, 1904. — Capt. T. F. Ellsworth,¹⁵ Ipswich; *d.* August 29, 1911. — Capt. J. C. Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio; severely wounded at "Honey Hill." — Br. Major G. T. Garrison¹⁶, Boston; *d.* January 26, 1904. — Br. Major N. E. Ladd, Groveland; ass't. provost-marshal, 1865; *d.* June 6, 1916. — Br. Major G. F. McKay, Boston; wounded February 9, 1865; *d.* April 4, 1899. — Br. Capt. W. Gannett, St. Louis, Mo. — Br. Capt. R. James,¹⁷ Newport, R. I.; *d.* July 4, 1910. — Br. Capt. W. C. Roberts, Weston; *d.* December 18, 1904. — Br. Capt. G. H. Carter, Boston; *d.* before 1914. — Br. Capt. J. A. Bean, South Natick; *d.* September 21, 1898.

First Lieutenants: — W. P. Boynton, (See note 9) Boston; kild at "Honey Hill." — D. H. Jones, Jamaica Plain, kild, March 3, 1864, accidentally during a supposed attack. — E. R. Hill, Salem; kild in South Carolina, December 11, 1864. — L. C. Alden, Boston; *d.* October 5, 1863. — E. A. Wood, Chelsea; *r.* November 20, 1863; *d.* — E. S. Stimpson, *r.* June 6, 1864. — Harrison Holt, Andover; *r.* October 14, 1863. — E. Fowler, Amesbury; *r.* June 15, 1865. — T. L. Harman, Cambridge; *r.* June 3, 1865; *d.* March 1, 1918. — A. Marsh, Fitchburg; *r.* September 20, 1864; *d.* before 1914. — E. H. Jewett, Roxbury; slightly wounded at "Honey Hill." — H. N. Sheldon, Boston, where he stil livs; Justice Supreme Judicial Court of Mass., 1905-15. — P. N. Sprague, E. Weymouth; *d.* August 7, 1907. — S. C. Starbird, New York City. — C. L. Roberts, Weston; now National Military Home, Indiana. — Br. First Lt. C. F. Lee, Templeton; had been seriously wounded in previus servis; *d.* October 22, 1875.

Second Lieutenants. — J. H. Kingston, Lexington, Ky.; *r.* July 1, 1863. — E. P. Gould, Cambridge; later Major in the 59th; after the war professor in the Newton Theological Seminary. — W. D. Messenger, Peterboro, N. Y.; *r.* December 27, 1863. — J. T. Nichols, Royalston, N. Y.; *r.* June 4, 1864. — A. H. Bradish, Boston; *r.* June 30, 1864. — G. A. Glidden, Natick. — M. E. Hunter, Boston. — These colord non-commissiond officers wer made second lieutenants: see note 18 and remark at the beginning of the list of officers: — J. F. Shorter, J. M. Trotter, W. H. Dupree, C. L. Mitchell, A. W. Shadd, R. M. White, M. F. Becker, and A. M. Jones.

¹⁰ Grant. — At "Rivers' Causeway" he acted under fire as aid to Gen. Hartwell, the brigade commander.

¹¹ Soule. — His company (K) led the charge at "Rivers' Causeway"; he was slightly wounded at "Honey Hill," of which battl he has publishd an account; as hed of the Boston Book Company he promoted the publication of Capt. Emilio's admirabl 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 epita on the riter, of whom he was a belovd schoolmate: — "*Hic jacet Burtus, doctor medicinae; ferus natura, ferior nomine.*"

¹² Bowditch. — Transferrd, June 7, 1864, to the Fifth Mass. Cavalry, Colord; *r.* on account of ilnes, August 23, 1864; has preservd letters concerning his servis with the Fifty-fifth; distinguisht archeologist; Jamaica Plain.

