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EARLY NURSING EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL

Deborah Hedges

Editor's note: The following article by Deborah Hedges was written while she was a student in the School of Nursing at the University of Iowa. She is the daughter of Dr. Joseph F. "Joe Pat" Patterson, Jr., and the granddaughter of Dr. Joseph Flanner Patterson, co-founder of St. Luke's Hospital.

Isobel Stewart, nursing leader and educator, described four periods in the development of nursing in the United States: pioneering (1873-1893), expansion (1893-1913, stress and turmoil (1913-1933), and readjustment (1933-present) (Goodnow).

Between 1893 and 1913, the period Stewart characterized as "expansion," hospitals were constructed at a rapid rate, with schools of nursing established at a similar pace. In 1900, 2000 hospitals were reported in the United States. Thereafter, 200 a year were organized. In 1896, 220 training schools existed; in 1900, 400; and in 1910, 1100 (Goodnow).

The historical period Stewart described as "stress and turmoil" occurred between 1913 and 1933. In the first four years, 500 new schools were established. Rapid growth continued until 1920, when 3000 nursing schools were reported to be in existence (Goodnow). Thirty-nine percent of these schools were operated by hospitals with a daily average of about 50 beds or less (Roberts). These small, private, and special hospitals often offered only three services—surgical, medical, and obstetric—resulting in

limited training and experience for nursing students.

Recognition of the need for legal control and standards in nursing education led to the creation of state boards of examination and registration, as well as committees for nursing school accreditation. As a result, many of the smaller and specialty hospitals discontinued their training schools. By 1930, only 1900 accredited schools existed; in 1940, only 1300 (Goodnow). Hospitals began to hire graduate registered nurses to provide patient care.

The history of nursing education in North Carolina reflects that of the nation in general. Few hospitals existed before 1900; subsequently, they were established rapidly. By 1915, 39 nursing schools had been organized, with 14 of these operated by hospitals with about 50 beds. In terms of setting legal standards for the practice of nursing, however, North Carolina was a pioneer. In 1902, the state legislature passed compulsory registration of graduate nurses, the first of its kind in the United States. Eventually, shortages of qualified teachers, difficulties in recruiting students, and economic pressures forced many small hospitals to close their nursing schools. By 1936, most of these institutions employed a graduate nursing staff (Wyche).

St. Luke's Hospital, located in New Bern, North Carolina, officially opened on November 1, 1915. The hospital, offering 50 beds for surgical and medical cases, was owned and operated by two young physicians: R. Duval Jones, M. D., a graduate of the University of Maryland, and Joseph F. Patterson, M. D., a graduate of Jefferson Medical College. The owners described their facility as "one of the most modern hospitals in the State, if not in the South" (St. Luke's Hospital. The complete brochure is reproduced beginning on page 12.)

The superintendent of nurses and her assistant, both registered nurses, were recruited from Philadelphia Polyclinic Hospital. Nursing services were provided by students in the St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing, which offered a three-year program. Students were recruited

from across the state through newspaper advertisements, with high school graduation being a prerequisite for application. After graduation from nursing school, students wrote the North Carolina state licensing examination in Raleigh, becoming registered nurses upon successful completion. Dr. Jones was a member of the Board of Examiners from 1925 through 1927.

The St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing operated until the mid-1930s. When it closed its doors, current students were sent to other institutions to continue their training. In the early 1940s, the hospital was sold to the Catholic Sisters; and all records of the training school were destroyed.

During the 1990s, members of the Memories of New Bern Committee, an oral history project, interviewed two graduates of the St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing. Adeline Smith Bartling, known as "Smitty," graduated in the Class of 1927. Annie Ragsdale Humphrey graduated in the Class of 1932. Both women are in their 80s and still live in New Bern. Their recollections of training school are woven together in the following account of the life of student nurses during the early twentieth century. The interviewer aptly commented to Annie, "somewhere along the line people will be interested in this. If you go back through the years and want to find out the history of nursing, you can do that now" (Annie, p. 37).

Adeline Smith was born in 1908 in eastern North Carolina. She finished school, an 11-year program, at the age of 17. She wanted to be a nurse.

I had an aunt that lived in Norfolk, Virginia. She was very aristocratic and she thought nursing was the lowest of the low professions. She didn't want me to be a nurse, so she sent me a check and a trunk to pack and come to Norfolk to take bookkeeping courses. I sent the check and the trunk back and thanked her. She said nurses were not ladies. I thanked her and I told her that that was her opinion, and I had my

opinion, that I could be in any profession and be a lady and that I was determined to go into training. I went to St. Luke's in 1924 (Smitty, p. 2)

Annie Ragsdale, born in 1911 in the Piedmont region of the state, also always wanted to be a nurse.

My mother saw in the paper where they were advertising for student nurses at St. Luke's Hospital in New Bern and I applied. I was here in a matter of two or three weeks and been here ever since (Annie, p. 6).

Students came from distant areas of the state. Smitty's class had six members. Their uniforms were blue, with white aprons. The first six months were considered a period of probation, during which students worked and were trained in basic skills. After that time the "probies" were tested "to find out whether we were equivalent to be a nurse or not" (Smitty, p. 9). If they passed, they were awarded caps. Smitty was the only member of her class to graduate.

When Smitty went into training, the nurses' quarters were on the fourth floor of the hospital. It had "double-deckers" and double beds in rooms. "There were 14 of us" (Smitty, p. 3). Each day they awoke and went to chapel by 6:30 a. m. Chapel was in Dr. Patterson's office. "They checked us, you know, to see if our uniforms and everything was alright" (Smitty, p. 5). The superintendent would "read a quotation out of the Bible and we said the Lord's Prayer and that was chapel" (Smitty, p. 6). Then they went to breakfast in the dining room in the basement and were "on the hall" by seven.

Miss Jean Stratton, the Superintendent of Nurses, "had the register" and assigned each student her patients for the day. She was from Ithaca, New York.

She weighed about 200 pounds. Gosh, she was a good-looking woman. Big, fat, robust, black hair,

black eyes. She was a hellcat, but she was a real supervisor. She ran that hospital with an iron hand. She was strict! When we went to the dining room in the morning, we were afraid to look at the bulletin board. We were afraid our names were on there and we were restricted from something, because we stayed restricted two years out of the three. Half the time we didn't know what we were restricted for and we were afraid to ask (Smitty, pp. 4-7).

The students worked ten-hour days, six days a week, with two hours off, from either 11:00 a. m. to 1:00 p. m. or 1:00 p. m. to 3:00 p. m. These two hours were supposed to be dedicated to eating lunch and studying. In addition, one Sunday they would work the a. m. shift with the afternoon off; the next, they would have the morning off and work the p. m. shift. After earning their caps, the students were assigned patient care. "We had to fix him or her up properly before we left that room or we would be corrected for our work" (Annie, p. 8). Only senior nursing students were allowed to give medicine. Students worked on one hall for six months, then had three months of night duty, and went back to the second hall for six more months, followed by more night duty.

After two years of training, they were allowed to work in the operating room as scrub nurses.

We made our own sponges (2x2s, 4x4s), folded and wrapped them individually. We patched and put up the rubber gloves that were used in surgery, and sterilized them in the autoclave. We sterilized our own instruments for surgery. We made perinatal pads for the OB cases (Annie, pp. 8-9).

The hospital specialized in surgery. "Patients were kept in bed from at least 10 days to two weeks. For mothers, 10 days; maybe the ninth day you would let them sit on the bed" (Annie, p. 15). The complication of pneumo-

nia occurred frequently after surgery. "Now I look back and think maybe if we had turned them and they had been more active, they wouldn't have gotten the congestion" (Annie, p. 21). Dr. Patterson's specialty was mustard plaster for patients with pneumonia.

One part mustard to three parts flour and a little vinegar in it to keep it from blistering the skin. Make it with warm water. Put it on the patient for one-half hour with a hot water bottle on top. Then check to see if the skin was red. We did it to break up the congestion (Annie, p. 10).

Dr. Jones's specialty was turpentine stupes for abdominal distention. "Put a towel in hot water with turpentine. Wring it out and put it on the abdomen" (Annie, p. 16). They also gave a lot of enemas for problems associated with abdominal surgery. Molasses enemas were used to "take care of gas. Mix molasses with a little water to a consistency where it would go up there" (Annie, p. 17). On the third morning after survey SS enemas were given — "soap suds enemas."

The nursing students had many and varied duties. They sterilized needles for shots by "boiling them in a spoon over a little lamp." They were responsible for emptying bedpans "at the end of the hall" and for washing them. They cleaned the patients' rooms and counted dirty sheets before laundering, as well as clean sheets being replaced in the linen closet. The students served in the kitchen for a month at a time, setting up trays for special diets. If an accident or emergency surgery occurred at night, the nurse on OR duty would get up to be the scrub nurse. When there was a delivery in town, the senior nurse on the floor would go out with the doctors. If a patient in town needed an enema, "the nurses had to go out and give it. It was part of the job in training" (Annie, p. 15).

The nursing students received \$10 a month, which

was to be used to buy books and furnish their uniforms. Room and board were provided. By 1925, they "had a good place to stay across the street from the Hospital." Miss Sledge, the Superintendent of Nurses after Miss Stratton, lived there with the students. Curfew was 10:00 p. m. each night, except for Saturday.

We had one night a week out—Saturday until 11:00. The Director of Nurses was standing at that table as we came in that door. And I mean we were in at 11:00! If we were not, we paid for it. We were restricted (Smitty, p. 16).

