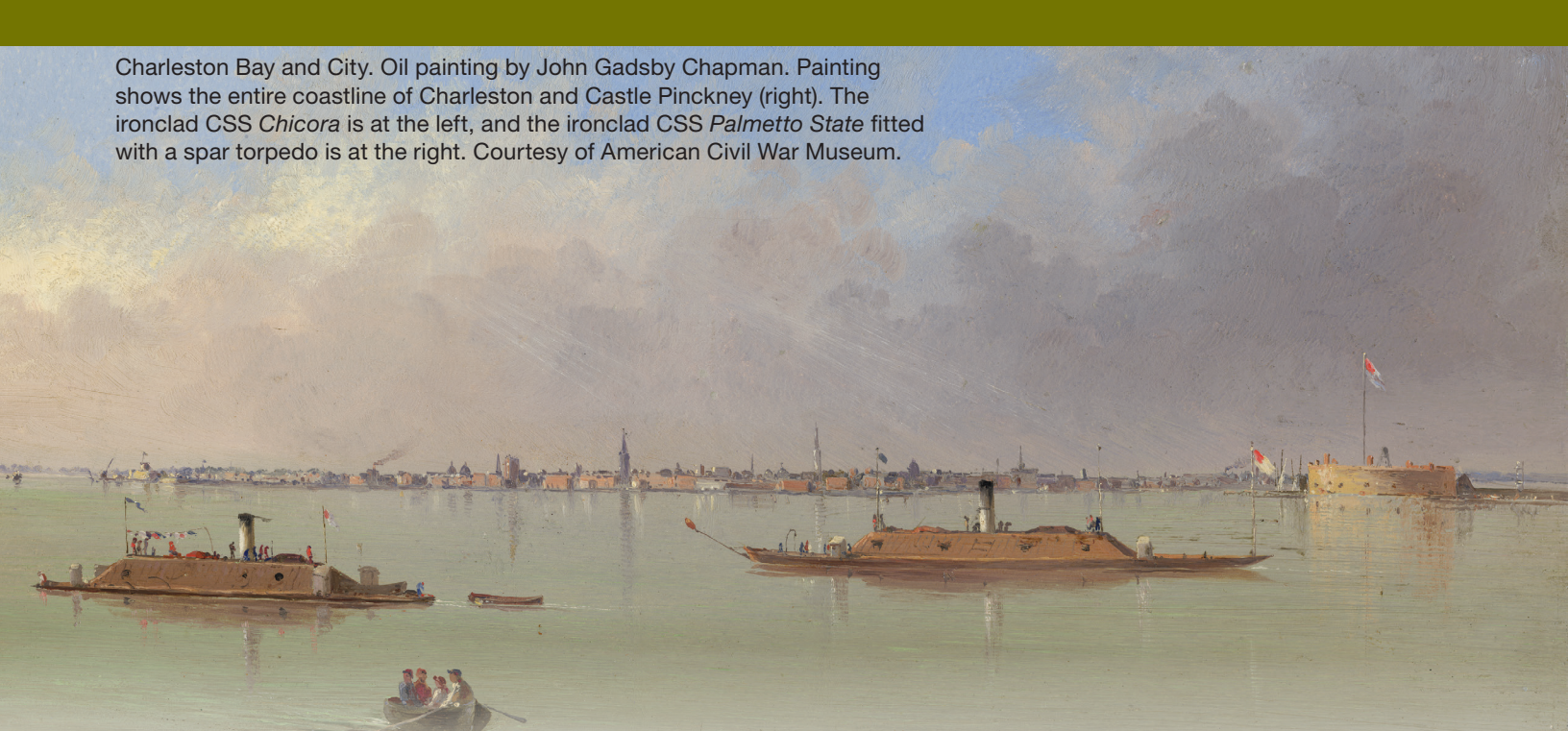


Charleston Bay and City. Oil painting by John Gadsby Chapman. Painting shows the entire coastline of Charleston and Castle Pinckney (right). The ironclad CSS *Chicora* is at the left, and the ironclad CSS *Palmetto State* fitted with a spar torpedo is at the right. Courtesy of American Civil War Museum.