¹³ Goodwin. — At "Rivers' Causeway" he was wounded in both thighs. He was soon reacht by me and placed upon a stretcher. At the explosion of a shel over us the bearers dropt the stretcher. He raizd his hed and at that instant the cross-bar on which it had rested was broken by the "lazy piece" of the shel. This narro escape was witnessd by me and recorded in my first letter respecting the action. The letter also states that the bearers wer recald to their duty by my unaccustomd profane objurgations. Sergt. A. J. Smith acted as orderly for Col. Hartwell in that action, and has ritten me (February 19, 1918) that he remembers his criticism of the bearers. But their timidty was quite natural. It was also my own first similar experience. There wer musketry, shel, and canister at close range, and no shelter whatever. A medical officer is not supposed to be in the advance, but the artillery was wholly unexpected. My recollections ar stil vivid, and I am disposed to maintain that "Who says he was never afraid under fire is probably iether a fool or a liar."

¹⁴ Thurber. — He was slightly wounded at "Rivers' Causeway"; his company (F) had been traintd in artillery; he and the non-commissiond officers carried friction-primers and at least one of the two guns captured in that action was turnd and fired at the retreating enemy.

¹⁵ Ellsworth. — At "Honey Hill" he took the lead in saving Col. Hartwell under circumstances of great difficulty and danger.

¹⁶ Garrison. — Eldest son of the great abolitionist. In the spring of 1864 he servd as regimental quartermaster. His "War Diary" has been intrusted to me by his son, Mr. Rhodes A. Garrison, and wil prove very helpul.

¹⁷ James. — At "Grimball's Causeway," 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 mentiond a spectacular dash by James, mounted, into the Confederate works, for which it is said he was brevetted Captain. The novelist's statement is apparently based upon his memory of a letter reciev'd from his brother; I hope to obtain confirmation from other participants in the action.

¹⁸ Shorter, Delaware, Ohio; 1st Sergt. Co. D., June 24, 1864; 2d Lieut., March 24, 1864, but not musterd til July 1, 1865; wounded at "Honey Hill," November 30, 1864; *d.* soon after the regiment was musterd out. — Trotter, Cincinnati, Ohio; 1st Sergt. Co. K, June 11, 1863; Sergt.-Major, November 19, 1863; 2d Lieut., April 10, 1864, but not musterd til July 1, 1865; slightly wounded at "Honey Hill"; Recorder of Deeds, D.C., author of book on colord musicians, father of editor of *The Guardian*; *d.* February 26, 1892. — Dupree, Chillicothe, Ohio; 1st Sergt. Co. H, June 25, 1863; 2d Lieut., May 30, 1864, but musterd July 1, 1865; long the esteemd superintendent of Post Offis Station A in Boston, where he stil resides. — Mitchell, Boston; Sergent, June 20, 1864; 2d Lieut., September 20, 1865; not musterd because of los of foot at "Honey Hill," November 30, 1864; discharged, October 20, 1865; member of General Court, 1866-7; *d.* April 13, 1912. The four folloing wer commissiond 2d Lieutenants, but not musterd in on account of the muster out of the regiment. — Shadd, Chatham, C. W.; at varius times Sergent, Quartermaster-sergent, and Serg.-major; practist law in Mississippi; *d.* November 15, 1878. — White, Ohio; sergent and commissary-sergent; *d.* March 3, 1905. — Becker; at different times Commissary sergent and Quartermaster-sergent; was member of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina. — Jones; at varius times Sergent, 1st Sergent, and Colord sergent; *d.* October 29, 1875.

At different times there cared for me and my horse¹⁹ two enlisted men for whom I had the highest respect as men and as soldiers; both wer irreprouchabl; neither would taste liquor; — David Lee of Co. C. now livs in Xenia, Ohio,²⁰ Andrew J. Smith of Co. B, in Grand Rivers, Ky.²¹

Like the 54th, the 55th was recruited mainly at the North; out of 980 only 182 wer born in the slave states. Both regiments went into the field under the thret of the Confederate Congress to kil or enslave Negro soldiers, if captured, and to kil their officers. Both regiments enlisted with the assurance that in all respects they wer to be treated as wer the white troops. When, later, thru administrativ misunderstanding or pusillanimity, the enlisted men were offerd the pay of laborers, they refused to accept it and *servd for more than a year without a dollar*; meantime many had died of disease, or had been kild in battl, and the families of some wer in want.