The students had classes Monday through Friday nights, from 7:00 until 9:00, after they received their caps. These classes were taught by the doctors, in their offices, or by the superintendent or the high school dietician, in the dining room. Subjects studied were anatomy and physiology, obstetrics, pediatrics, drugs and solutions, ethics, the history of nursing, and dietetics. Textbooks included *Obstetrics for Nurses*, by J. B. DeLee (1924); *Materia Medica, Pharmacology, and Therapeutics for Nurses*, by A. E. Pope (1921); *Ethics for Nurses*, by A. Aikens (1920); *Diseases of Children for Nurses*, by R. McCombs (1923); and *Practical Dietetics: The Diet in Health and Diseases*, by F. Pattee (1926). The students had lectures September through June, when a final exam was given. During June through August, they were given two weeks vacation. Classes began again in September, covering the same subjects and using the same books.

Of all the students who graduated from the St. Luke's Training School, only two had to retake the test in order to become registered nurses.

You had to learn under Dr. Jones and Dr. Patterson and Dr. Latham. You had to know what you were doing. Dr. Latham said, "You're not going to State Boards and fail what I taught you!" Those doctors

were dogged good. It was a good hospital and we got good training (Annie, p. 30).

The Class of 1932 was one of the last of the classes for nurses at St. Luke's Hospital.

The reason the training school was discontinued, it came to me that they didn't have teachers to do the teaching. Our doctors were busy and getting old. They just got as if they couldn't carry on (Annie, p. 29).

In the early 1940s, Dr. Patterson and Dr. Jones sold the hospital to the Catholic Sisters.

Adeline Smith and Annie Ragsdale graduated from St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing, passed their state board examinations on their first attempts, and went into private nursing. They both married and left nursing temporarily to raise their children. Upon their return to the profession of nursing, they served in leadership positions, with distinction, until their retirements.

In conclusion, the St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing typified the American training school of the early twentieth century. However, its high standard of education was exceptional, a result of the vision of the founders of the hospital. The nurses who graduated from St. Luke's were knowledgeable, skilled, and flexible enough to adapt and succeed as the profession of nursing moved into the modern era.

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St. Lukes Hospital



Modern
in Every Detail



Telephone Number 8

Hospital Staff

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MISS MARY McMULKIN, R. N., Superintendent
Philadelphia Polyclinic Hospital.

MISS A. FURHMANN, R. N., Asst. Superintendent
Philadelphia Polyclinic Hospital.

MISS BESSIE W. BELL, Secretary

IT IS WITH pardonable pride that the management of St. Luke's Hospital offers this booklet to the profession and public. St. Luke's is owned by Drs. R. DuVal Jones and Joseph F. Patterson and is conducted for the accommodation of the patients of the Medical and Surgical staff only. The hospital was opened for the reception of patients on November 1st, 1915, and its wonderful success and patronage has been extremely gratifying. It has been the aim of the management to conduct it on the highest plane, and in this they feel that they have been eminently successful. It is safe to say that St. Luke's, in construction, equipment, and management, is one of the most modern hospitals in the State, if not in the South.

THE BUILDING is located at the corner of Broad and George streets, in a central but quiet residential section of the city. An ideal location, as it is only two blocks from the business center of the city.

THE HOSPITAL is a handsome four-story structure. It is of pressed brick, limestone and reinforced concrete construction, all exposed windows and doors being metal, making the building fire-proof, a very desirable and necessary feature. All corridors, baths, operating suite, business and reception offices are tiled with white tile, and have a baseboard of Tennessee marble. The building has three entrances, the North entrance beneath a porte-cochere for the admission of ambulance cases, a South and an East entrance for the admission of visitors and ambulatory patients. The two

main entrances have steps of white Vermont marble, wanescoatings of the same with trimmings of verde antique, making a very handsome and striking appearance. The interior woodwork is white enamelled, all doors being of solid plank mahogany with glass knobs. The basement contains the kitchen, pantry, dining-room for nurses, X-ray laboratory, chemical laboratory, accident ward, colored ward and baths, fuel room and store room. The first floor is devoted to the business offices, reception room, private offices of Drs. Jones and Patterson, the suite of rooms for the Superintendent, and wards for the white patients. The second floor is devoted entirely to private rooms; some of these having private baths. On this floor is the diet kitchen. The third floor contains the solarium, the obstetrical room, several private rooms, and operating suite.

IN DETAILS the hospital construction is most modern, having an electric elevator, a silent call light system for the nurses, eliminating the old-fashioned and annoying buzzer, and telephone connections for each private room and solarium. All corners in the building are rounded, preventing the collection of dust.

THE WARDS are spacious, bright and cheery. Connecting with the wards are fully equipped tiled bath rooms. Each ward is furnished with every convenience and comfort.

PRIVATE ROOMS are large, light and airy. Each room has a ventilator to the roof. The furniture is of mahogany and flooring of rift pine.

THE SOLARIUM is located on the top floor of the Southern end of the building. It opens on a balcony

which is utilized for fresh air for the convalescents. The solarium is furnished with brown wicker furniture. The electrical fixtures are of antique hammered brass. The walls are tinted brown, being very restful to the eyes. The solarium is a feature of the hospital, and to be seen is to be admired.

THE OPERATING SUITE, consisting of operating room, anaesthetizing room, sterilizing room, store room, wash up room for the surgeons and surgeons' dressing room is the pride of the hospital. It was designed after an inspection of the operating rooms in numerous hospitals, and it is most modern and equipped with the finest and most expensive instruments and furniture. The lighting is a special feature. The operating room faces the North, and by means of a spacious skylight the best of effects is obtained. The walls and flooring are white tiled. It is also equipped with both electrical and gas lights, so that one is never handicapped for lack of light. The operating room opens on the East into the Anaesthetizing room and Sterilizing room.

The sterilizing room is lined with white tile and is equipped with the most modern Climax high pressure sterilizers, consisting of water sterilizer, instrument sterilizer, utensil sterilizer and sterilizer for dressings.

The anaesthetizing room is equipped with the most modern apparatus for the giving of anaesthetics. A nurse is always present while the patient is being anaesthetized.

THE X-RAY DEPARTMENT is equipped with the most modern apparatus with all necessary accessories

for accurate diagnostic and therapeutic work. The department is in charge of Dr. Raymond Pollock, who has had great experience in the work.

THE CORPS OF NURSES is most efficient. Particular care is taken in their selection, and they are under the constant supervision of the Superintendent and her assistant. The home is situated across the street from the hospital, it being the opinion of the management that it is better for both the nurses and patients to have the house separate from the hospital. A sufficient number of nurses are always on duty to give every attention and care to the patients. When it is necessary for a patient to have a special nurse, the hospital can furnish one of its own at a reasonable cost. The course of training for the nurses is a most rigorous one. In this the management takes great pride, and they feel that their well trained corps of nurses is a credit and honor to the hospital.

THE CARE OF OBSTETRICAL CASES is a specialty of the institution. The obstetrical room is on the third floor. It is unusually large and is furnished with the best of equipment. Every care is given to these cases.

THE ACCIDENT WARD of the hospital is an unusually well equipped one, and is a very busy department. During the first six months of the institution 823 cases have been treated.

THE CHEMICAL LABORATORY is equipped to make all modern chemical tests, and this a great aid in the diagnosis of obscure cases.

THE RAILROAD CONNECTIONS of New Bern are excellent, the Norfolk Southern Railway entering the city with three lines, and the Atlantic Coast Line with one. In addition there are numerous boat lines giving connections with sections not reached by the railway. Upon request the hospital will send an ambulance to meet any train or boat.

HOSPITAL FEES are very reasonable. Upon request the Superintendent will be pleased to furnish a fee schedule.



[Names of Hospital Staff and Nurses in picture on opposite page as found on the back of an original photograph in possession of Dr. Joseph F. Patterson, Jr., of Chapel Hill. Front row: Dr. Raymond Pollock, Dr. R. DuVal Jones, A. Furhmann, RN (Asst. Superintendent), Mary Jane McMulkin, RN (Superintendent), Dr. Norfleet Gibbss, and Dr. Joseph F. Patterson. Second row: Celia Singletary, Lara Ward, Coy Ray, Willie Lou Baucom, E. Elkins, Julia Ellis, Lillian M. Moon, Lila B. Wise, and Lelia Christenbury. Back row: Miss Gardner and Ella Wells, "probationaries" without caps.