“What Steamer is That?”: Confederate Ironclads Attack Blockaders off Charleston

By Robert M. Browning, Jr.

THE APRIL 12, 1861 ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER cemented the Northern public’s conviction that the city of Charleston, South Carolina was the “cradle of secession.” As a conspicuous symbol of Southern aggression and intransigence, the city became a powerful symbol. This prominent status, as well as other factors, motivated the military leadership of the United States to designate this port as a significant military war objective.

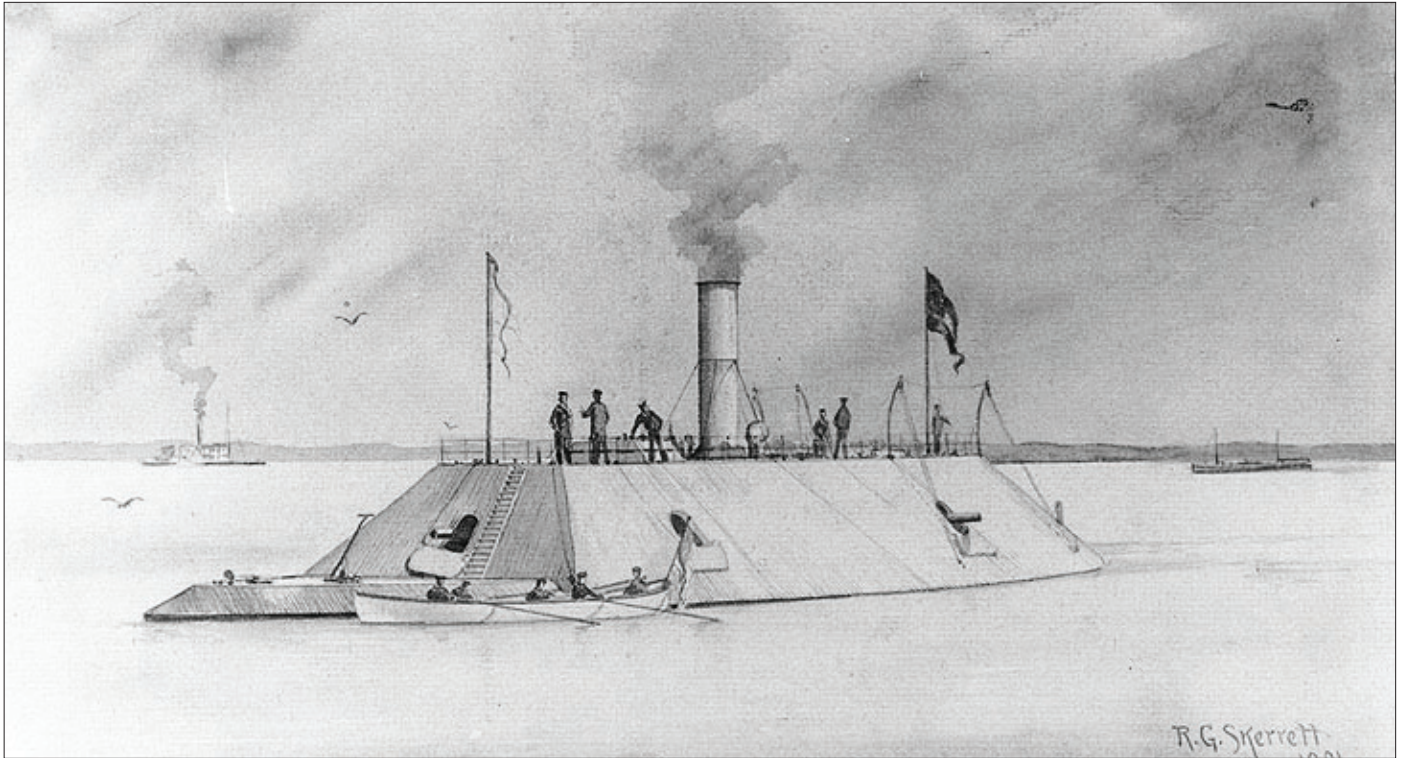
Charleston’s value to the South, however, was far greater than a symbol.