At "Honey Hill" after several other regiments had been repulst, a battalion of the 55th charged the Confederate works, losing, kild and wounded, about half the officers and one-third the enlisted men engaged. At "Rivers' Causeway",²² after the repulse of two other regiments by unexpected artillery, the 55th enlisted men, *without orders*, charged and captured the guns and fired them upon the retreating enemy. Out of about 350 present of the 55th, 10 were kild and 16 wounded.²³

¹⁹ *Thayer*. — Another body-servant was F. E. Thayer, a white boy of ten, who, with his mother's consent, accompanid me and proved very devoted and efficient; he became a merchant in Springfield, where he died July 6, 1911.

²⁰ *Lee* has servd for thirty-three years as a scool janitor, trusted and highly respected by the Board of Education.

²¹ *A. J. Smith*. — Besides other soldierly deeds, at "Honey Hill," when the color-sergent was blown to pieces by a shel, Smith siezd and saved the colors, and later was made his successor. This is mentiond by Col. Fox in the "Record" referd to in note 2, and I hav cald 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 Distinguisht Gallantry in Action" under the Act of Congress of April 27, 1916.

²² "Rivers' Causeway." — Altho the numbers engaged on both sides were comparatively small, this attack was regarded by the Confederate military authorities as seriously imperiling 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, 121-6) and 66 (pp. 546 *et seq.*). It was notabl for the courage and initiativ 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 notabl for the heroism of the outnumbered Confederates. Valuabl information has been obtaind from their commander, the late Lieut. T. M. DeLorme, and from one of the gunners, William Mather, now Dauberville, Pa.; but there remain to be elucidated several points as to the infantry support and exact location of the guns. An oral account of this action was presented by me before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, December 2, 1913, but the manuscript was not completed for publication in the recently issued volume (14) of its "Papers."

²³ *The Negro as a Soldier*. — In Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln, a history" (vol. 6, pp. 465-6) ar letters from which the folloing ar extracts: — From President Lincoln to General Grant, August 9, 1863: "I believe it is a resource which, if vigorously applied now, will soon close the contest." From Grant to Lincoln, August 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 versified 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," red before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, January 5, 1892, pp. 29, separately printed, Boston, 1897, publisht, 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." For an admirable account of the raising of the Massachusetts colord regiments and of the difficulties respecting their pay and their military status see chapter X, "The Negro Soldier," of H. G. Pearson's "The Life of John A. Andrew," Boston, 1904.

One of the earliest, best informd, and most emfatic of the witnesses to the soldierly qualities of the Negro was the late Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the organizer and first commander of the First South Carolina, afterward the 33d U. S. Colord Troops. His 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 recievd in the expedition "Up the Edisto," July, 1863, Colonel Higginson was compeld to go north in May, 1864, and to resign in the folloing October. Therefore he was not present at "Rivers' Causeway," in which his regiment participated. A partial account of the action was publisht 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; the references to the action on pages 249, 252, and 356 of the second edition (1900), wil be considered in the paper referd to at the end of note 22.

Whether, without the "stone that the builders rejected" at first, the Union edifs could have been restored at all, it is now useless to discuss; certainly the contest would have been greatly prolongd without the colord soldiers. To their fidelity, industry, valor, and occasional initiativ, abundant testimony is supplied by the "War Records" (serial number 46, pp. 328-30, 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," February 11, 1913. Nevertheless, in the "Photographic History of the Civil War" their services are scantily set forth; in that magnificent travesty of history, the foto-play, "The Birth of a Nation," and in Dixon's interesting novel, "The Southerner" (pp. 331, 332, 355, 383, 435-8) they are grossly misrepresented. A juster estimate of their military valu was offerd by the Confederate general, Cleburne, in January, 1864 ("War Records," serial number 110, p. 591). From intimate association during two years and three months, from the sources of information above referd to, 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), from accounts of the recent tribuls in Mexico, and from current reports, I conclude that the average negro is a natural soldier, and that, in the recent "World War," the failure to enlist his activ and cordial co-operation would have been a great and inexcusabl error.

The Confederate soldiers, on the average, were as brave as our own, and as fully convinced of the justness 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 by General Cleburne and others) the Confederates would probably have won.