HOSPITAL STAFF AND NURSES

**OPERATIONS PERFORMED AT ST' LUKE'S HOS-
PITAL FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1915 TO
JUNE 1, 1916.**

Operation	Number	Operation	Number
Tonsillectomy	6	Removal, Foreign body from thigh	1
Adenoidectomy	8	Removal, Foreign body from back	3
Circumcision	4	Removal, foreign body from arm	1
Perineorrhaphy	12	Removal, Foreign body from hand	2
Appendectomy	46	Removal, Foreign body from cornea	15
Uterus, dilation and curet- tage	51	Removal, Foreign body from foot	1
Uterus, cervix amputation ..	2	Gun shot wound of back .. .	1
Uterus, myomectomy	2	Tenorrhaphy	3
Hysterectomy, supra vagi- nal	2	Ligation, radical artery .. .	1
Hysterectomy, pan	2	Adenectomy, inguinal	1
Oophorectomy	3	Adenectomy, cervical	1
Oophorotomy	2	Resection of rib	1
Salpingo-oophorectomy	12	Ununited fracture, femur— plated	1
Trachelorrhaphy	9	Plastic of hand	1
Exploratory	3	Pelvic cellulitis	1
Laceration of abdominal wall	1	Fracture of radius and ulna, reduction	4
Ventral suspension of uter- us, Gilliam operation	5	Fracture of tibia, reduction ..	3
Varicocele	1	Amputation of leg	1
Hydrocele	1	Amputation of fingers	6
Solpingectomy	2	Amputation of toe	1
Cholecystostomy	4	Volkman's contraction	1
Cholecystectomy	1	Gun shot wound of abdomen ..	1
Nephro-llthotomy	1	Mostoid operation	1
Herniotomy, Inguinal	6	Talipes equino varus	2
Herniotomy, Ventral	2	Abcess palmar	3
Herniotomy, Femoral	1	Abcess peri-rectal	2
Skin grafting	1	Abcess, face	1
Osteotomy, tibia	1	Abcess elbow	1
Hemorrhoidectomy	8	Abcess foot	1
Intra-venous, salvarsan	22	Drosal slit of prepuce	1
Volvulus	2	Dilatation sphincter anni .. .	1
Caesarian-section	1	Carbuncle	3
Removal, Bartholin's gland ..	2	Fracture base of skull	1
Removal, Ingrown nail	6	Splenectomy	1
Removal, Sebaceous cyst of face	2	Incised wound of face	2
Removal, Urethral caruncle ..	4		
Removal, Gumma of neck	1		
Removal, Gumma of arms	1		
Removal, Papilloma of anus ..	1		
Removal, Papilloma of heel .. .	1		
Removal, Bunion	1		
		Total	315

Note: From the above operations there were three deaths.

One case, Gangrenous cholecystitis, in which the liver was greatly involved at time of operation, died in six days.

Case of cholecystectomy died on second day from complete urinary supression.

The case of gun shot wound of abdomen died on second day from internal hemorrhage due to sloughing of wall of a blood vessel damaged by bullet.

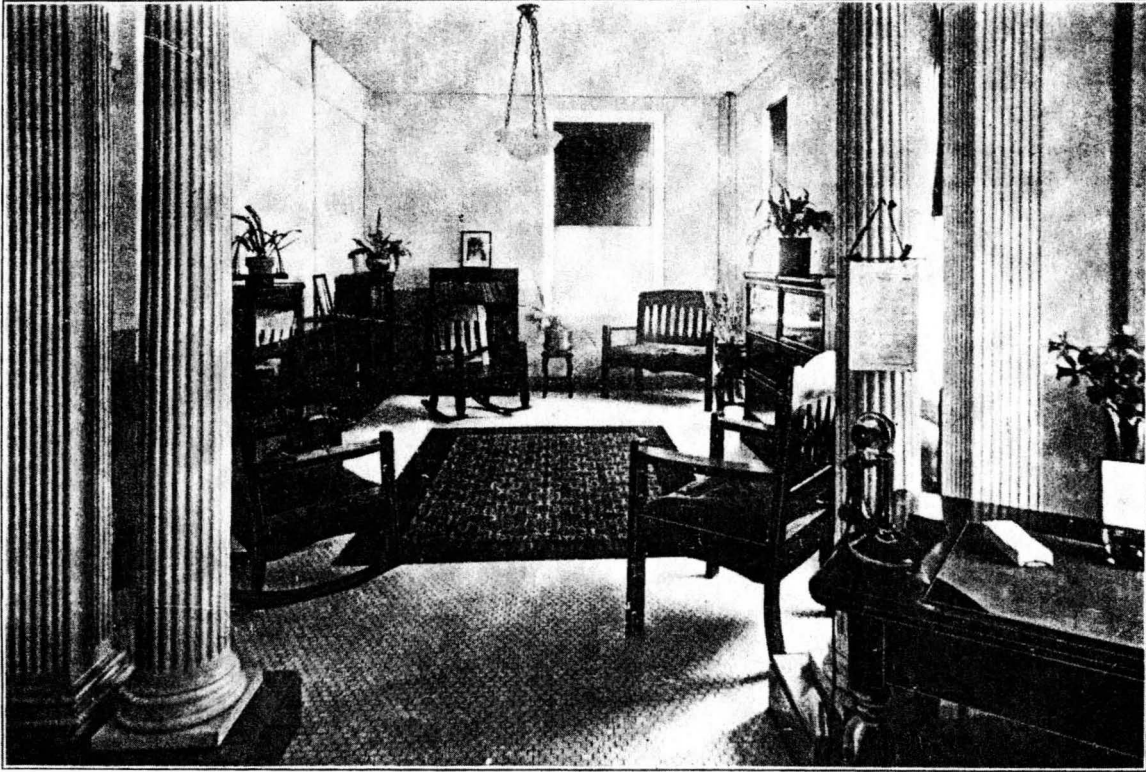
This gives a mortality rate of less than one per cent.



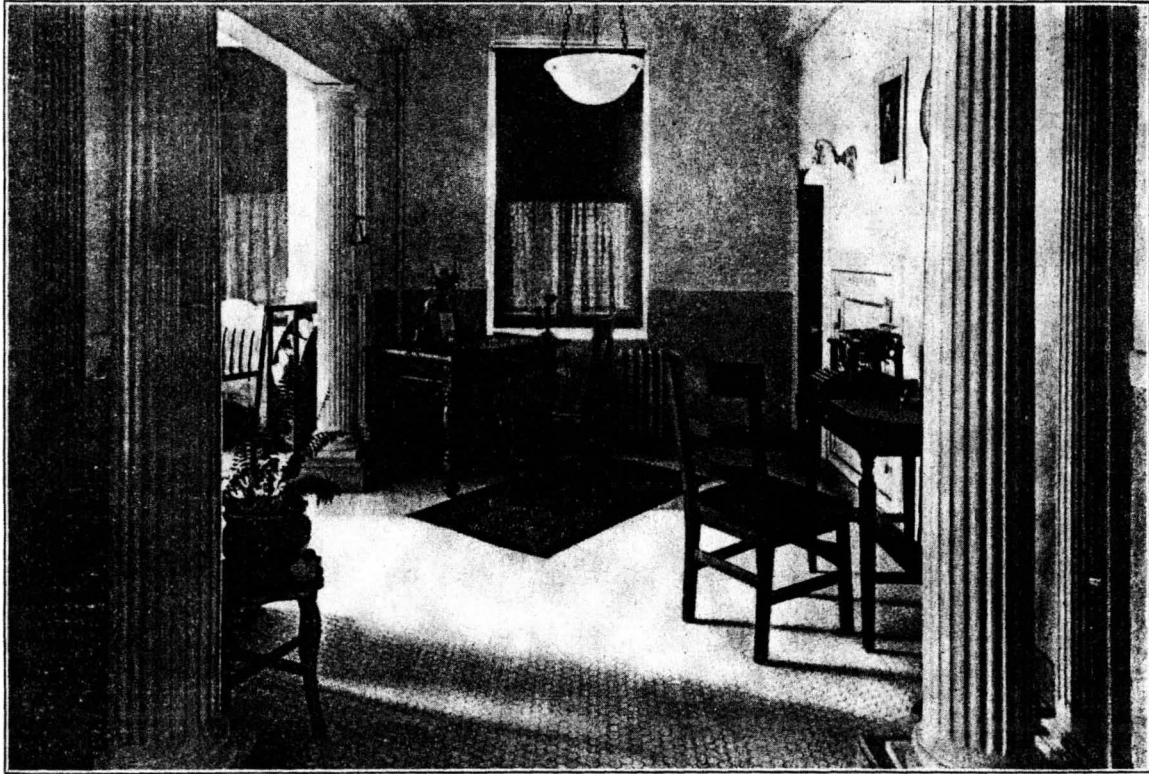
ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL



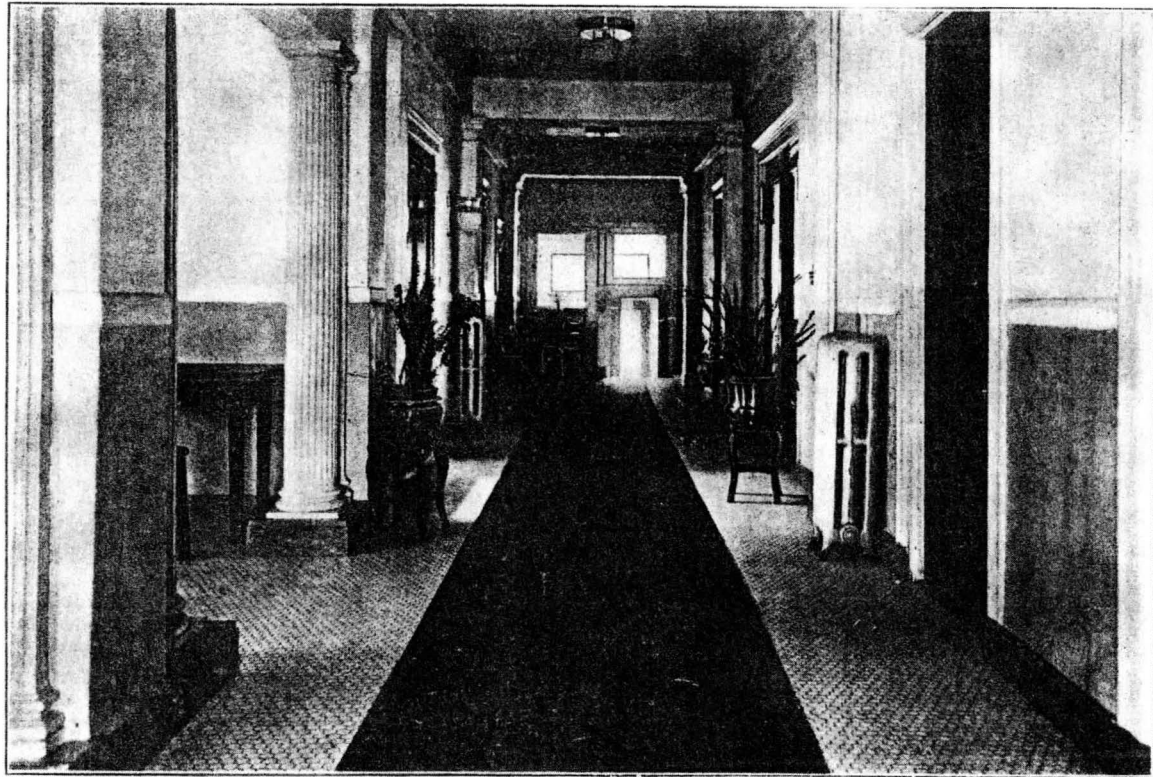
MAIN ENTRANCE



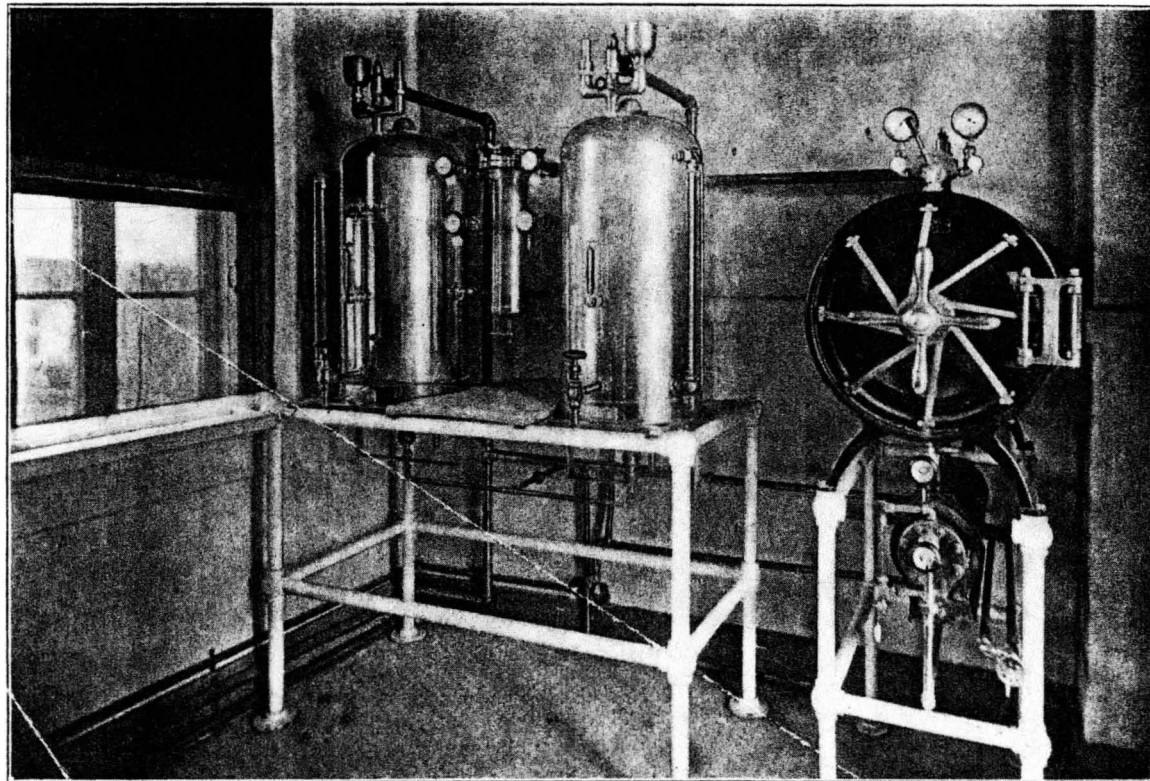
RECEPTION ROOM



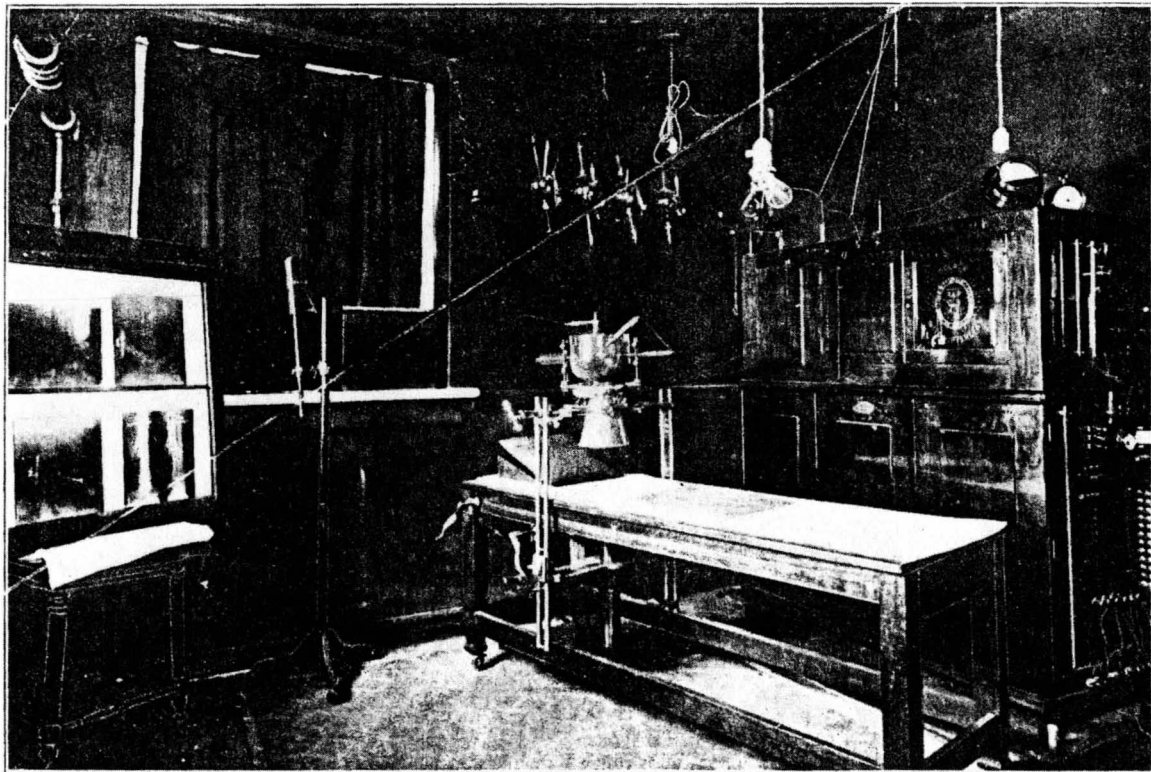
BUSINESS OFFICE



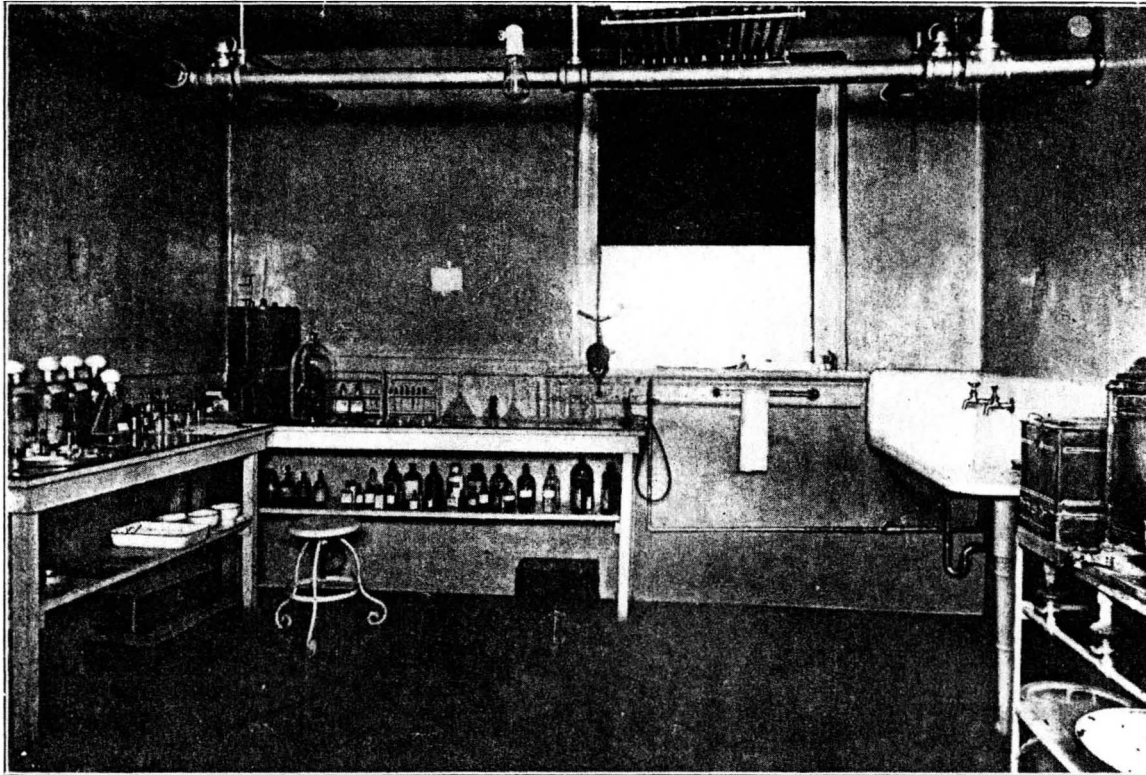
FIRST FLOOR CORRIDOR



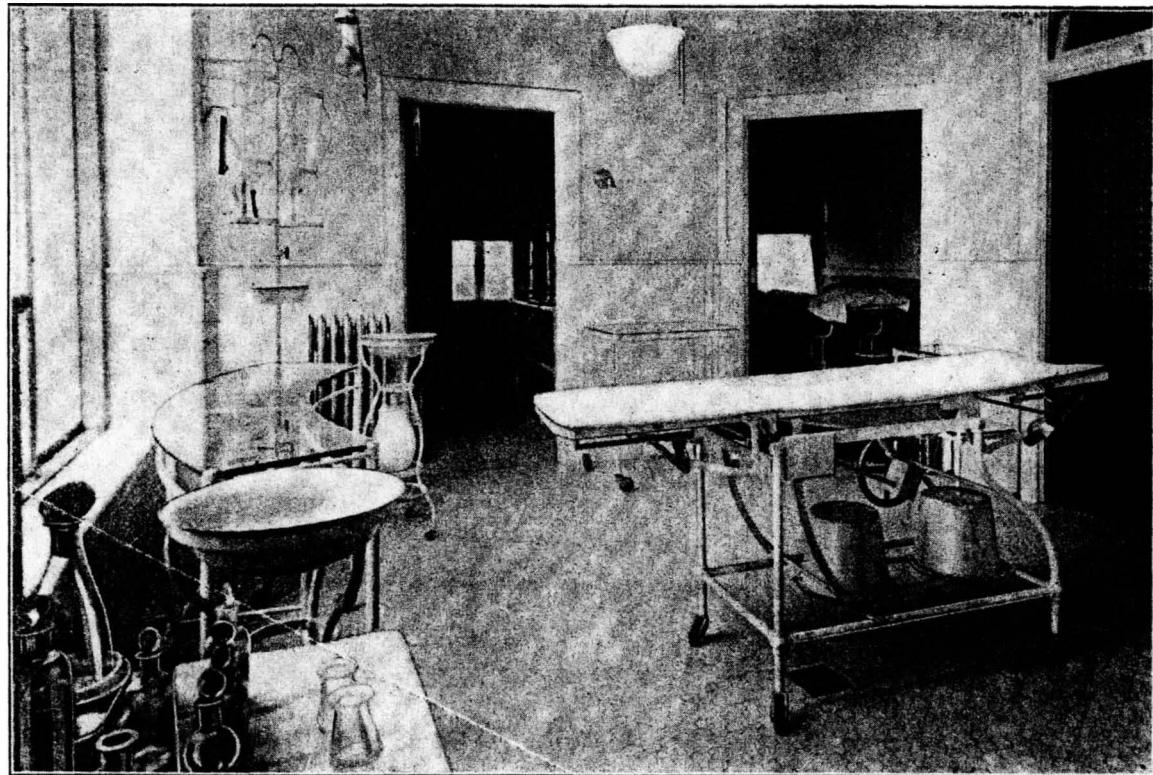
CORNER OF STERILIZING ROOM



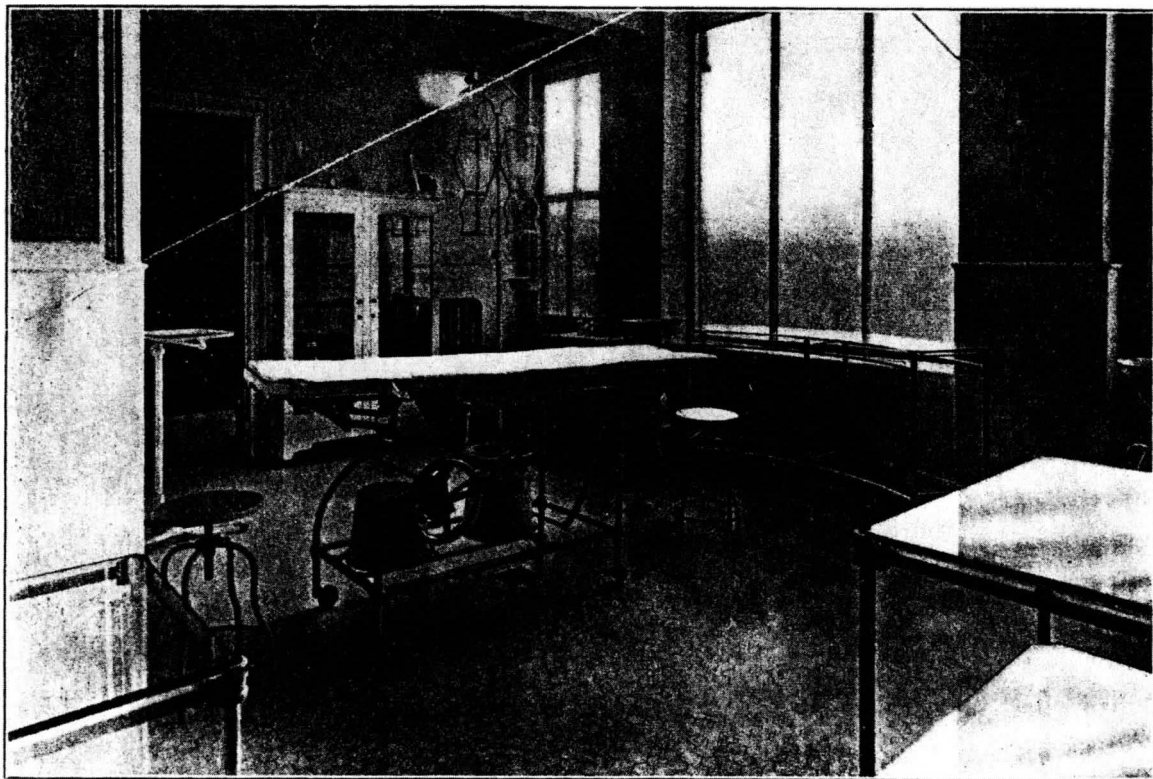
X-RAY DEPARTMENT



CHEMICAL LABORATORY



OPERATING ROOM—FACING EAST



OPERATING ROOM—FACING WEST



SOLARIUM

Brave among the bravest

A Lent in the Civil War

Polly Longworth

Editor's Note: The following article is reprinted with permission from the summer 1999 issue of *Amherst* published by Amherst College. The material is from a talk originally given in New Bern during a Civil War History Symposium at Tryon Palace in 1990.

For Amherst, with no telegraph, the Civil War began on April 17, 1861, when news of the attack on Fort Sumter reached town four days late. Shock and disbelief ran through the village that nestled with its college in a Massachusetts pocket formed by the Connecticut River, the Holyoke Range, and the Pelham Hills.

Once those hills had warded off winds of Unitarian heresy blowing from Boston. Now they protected the pious Calvinist community from radical strains of abolitionism emanating from the same source. Voters of the region—hard-working farmers, artisans, and small businessmen—were mostly Whigs, diehard Daniel Webster men, which meant they were Unionists through and through. Not for them William Lloyd Garrison's exhortations on emancipation. Although staunchly opposed to the spread of slavery into new western territories, loyalty to the Union held priority in their minds and hearts.

"By the help of Almighty God, not another inch of our soil, *heretofore consecrated* to freedom, shall *hereafter* be polluted by the advancing tread of slavery," growled the Hon. Edward Dickinson of Main Street, father of poet Emily Dickinson, while he served his home district in