It was the largest and most important port within the Confederate states on the East Coast. Only about 780 miles from Bermuda and just over 500 miles from

Nassau, Charleston offered a short trip for blockade runners and it quickly became the most vital Atlantic port of the Confederacy until Wilmington, North Carolina overtook this role in late 1862. Due to Charleston’s status, the Confederates turned the city into the most heavily defended harbor in the northern hemisphere. In addition to obstructions, mines, and hundreds of guns protecting the harbor, the Confederate Navy built ironclads to defend this important port.

Charleston’s importance as a destination for trade meant that a large and growing blockading force watched Charleston and had gradually constricted blockade running traffic here. Confederate naval leaders desired to alter this situation by driving the Union ships off their stations to break the blockade. The Confederate warships stationed at Charleston were not equal with their Union counterparts and could not be effective in any fight with them. Confederate ironclads, however, were a different

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CSS *Palmetto State*. Wash drawing by R.G. Skerrett, 1901, depicting the ironclad in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. Courtesy of the U.S. Navy Art Collection, Washington, DC. NH 75619 courtesy of Naval History and Heritage Command.

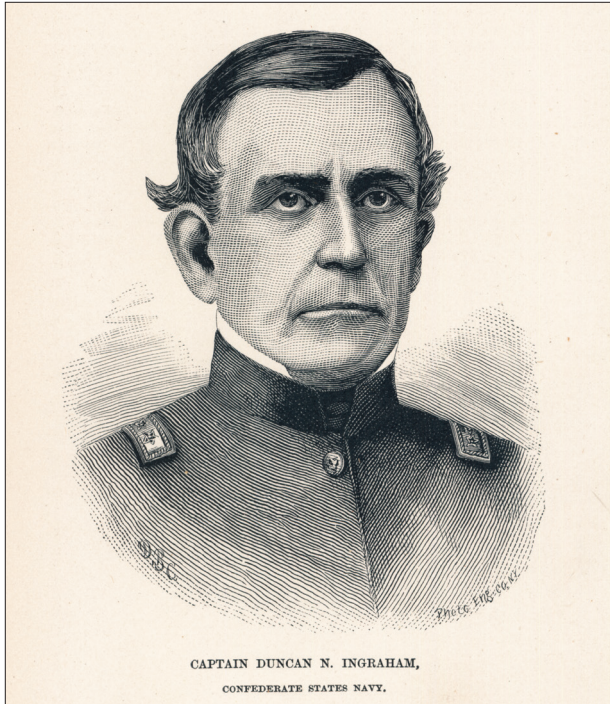
The *Palmetto State* carried a rifled and banded 42-pounder (7-inch) forward and a rifled and banded 32-pounder (6.4-inch) aft that fired 80- and 60-pound projectiles, respectively, and probably two VIII-inch shell guns in broadsides. The Confederates armed the *Chicora* with two 9-inch smoothbores and two banded and rifled 32-pounders that fired a 60-pound projectile. Both these warships suffered from slow speed because the builders provided them secondhand and insufficient power plants. They finished *Chicora* first and launched her on August 23. The *Palmetto State* slid into the water exactly seven weeks later.²

The Confederate Attack

Flag Officer Duncan M. Ingraham, commander of the Charleston Naval Station, wanted to strike as soon as the ironclads were ready. He deliberated a night attack hoping that this might raise the blockade and at least damage several Union vessels. During the fall of 1862, this threat worried the Union squadron's commander, Rear-Admiral Samuel Francis Du Pont. He believed that

the ironclads could steam from the protection of the forts at Charleston and could “do great harm” to his wooden ships, particularly the smaller and lighter armed vessels. As the ironclads neared completion, he admitted that he had a little “ram anxiety.” With so many of his gunboats needing repairs, and despite the slow speed of the enemy ironclads, he felt that the Confederate ironclads might easily cripple or destroy one of his warships. By January 1863, he felt less apprehensive because intelligence gathering yielded the impression that the Charleston ironclads could not go to sea.³