Excepting the original occupation of Fort 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 Fort Sumter, and barbarous disregard of non-combatants and property, as in the bombardment of Charleston.²⁴ 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 intermediation 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.

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.²⁵ Were there two "Gods of War," and did one retire? No. War is an invention of the Devil,²⁶ 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 me during my service, in the shape of a spider, *Nephila*, afterward 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

²⁴ *The Bombardment of Charleston*. — 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 four 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 acquaintance with 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 seeligen 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.*"

²⁵ *Does Prayer Influence the Deity*. — 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 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 four 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 Wilhelm von Hohenzollern of acquaintance with the political and military plans of the Almighty is paralleled only by the Rev. William A. Sunday's declaration of familiarity with the Divine scheme of salvation.

²⁶ *War is an Invention of the Devil*. — As stated by me in a letter published in the *New York Tribune* (November 4, 1914) this phrase is substantially identical with that used by Col. C. B. Fox in a letter to his wife (dated "Folly Island, S. C., January 26, 1864") transcribed in a manuscript volume referred to in note 6. It 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 September 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. 418-19, 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. 125-7.

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. Gauden's equestrian statue. In *The National Tribune* of November 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 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.*"

100 times her mate; that is as if the average man of 140 pounds should attach himself to a woman seven tons. Under such conditions Equal Suffrage would soon cease to be an academic question.²⁷

During my servis with the regiment I was never sick a day.²⁸ I ascribe my immunity largely to horseback whenever possibl and to absolute avoidance of pork and whisky. Our regiment includ unusually large proportion of officers who wer iether total abstainers or very temperate. If liquo hav been interdicted in our army, excepting as prescribed by the surgeons, I believ the war mig been shortend by a year, with concomitant saving of life, helth, property, and money.²⁹

²⁷ As the eradication of Slavery was a secondary object and result of the War for the Preservation American Union, so the recent World War Against Military Autocracy may, as a "by-product," hav dstrated the fitness of Woman for unwonted fical, intellectual, and political activities.

²⁸ Niether during nor since the Civil War, hav I sufferd from indigestion. That freedom is ascribed crimination and moderation respecting food and to *thoro mastication*. This habit was formd from the and precept of my vegetarian parents and was urged upon my pupils at Cornell from its opening in 1868 as Hygiene was included in my department. The dictum, "Eat slowly; masticate well; five minutes dinner may giv you better use of an hour afterward," was formulated in an article, "Concerning Fo the *Cornell Era* for Nov. 24, 1871 (antedating by a quarter of a century the similar doctrin of the Horace Fletcher), and occurs in all the editions of my "Health Notes for Students" (now out of print).

²⁹ *Smoking and Drinking by Soldiers*.—Folloing is part of an article, "Should Our Yung Sold Encouraged to Smoke?", ritten by me at the request of Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Superintendent of the Battle (Michigan) Sanitarium and publishd by him as editor in *Good Health* for February, 1918; a reprint may pany this, or will be sent, *gratis*, on reciet of a stamp and directed one-cent envelop:—"In support of p tions that *tobacco smoking is artificial, needless, unwholesome, costly, a fire-menace, wasteful of space in lit an obtunder of the ethic sense, unjust, and inconsistent with exhortations to 'Imitatio Christi'*, statement arguments have been offered by me on varius occasions since the fall of 1868 when first I began to adv students at Cornell University as to helth and conduct." During the Civil War, so far as I can recall, no than ten percent of our officers and enlisted men wer habitual smokers. Now, as among male civilia proportion seems to be revert. Notwithstanding the relatively liberal pay of our army, tobacco is now pr as part of the "ration." Cigars, cigarets, tobacco, and pipes are commonly included among the suppl to our soldiers abroad by their relatifs and frends. There is a general impression that smoking is a h solace for those accustomed to it. Is not this a perilus delusion? Military efficiency depends largel conditions of the nervus and muscular organs such as are demanded for success in certain games training for which tobacco is forbidden. The International Committee of the Young Men's Christian A tions has recently publishd (Association Press, 124 E. 28th Street, New York) a volume of 188 pages e "The Physical Effects of Smoking." The authors, Dr. George J. Fisher and Prof. Elmer Berry, cor numerous careful and impartial experiments to show the effects of smoking upon heart rate and blood p neuro-muscular precision, accuracy in baseball pitching, etc. They conclude (p. 177) that clear eyes nerves, and muscles capable of accurate response do not go with smoking. In an introductory note Prof. Fisher says: "The following essay would seem to indicate that smoking is more injurious than we have sus It will give pause to those who smoke or contemplate smoking, if they value their physical and mental alert This aspect of the subject is wel stated in a pamphlet, "Tobacco and the Soldier," by Prof. H. W. Far Yale University, who had alrely delt with the economic side in "The Food Supply and the Huma marine."