Congress in 1855. Woven into the Whigs' conservative philosophy was an expectation that if slavery could be contained, it would die a natural death. Few in western Massachusetts were prepared to believe the South would secede over the issue. Fewer still were ready for the crippling sacrifices of war.

In response to President Abraham Lincoln's initial call for three-month troops, four regiments of state militia (the Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Eighth) quickly mobilized at the eastern end of the state in April 1861. Days later, the Sixth Regiment headed south and was attacked by a mob while passing through Baltimore, resulting in the deaths of three men. This galvanized Amherst. If people hadn't believed their ears about secession, now they called public meetings, aired the Declaration of Independence, sang patriotic hymns, ran up flags, and made speeches. Young women employees of Amherst's palm leaf hat factory paraded through the village with small flags. A company of volunteers was raised.

At Amherst College, students assembled in Johnson Chapel to hear their Greek professor, the Rev. William Seymour Tyler, preach a rousing Sabbath sermon. Moving words, with references to a powerful, personal, somewhat militant God, were delivered in the evangelical strain familiar to the young men in the pews. As they filed out, stirred by thoughts of courage and self-sacrifice, they found their chemistry professor, William S. Clark, an 1848 Amherst graduate, calling for a hundred students to go with him to war. Within a half hour the popular teacher had his company. The first name on the list was that of sophomore Frazar Stearns, son of the college's president, William A. Stearns. Professor Clark hustled to Boston the next day to learn how to equip his company, but he found Gov. John A. Andrew swamped by recruits. Students' services would be required later, the governor decided. He urged Amherst College youths to pursue their studies. Nevertheless, four southern students—Elipha Fenn '61, Edward Maynard '62, Edward Robbins '63, and James

Rhea '63—packed their bags and went home, three to enlist in the Confederate army.