The Confederate leaders acted on their idea of a night attack and at 10 p.m. on January 30—Commodore Ingraham boarded the *Palmetto State*, commanded by First Lieutenant John Rutledge, and hoisted his broad pennant. Ingraham, a Charleston native, had entered naval service as a midshipman in 1812 at the age of nine. As a lieutenant, he commanded the brig *Somers* during the Mexican War. From 1850 to 1852, he served as commandant of the Philadelphia Navy Yard and then joined the Mediterranean Squadron. In 1855, he became



Captain Duncan N. Ingraham, Confederate States Navy. Line engraving from: J. Thomas Scharf. *History of the Confederate States Navy: From Its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel* (New York: Rogers & Sherwood, 1887), p 680.



Captain John Randolph Tucker, Confederate States Navy. Line engraving from: J. Thomas Scharf. *History of the Confederate States Navy: From Its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel* (New York: Rogers & Sherwood, 1887), p 200.

chief of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography. In August 1860, he took command of the frigate *Richmond*, flagship of the Mediterranean Squadron. He returned to the United States in January 1861, resigned his commission, and accepted command of the naval forces in South Carolina. He served briefly as the chief of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography before taking command of the Charleston Naval Station in November 1861.⁴

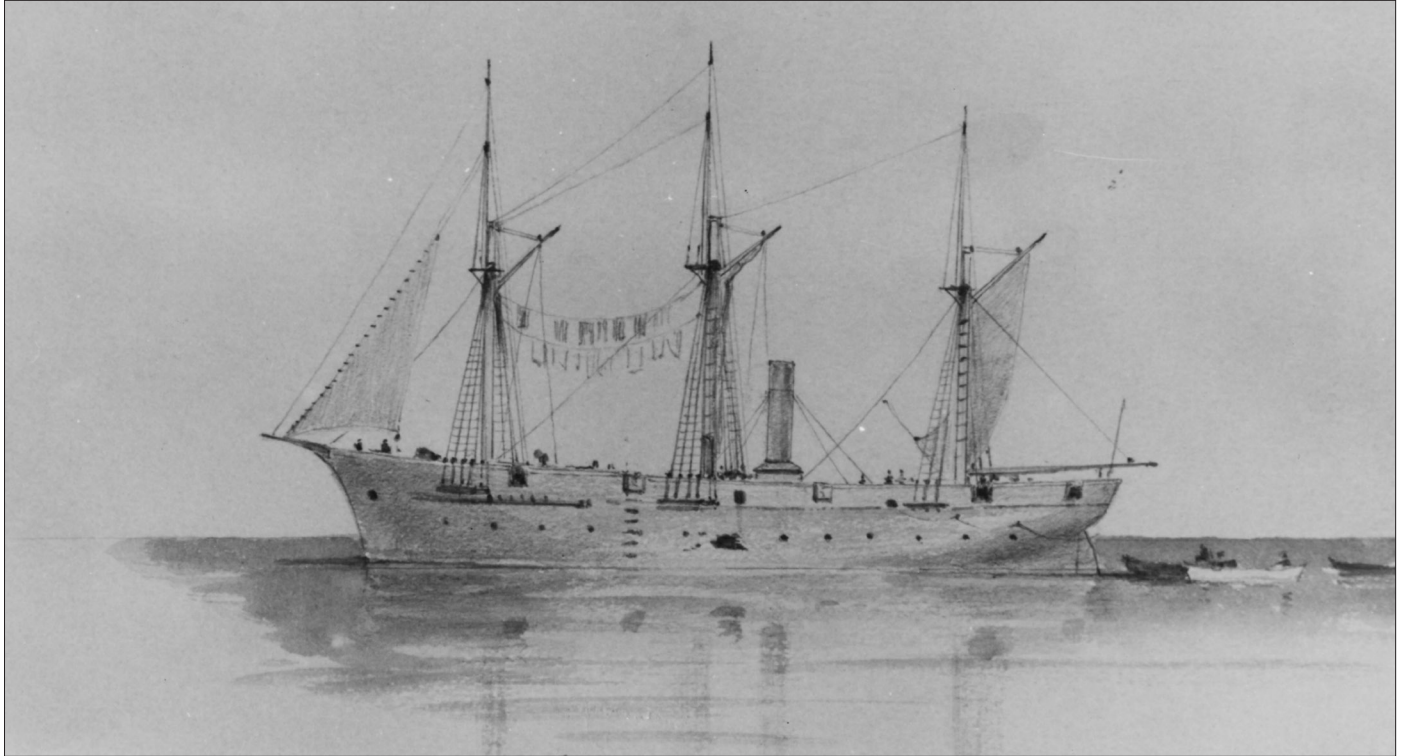
The commanding officer of *Chicora*, John Randolph “Handsome Jack” Tucker, a thirty-five-year veteran of the United States Navy, had sided with his native state of Virginia in April 1861. He began his career in the Virginia Navy as the captain of the gunboat *Patrick Henry*. In charge of the small flotilla of gunboats in the James River, he participated in the battles of Hampton Roads and Drewry’s Bluff. Tucker took command of the *Chicora* in September 1862.⁵