Literature on the several aspects of the tobacco question may be found from Dr. Charles G. president of the Non-Smokers' Protective League of America, 101 W. 52d St., New York City. M views ar recorded in (among others) the following: "Health Notes for Students," successiv editions; "F and Morality," leaflet distributed at special lectures on Intemperance and Social Diseases; Final (1903) of the Committee (of which I was one) on "Alcohol and Narcotics" of the N. Y. State Teachers Association; "The Cigarette Smoker," *N. Y. Tribune*, Mar. 24, 1911; "Views as to Studer duct," *N. Y. Tribune and Ithaca* (N. Y.) *Journal*, June 15, 1911; "When Authors Are Empty," *Bosto June 18, 1915*; "Smoking on the Campus," red at the First Non-Smokers' Protective League of Ameria vention, in San Francisco, Cal., July 17, 1915 (unpublishd); "Would Christ Smoke?" *Brooklyn Eagl 21, 1916*. In letters publishd in *The Tribune* of Nov. 19, 1910, and March 24, 1911, and in the *Ithaca J. of March 25, 1911*, "smogs" was employd as a concise and expressiv term for those who smoke in where non-smokers have equal rights.

As may be inferd from the foregoing paragrafs I regard as more or les objectionabl any use of tob excepting as an insecticide—by any person at any age and under any conditions. Respecting a beverages my views cannot be stated without qualifications; they might not be worth stating at all b in the light of all accessibl information, they have been maintaind thru a long life during part of whi wer annually revized under the consciusnes of responsibility for the welfare of precius youths.

The paragraf to which this note refers was spoken prior to the recent "World War" and printd our participation in it. To avoid misinterpretation I quote from my letter, "Opposes Prohibition," was publishd (in unsimplified spelling) in the *Boston Herald* of December 18, 1916:—"Shoud this be agen involvd in war there might be demanded such restriction, not only military and naval but Now, however, while deploring the evils of intemperance, I see no rezon for changing the opinions fo 1868 and publicly exprest on several occasions since, *viz*: Relief from the evils of intemperance is to b by the slo process of education; fermented drinks (cider, beer, and light wines) shoud not be cla distild liquors and fortified wines; we shoud discriminat between the use and the abuse; life shoud garded as constituted by not efficiency alone but by happines as wel; moderation and self-control sh inculcated as cardinal virtues; "treating" shoud be discountenanst and dram-shops abolisht; and ther be rigidly enforst abstention from all grades of alcoholic beverages by youths, especially college undergrad

The most efficient agents of the devil ar the keepers and owners of gambling-houses, brothels, and saloons. Directly or indirectly all ar foes of helth, honor, purity, home-life, and happiness. The keepers ar entitld to "bad eminence" from their numbers, their unblushing activity, and the tendr their customers to patronize the other two.

The solution of the drink-problem is hinderd by social, political, moral, and theologic entangl and by the exaggerated statements of wel-mening but il-informd advocates. . As was wel sed by Mrs. Thomas Carlyle, "It is the mixing-up of things which is the great bad."

In addition to what is sed in the Report on "Alcohol and Narcotics" refered to in a previus par suggest that youths be safeguarded thru the susceptibl and habit-forming period by pecuniary o inducements to abstain. The free use of milk as a cheep and nurishing food for yung and old h advocated by me ever since I began to teach. I now urge that, to avert the desire for alcoholics availabl for domestics whose work precedes the first meal; also that, in conveniently preservd form provided for the Army and Navy.

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