The North was scarcely ready for war. Its standing army was scattered from Maine to California with over 90 percent of it stationed west of the Alleghenies. Few stockpiles of guns or equipment existed, and there was little money in the state and national treasuries to pay for mobilization. As Mason Tyler, Professor Tyler's student son (who would become a major in the Thirty-Seventh Regiment), later pointed out, "The military establishment and the financial establishment to pay for (the war) both had to be created anew. It was a large school without teachers."

Lincoln's second call for volunteers in early May 1861 demanded of Massachusetts six regiments of three-years' infantry troops. The town of Amherst supplied 15 men for four of these, most recruits going into the Tenth Volunteers, the first regiment to be formed in the western part of the state. In mid-June came Lincoln's third call, for which Massachusetts raised 18 more regiments during the summer and fall. Like other communities, Amherst had no difficulty at first in finding volunteers to fill the quotas. Later the town paid bounties to encourage enlistment, while some citizens, like Emily Dickinson's brother Austin, paid anywhere from \$300 to \$500 for substitutes. But in the beginning enthusiasm was high, for everyone thought the insurrection would end quickly.

The first townsman to be killed, in October 1861, was Francis H. Dickinson of the Fifteenth Regiment, whose legs were shot away in the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Dickinson was not related to the poet (in Amherst there were more Dickinsons than Smiths); but in a community of 3,000 every person was known, and the soldier's death moved Emily Dickinson. Thirty years old, living quietly in the family homestead, she was privately writing poetry.

When I was small a Woman died—
Today—her Only Boy
Went up from the Potomac--

His face all Victory

To look at her – How slowly
The Seasons must have turned
Till bullets clipt an Angle
And He passed quickly round –

If pride shall be in Paradise –
Ourself cannot decide –
Of their imperial conduct –
No person testified –

But, proud in Apparition –
That Woman and her Boy
Pass back and forth, before my Brain
As even in the sky –

I'm confident, that Bravoes –
Perpetual break abroad
For Baveries, remote as this
In Yonder Maryland –

Until recently the poet's remoteness from the Civil War was a pet theme with scholars, who thought her too bound up in private sufferings and her art to concern herself in any vital way with the national turbulence. But the poem attests to Dickinson's psychic involvement with the young men of her region who went off to fight – and with those they left behind. Emily's father, Edward – the lawyer, treasurer of the college, and prominent civic leader with whom she lived – and her brother Austin, a lawyer next door, were both active recruiters and outfitters of Amherst soldiers, raising funds for bounties and boosting levels of local support and patriotism.

Like them, Emily pored over the *Springfield Republican* and Boston papers, reading battle accounts and casualty lists. She, too, read the letters from soldiers published in the local papers. If she had no one immediately dear to

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Harper's Weekly, April 15, 1862



Union troops come ashore for the assault on New Bern, N.C.

her in the army, she carried a burden for friends and neighbors who did. She or her sister-in-law Susan Dickinson also sent several of her poems to publications that aided the war effort, the poems among the few published anonymously during her lifetime.

After Amherst College's August 1861 commencement, 21 students enlisted. Five had just graduated; another 16 interrupted college. "I am willing that students who are qualified for officers should go in that capacity, with their parents' consent," said President Stearns, "but I can not see my way clear yet to send them as privates." His concern focused on the high price paid by enlisted men for the mistakes of inexperienced officers, most of whom achieved their rank simply by raising companies at the request of somebody more prominent.

Two regiments had formed in the Amherst vicinity at Lincoln's third call. Frazar Stearns followed Prof. William Clark into the Twenty-First Regiment, along with 12 area men, all as part of Amherst's quota. Clark was commissioned major of Company I, and Frazar Stearns became its first lieutenant. Frazar's good friend, newly graduated Frederick M. Sanderson, joined the Twenty-First Volunteers as well. Forty-seven other area men, including two Amherst College undergraduates and a graduate, joined the Twenty-Seventh Volunteers as part of the town quota; also, six other new graduates and undergraduates joined the Twenty-Seventh. Both regiments would participate in the fateful coastal expedition led into southern waters by Gen. Ambrose Burnside six months later.

Twenty-one-year-old Frazar Stearns prepared himself for officership and for combat by bayonet, revolver, and sword exercises, and by boning up on medical practices. An impulsive youth of strong convictions, he was the most enthusiastic of the students who rushed to serve the Union. Stearns had been born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the second son of six children of a Congregational minister, and came to Amherst at age 14 when his father became president of the college. He was an engaging youngster,

quite generally loved, for many in the village had suffered with him sympathetically through a turbulent adolescence.

According to family accounts an uncommonly conscientious child, Frazar had professed Christ early and been permitted to join the church by public confession of faith at the age of 12. But the death of his mother the year after moving to Amherst precipitated a series of depressions that centered on loss of faith. He was only an average scholar; his academic record grew spotty, his health poor. "His religious life was like a harp . . . unstrung and discordant," his father said of Frazar's spiritual struggles during a revival his freshmen year at Amherst. "His skeptical questionings . . . took the form of fear approaching desperation."

During his sophomore year Frazar fell dangerously ill with typhoid fever and was so weak and unsettled afterward that his father sent him on a sea voyage to India, where the elder Stearns son, William, had become a successful Bombay merchant. The 11-month trip restored his health, mind, and spirit. Amherst people were amazed at the robust, assured young man who returned in the fall of 1860, ready to start his sophomore year over. He began again at the Classics, and by the academic year's end had earned commendable class standing.

By then, the war had started. Despite all his father and friends could say, Frazar was set on accompanying his admired chemistry professor into the army. The Rev. William Stearns had called this war a means of grace, his son reminded him, and his own state of urgency might be a call from God. As family and friends acknowledged the portent, Frazar became the second Amherst student to enlist for the Union, departing with ardent backing from fellow students. For a young man who yearned to make his father proud, it was a happy moment when he received his commission in the Twenty-First Regiment in late August 1861.

The Regiment spent the entire fall at Annapolis guarding the railroad line and a hospital of prisoners who



Lt. Col. William S. Clark

had smallpox. During four months of inaction, while the impressionable, strait-laced Frazar made new friends and discovered the hardships and responsibilities of soldiering, he and his father engaged in a remarkable exchange of letters. In the South for the first time, Frazar was amazed by the complexities of the slavery discussion. He had come to fight for unity, but encountered among Annapolis denizens a great fear of emancipation. Conditioned to detest the fanaticism of the abolitionists, Frazar still had to conclude, he wrote home, that "the North *now* as a nation will *never* succeed until they say Slavery shall die." A few days later, after talking with some Maryland slaveholders, his sympathies swung to a new view. Slavery should end, he now thought, but not till God pointed the way, and then through African colonization rather than simply emancipation.

President Stearns, a man of thoughtful, fair, and balanced mind, who by now had had considerable experience guiding his excitable son, sensed Frazar's confusion. "One question, I see, labors in your mind," he responded.

It is whether the President ought to proclaim universal emancipation? . . . I think *not*—certainly not *yet*. For 1st we have not a united North & a divided South--& here is one strength—but the moment such an act was passed we should have a divided North & a united South, & here would be one weakness. Besides 2nd, we have professed to be fighting for the Constitution,—by such an act we violate the constitution . . . & thus the war becomes the war of the abolitionists instead of the nation. 3rd. An act of emancipation would do no good unless we want to excite slave insurrections, & arm the slaves, or take them under an immediate protection. What horrors would follow this untried experiment, God only can tell 4th. I cannot yet hear God's voice bidding us to go any further, in the matter of freedom, than the government had gone, but when God by his providence says the word, I am ready . . . I

am confident . . . this war will give slavery its death blow. Meanwhile . . . we must not go faster than God goes— Let him lead--& we follow.

But Frazar needed no convincing that the war was holy, or that he was part of God's inscrutable plan. His resignation to God's will was uttered almost casually more than once:

how can you terrify one who can look *death* in the face and has made up his mind that his life is his country's and *expects* it at any time? If I can serve my country better by *dying* now than living I am ready to do it.

By late December General Burnside was ready to head south. The Twenty-First Massachusetts Regiment, eager for action, had been joined at Baltimore by the Twenty-Seventh, with its large complement of Amherst men in Company D. "Why cant you come & see me before I go--" Frazar wrote his father. "You have only one son fighting for his country--you know the chance--perhaps I may never see you again--" Thus it was that Emily Dickinson, reporting to cousins on December 31 the death of a young soldier in a neighbor's family, added, "Frazar Stearns is just leaving Annapolis. His father has gone to see him today. I hope that ruddy face wont be brought home frozen."