The Confederate ironclads cast off and got underway at 11:30 p.m. They planned to reach the bar at 4 a.m. at high tide on January 31. Their deep drafts would prevent them from crossing until high tide, and *Chicora* passed over the bar with only eighteen inches to spare. Ingraham also ordered three side-wheel steamers, the *General Clinch*, *Etiwan*, and *Chesterfield* with fifty soldiers to serve as tenders to the ironclads. These transports got underway and steamed towards the mouth of the harbor, but inexplicably they never crossed the bar. The moon had just set as the bluish gray ironclads with their armor greased, steamed toward the fleet. A thick haze helped to obscure them, but their funnels belched smoke that trailed after them for several miles like a “huge black serpent.” The ironclads approached the Union blockaders with their port shutters closed, not showing any light to the outside. Inside, the battle lanterns “cast a pale, weird, light on the gun deck” as the men stood quietly at their stations.⁶

The Palmetto State and the Chicora stealthily approached the positions of the blockaders.

Closest by, and just off the bar near the main ship channel, lay the 840-ton screw steamer *Mercedita* at anchor. Her commanding officer, Captain Henry S. Stellwagen, had just

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USS *Mercedita*. Watercolor sketch, probably made during the Civil War. NH 64095-KN courtesy of Naval History and Heritage Command.

laid down for the night when lookouts saw smoke and the “faint appearance” of a vessel. At about 4:30 a.m., Acting Master Thomas J. Dwyer shouted, “That’s black smoke, where’s the night glass? There is a steamer standing this way.” Lieutenant Commander Trevett Abbot, the executive officer and officer of the deck, called out, “Watch, man the guns, spring the rattle, call all hands to quarters!” Dwyer ran below to inform Stellwagen who quickly slipped on his trousers and peacoat and climbed to the main deck. At 100 yards the vessel was still unrecognizable in the haze and Stellwagen ordered the guns trained on the approaching vessel. Stellwagen peered through the haze at the approaching vessel and believed her to be a tug. He hailed, “Steamer ahoy! Stand clear of us and heave to! What steamer is that?...You will be into us!” Initially, the only answer that came back from the *Palmetto State*, however, was “Halloo.”⁷

With a collision imminent, Stellwagen then got the truthful answer when across the water he heard the answer, “This is the Confederate States steam ram *Palmetto State*.” A moment later the ironclad’s prow struck the *Mercedita* on the starboard side, abaft the aftermost 32-pounder gun. The tremendous impact caused her to heel to port. After contact the *Mercedita*’s gun crews could not depress any of their nine guns to defend the ship while the high freeboard of the Union steamer made an easy target for the



Commander Henry S. Stellwagen, USN. NH 44332 courtesy of Naval History and Heritage Command.