General Burnside's first objective, the taking of Roanoke Island in North Carolina, was accomplished in early February 1862 after his fleet of 28 vessels, six transports with 15,000 troops, and a battery of six guns survived violent storms off Cape Hatteras. One of the first Northern victories in 11 gloomy months of rout and defeat, the Roanoke Island fight raised the spirits of the Union army. A young Amherst College graduate in the Twenty-Seventh Regiment, Henry Hubbard '61, was killed in the battle, and among those wounded in Maj. William Clark's regiment was Frazar Stearns, grazed by bullets along the

right temple and the back of his neck. He had been in the thick of the fighting, participated in a successful charge on the principal battery of the Confederate right flank, and his regiment won praise from Gen. Jesse L. Reno for its commendable performance. By now Amherst had acquired a telegraph; but casualty lists, published in newspapers, lagged behind the wired news of wins and losses. So word of Frazar's condition didn't reach home until February 20, when bells in Amherst were clanging over the fall of Fort Donnelson in Kentucky. Within two days Frazar's letters assured his family the wounds were not serious and announced that for valorous services Major Clark had been promoted to lieutenant colonel, and he himself to acting adjutant.

Burnside next prepared to move against New Bern, North Carolina, a strategic target in his campaign to gain access to the interior of the state. He sailed from Hatteras Inlet on March 12 with 11,000 men: parts of three brigades under Generals Reno, John G. Foster, and John G. Parke, accompanied by several gunboats under the command of Commodore Stephen C. Rowan. With him were five Massachusetts regiments, three from Connecticut, two from Rhode Island, and one each from New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.

"We are now moving in a magnificent column of more than fifty large vessels up the Neuse river on our way to Newberne," Colonel Clark wrote to his mother the afternoon of March 12.

The Northerner with all my regiment on board leads the way for the transports, following close behind the gun boats and the flagships of our Generals. It is now 5 P. M. and we expect to land tomorrow morning. We are all in excellent spirits and eager for the fight which is just at hand and may commence at any moment.

Frazar had written a shipboard letter three days earlier, his words striking a more somber note. "Always re-



Harper's Weekly, April 5, 1862

Union forces overrun the Confederate defences at New Bern.

member," he warned his family,

that *any hour or any moment* may bring you news that I am killed or dangerously wounded. If either, then God's will be done, and I hope I may always be prepared for any issue.

Knowing Frazar wasn't recovered from the fatigue and excitement of Roanoke Island, Colonel Clark advised him to stay on board *The Northerner*, but he would not. Five classmates—Ami Dennison, George Fuller, Parker McManus, Ransome Pratt, and Charles Storrs (graduates 1867)—were among the advancing troops, and some two dozen fellow townsmen. He would not sit idle while they fought.

Next morning, the troops landed early at Slocum Creek 18 miles below New Bern and began a three-pronged advance upriver toward the heavily fortified city. The Twenty-First Massachusetts Volunteers, with Frazar's company in front, led the left flank advance along a railroad track.

It took all day, trudging in mud, mire, and heavy rain, and hauling eight howitzers, to arrive within three miles of New Bern. There the approach to the city was protected by extensive fieldworks with heavy mounted guns, three batteries, and entrenchments manned by some 5,000 Confederates from four North Carolina regiments under Gen. Lawrence Branch.

The battle began early next morning in dense fog. General Foster's brigade, which included the Twenty-Seventh Massachusetts Regiment, attacked the enemy's left flank nearest the river, while the Twenty-First formed part of General Reno's effort against the Confederates' right flank. General Parke brought his brigade up the middle behind the other two forces. Fighting was fierce for several hours along the entire line. Late in the morning, to create enemy disorder, General Reno ordered the right wing of the Twenty-First Massachusetts Regiment

under Colonel Clark to charge a Confederate battery from which 300 rebel riflemen were keeping his flank pinned in a gorge. Clark led the way, rushing with four companies through a hail of gunfire over the enemy's right flank battlement, and routed the men within. Jumping atop the cannon that had been shelling his men, he waved the company colors.

It was a short-lived victory. Clark was unsupported by other troops and had to retire from the exposed position. Soon the battery was retaken by Federal troops, and the Confederates were overcome by noon. The Union army swarmed across the railroad bridge over the Trent River into a city in flames. But back on the battlefield Colonel Clark was inconsolable, for in the charge that he led, Frazar Stearns had been killed.

Bells rang for joy when news of the New Bern victory reached Amherst. Not until three days later, on March 18, 1862, came the telegram from Frazar's college friend and fellow officer, Lt. Fred Sanderson—he was bringing Frazar's body home. Only the evening before, the Stearns family had received Frazar's last letters, and they were unready for the devastating blow.

Professor Tyler broke the crushing news to students, while shock and grief spread rapidly through town. It wasn't Amherst's only loss at New Bern. Two other townsmen had been mortally wounded and died in the days that followed. Five more were also wounded, one losing his arm. An 1852 Amherst College man, Henry Reuben Pierce, was killed among the Fifth Rhode Island Volunteers. But Frazar Stearns was an emblem; his death touched nearly everyone in town. His story was picked up by newspapers all over the northeast, including papers in Boston and New York, and he was quickly martyred for his valor, cited in General Reno's report, and for his selflessness. "He has fallen in the morning of life," read a resolution offered in the state senate. "His sun goes down in splendor," added *The Boston Congregationalist*.

The funeral on March 22 brought to town as great a



College Archives and Special Collections

Acting Adjutant Frazar Stearns

crowd as an Amherst Commencement. There was general bereavement, fed by stories of how Frazar had been struck in the chest by a Minié ball (the large exit wound below his right collar bone was mistaken for the point of entry), how he had died from loss of blood after two hours, asking only once or twice for water, how Colonel Clark had cried like a baby, and others had prepared the body, made the coffin, how Fred Sanderson rowed it six miles downriver to a boat bound for home. Several fellow soldiers, including the heartbroken Clark, wrote President Stearns about Frazar's premonitions that he would die. The outpouring of affection from those who were touched by the simplicity and goodness of this earnest young man eventually led William Stearns to write a widely circulated book, *Adjutant Stearns*, about his son's short life.

"I can never forget the impression produced by the sight of the body as it lay in a rude box in the Library," wrote one of Frazar's classmates.

The cheeks were bloody and the forehead wrinkled under the matted hair but there was the old firm look about the thin lips and under the right shoulder was the gaping blue bullet hole—the ball went quite through the body from right to left. It was only a mass of clay but there seemed to come a voice from the blue lips: "Be a man! Be a man!—don't shrink when your trial comes and you may find the hero's heaven also—"

Amherst's noted 1834 graduate Henry Ward Beecher eulogized Frazar from the pulpit of his Plymouth Church in Brooklyn: "Of the hundreds of generous young men who will surround his bier will there be one whose heart will be unsusceptible to the lesson taught by the self-sacrifice of this young patriot?"

Many spoke of sacrifice, but one voice called it murder. "Austin is chilled by Frazer's murder," wrote Emily Dickinson in one of two oft-quoted letters about the sol-

dier's death. "He says his Brain keeps saying over 'Frazer is killed' 'Frazer is killed,' just as Father told it—to Him. Two or three words of lead—that dropped so deep, they keep weighing—"

"Murder," she said again in a poem that struggles with the same themes:

It dont sound so terrible—quite—as it did—
I run it over—"Dead", Brain—"Dead".
Put it in Latin—Left of my school—
Seems it dont shriek so—under rule.

Turn it, a little—full in the face
A Trouble looks bitterest—
Shift it—just—
Say "When Tomorrow comes this way—
I shall have waded down one Day".

I suppose it will interrupt me some
Till I get accustomed— but then the Tomb
Like other new Things—shows largest—then—
And smaller, by Habit—

It's shrewder then
Put the Thought in advance—a Year—
How like "a fit"—then—
Murder—wear!

A week after the battle of New Bern, General Burnside ordered that the captured six-pounder brass cannon Colonel Clark had charged so heroically be presented to the Twenty-First Massachusetts Regiment, and the regiment voted to give it to Amherst College in Frazar Stearns's memory. The piece was returned to its manufacturer (ironically, in nearby Chicopee, Massachusetts) for an elaborate inscription describing the gallant capture and list the 19 men of the Twenty-First Regiment killed at New Bern. Heading the list was Frazar's name, together with

the message, "he was an honest man, a true Christian and a model Soldier, faithful, active, intelligent and brave among the bravest."

The ceremony of presenting the cannon, presided over by the Hon. Edward Dickinson in Amherst on April 14, 1862, seemed a second commemoration of Frazar's death. Extra cars were put on the local train to carry crowds from Boston. After the speeches, the scramble to see the cannon was so uncontrolled that few saw it at all that day, and most had to return later to visit the object, which has been on display at the college for 137 years.

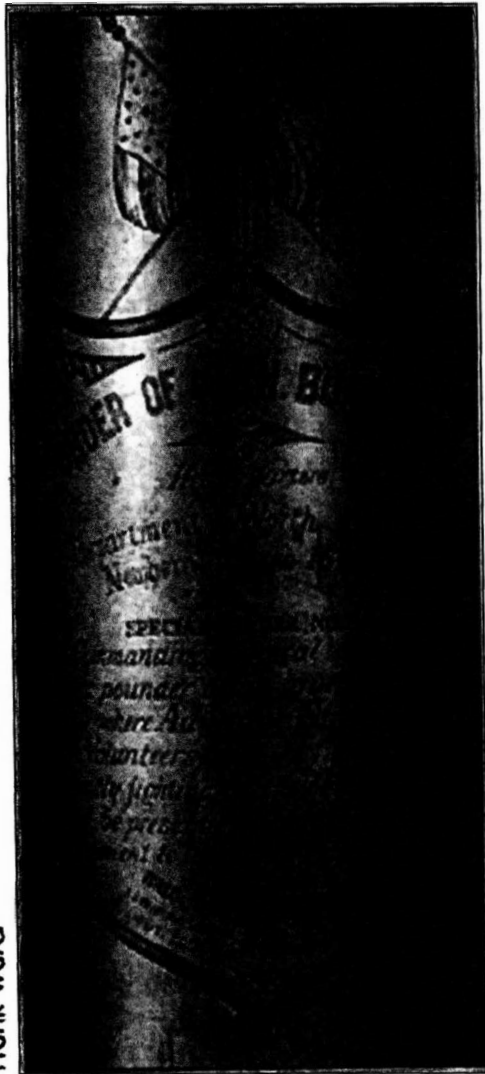
"So our part in Frazar is done," Emily Dickinson wrote after his burial in West Cemetery.

Just as he fell, in his soldier's cap, with his sword at his side, Frazar rode through Amherst, classmates to the right of him, and classmates to the left of him, to guard his narrow face!

There were far more significant battles to follow, far bloodier ones; but New Bern became for this New England town the emblem of the glory and the terribleness of war. To the Irish private of the Twenty-First Regiment who had carried Frazar Stearns off the battlefield, he was "the noblest soldier that the world ever afforded; I fear too brave for his own good." Yet Amherst accepted the young man's loss as the sacrifice he somehow needed to be.

Deep in the text of a tribute, one small New York State newspaper, *The Binghamton Democrat*, struck the fitting epitaph for all concerned: "His spirit shows the worth of liberty and his silent corpse its price."

The author, historian Polly Longworth, has written about Emily Dickinson, her family, and their associates. She reports that 384 Amherst College men served in the Civil War – 38 of them as chaplains and 47 as surgeons or assistant surgeons. The war claimed the lives of 31.



Frank Ward

The memorial cannon as it appears today in Morgan Hall.

BOOK REVIEW

Fort Macon: A History, by Paul Branch. (Charleston, S. C.: The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1999. 292 pp. \$29.95.)

Fort Macon is just about the nicest place to visit in this area, and my own multiple visits over many years have not diminished the charm and beauty of this state park. Charm and beauty in a military fortification? Try a leisurely walk around the ramparts of the old fort and tell me where you can find a better view of the Atlantic Ocean. Or walk next to the massive brick walls and note the sense of serenity and security that the old fort can impart. Visitors almost invariably speak in hushed tones while in the fort because a visit is not unlike the experience of touring a historic church. And remember, unlike most every other state, North Carolina does not charge entrance fees to enjoy our state parks.

Paul Branch is uniquely qualified to write the history of Fort Macon. As the Park's historian, he has heard thousands of questions and comments from visitors and thus knows what people think they know and what they want to know about the fort. Equally important, he knows the historic tidbits, the myths, and the human stories associated with Fort Macon's long history. Finally, I suspect that an academic historian writing on the same topic would have produced a book three times the size of Branch's account because he would have been unable to resist discussing numerous peripheral issues. Indeed, the strong point of the book is Branch's ability to consistently maintain a narrow focus on the fort and not get mired in related issues. As a consequence, Branch has produced a highly readable and complete account of the long history of the

fort in about as few pages as possible.

Despite the fact that almost everybody—including the local tourism folks—consider Fort Macon as a “Civil War fort,” its origins have nothing to do with that conflict. Rather, it could be more properly labeled as the product of hard-learned lessons from the War of 1812 wherein British warships and accompanying troops could do most anything they wanted to do anywhere on the Eastern Coast of the United States. Shortly after that disastrous and unpopular war, elaborate plans for a system of forts all along the Eastern Seaboard were completed. The folks in Washington were dragging their heels a bit on the need for a fort at this particular location, and it took the considerable influence of North Carolina’s distinguished senator Nathaniel Macon (1758-1837) to secure funding to begin construction. Of course, the fort is named for Senator Macon.

Paul Branch has done a particularly excellent job in documenting the construction of Fort Macon during the eight-year period 1826-1834. He vividly describes the difficulties of such a major undertaking in this isolated area and fleshes out the characters of the men involved in building Fort Macon. In 1825, the Board of Engineers had estimated the total cost of construction at \$175,000. Lieutenant Eliason, the man most responsible for the fort’s construction, had estimated its cost at \$220,000 in 1826. Upon completion in 1834, the final actual cost was markedly higher at \$349,384.94. It is comforting to know that some aspects of government—and human nature—never change.

On December 4, 1834, Major Kirby’s artillery company took possession of the fort as its first garrison. Why then is Fort Macon always identified as a “Civil War fort?” By the time the Civil War began in 1861, most of the fort weaponry was inoperable or just plain obsolete and the physical structure in desperate need of major repairs. Barely seven years after completion, a youthful Captain of Engineers, Robert E. Lee, inspected the fort in November and Decem-

ber of 1840. He recommended the construction of stone jetties to prevent the fort from being destroyed by erosion as well as numerous repairs to the fort itself. Lee's report inspired a second phase of construction that lasted for five years. By 1846 Fort Macon was in excellent condition. Thereafter, storms, and lack of maintenance throughout the decade of the 1850s took a heavy toll.

The Confederates had little trouble taking charge of Fort Macon once the Civil War started. The United States garrison at the time consisted of one lone Sergeant of Ordinance who was ready for retirement after more than 30 years of service. By April 1861, Sergeant Alexander was concerned about the increasing threat of war and had requested a revolver for his personal safety by letter to the Chief of Ordinance. He was told that none were available. Thus, it was no magnificent feat of military valor when a ragtag group of Confederates took charge of the fort from Sergeant Alexander on the afternoon of April 14, 1861.

The Confederates were determined to put the old ruin in some sort of fighting order. On April 17, 1861, Captain Henry Guion arrived with a large work force of slaves and free Negro volunteers recruited in New Bern. He also brought with him a large assortment of tools, materials and supplies that had been raised by the city of New Bern for the fort's defense. (I note that in the spring of 1862, Paul Branch's ancestor General Lawrence O'B. Branch would make a similar plea to the people of New Bern for supplies and labor to reinforce the Confederate battle line at New Bern. His plea for help was largely ignored and some historians have interpreted New Bern's indifference as an indication of strong Unionist support within the town. Much more likely, the average New Bernian viewed Branch's defense of New Bern as hopeless and therefore any support provided would be a waste of resources.)

Fort Macon's first and only battle is reviewed in detail by Branch. The attacking Union forces first demanded surrender of the fort on March 23, 1861, and the fort was finally surrendered on April 26 of that year. Given the

vulnerability of brick forts to Civil War artillery, the inexperience of the garrison, and the lack of mortars to defend the fort against land attack, the Confederate defenders of Fort Macon mounted a credible defense. The quality of the garrison's ammunition and chronic problems with illness within the Confederate ranks also contributed to the capture of Fort Macon by Union forces.

I suspect that most people are like me in regard to my knowledge of Fort Macon. I knew something of its history up to its capture by Union forces during the Civil War but virtually nothing about the old fort after this single dramatic event. Hence, for me—and I suspect most everybody else—the old fort's history after its capture up until the modern era made for interesting reading. For example, I did not know that the old fort served for many years as a prison during and after the Civil War. I did recall vaguely that the fort was reactivated briefly during the Spanish-American War.

The War Department at the beginning of the twentieth century essentially abandoned Fort Macon. In 1905, some men from a naval Reserve encampment explored the old powder magazines using lighted matches for light. Lord, have mercy, there were several thousand pounds of old gunpowder spilling out of rotted barrels in the magazines! Ordinance Sergeant Ludwig Leiner was sent from Fort Caswell in 1906 to correct the problem. He simply shoveled the powder into a wheelbarrow and dumped it into the ocean 500 yards away. Sergeant Leiner must have had a sore back after 26 long wheelbarrow trips through soft sand.

In 1924 Senator Furnifold Simmons and Congressmen Charles Abernethy (both from New Bern) successfully sponsored federal legislation that ceded Fort Macon to the state of North Carolina for public purposes. During the 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps did a great deal of restoration work and Fort Macon emerged as the first functioning state park with public facilities. Dedication ceremonies were held in May 1936.

Alas, what the federal government gives, they can take away. Only days after the beginning of World War II, Fort Macon became home of the First Battalion, 244th Coast Artillery. Thus, once again the old fort became the protector of Beaufort Inlet. A group of the newly arrived soldiers took some old Civil War cannonballs to use as andirons in the fireplace of their casemate quarters. Big mistake. One of the cannonballs was loaded with powder and promptly exploded. No one was killed but there were injuries in the crowded casemate. Ironically, the 244th was originally a National Guard outfit from New York so we have a bunch of Yankee soldiers wounded by a Civil War cannonball. The incident is still jokingly referred to as the "last shot of the Civil War."

The World War II occupation compromised some aspects of the historic integrity of the old fort and left a whole new set of scars and marks. For example, a large and very old brick bake oven in one casemate was destroyed to create additional storage space. But as Branch notes, these more recent changes "were not part of the historic fabric of the fort and in time would become historic in themselves."

The author supplements his written account with a large number of interesting and rare old photographs and illustrations. Equally helpful, the author also includes a glossary of fort terms and four separate appendixes describing the garrisons, armament, soldier life, and casemate uses at Fort Macon. One comes away convinced that the author clearly loves his subject. Certainly, those of us who find ourselves repeatedly drawn to this wonderful old fort owe Paul Branch our thanks for the story of Fort Macon.

Richard Lore