The Rebel Rams Engaging Union Blockading Fleet off Charleston, South Carolina, January 31, 1863. Sketched by an Occasional Correspondent. Line engraving published in *Harper's Weekly*, Volume VII, No. 321, p 117, February 21, 1863, depicting the CSS *Chicora* (left) and CSS *Palmetto State* attacking the USS *Mercedita* (center) with the USS *Keystone State* at the right.

Confederates. As the ironclad's prow passed into the *Mercedita*, the Confederate crew dropped the forward port shutter and fired the 7-inch bow gun into the blockader. This shot passed through the starboard side, through the condenser and the steam drum and exploded on the port side at the waterline of the ship, tearing a huge hole in the hull.

This single shot left the *Mercedita* critically wounded.

The blockader immediately filled with steam. Water flooding into the ship from both sides put the fires out and left her in a sinking condition. Two men lay dead and others lay dying from scalding steam.⁸

After inflicting the critical damage to the *Mercedita*, the *Palmetto State* backed and swung under the blockader's starboard counter with her prow against the hapless gunboat. Stellwagen heard the words, "Surrender, or I'll sink you!" shouted across the water from the ironclad. Without any motive power and no way to depress his guns, Stellwagen decided to surrender his ship. Lieutenant Commander Abbot ordered a boat put over the side to offer the surrender to the enemy. The crew had trouble launching the whale boat and nearly ten minutes elapsed before Abbot reached the ironclad. During this time, calls from the ram continually inquired whether they intended to surrender.⁹

Arriving on board the ironclad, the Union sailors presented quite a sight to the Confederate tars. They were dressed in "scant fashion," having been called to their battle stations from their hammocks. When Abbot arrived, First Lieutenants George S. Shryock and William H. Parker guided him to the captain to surrender the *Mercedita*. Abbot informed Commander Rutledge that the *Mercedita* was in a sinking condition. Rutledge conferred with Ingraham and the flag officer decided to receive the surrender of the Union ship, but not to take the vessel in tow as a prize. The delay of Abbot arriving on board the ironclad had cost the Confederates valuable time. Ingraham also took a considerable time deciding what to do with the Union crew. Anxious to continue his fight with the blockaders, but not able to take the crew on board, he paroled the officers and crew. This prevented them, on their word of honor, not to serve against the Confederate States until regularly exchanged. Had the three steam tenders followed the ironclads they might have taken the *Mercedita* in tow.¹⁰

When the *Palmetto State* struck the *Mercedita*, the *Chicora* passed to her starboard to locate another Union warship. The *Chicora*, however, did not find a target until about thirty minutes after her consort had fired her first shot. Lookouts on the ram spotted the 1,364-ton side-wheel steamer *Keystone State*. Gunfire from the direction of the *Mercedita* failed to alarm the other blockading vessels and they remained at their stations. On deck, Commander William E. Le Roy, as well as the other

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officers on the blockaders not engaged, believed the gunfire was aimed at a blockade runner that had attempted to escape. Le Roy, appointed a midshipman in 1832, had an active prewar career that earned him promotion to commander in July 1861. He was one of Du Pont's favorite officers. Du Pont called Le Roy "thoroughly well-bred" and a "model Christian officer and gentleman."¹¹

Soon after 5 a.m., lookouts on the *Keystone State* spotted a suspicious object and Le Roy ordered the cable slipped. The engineers spread the fires to generate steam "as fast as possible" and the Union vessel made for the suspicious craft. The *Keystone State*, armed with seven heavy guns, steamed abreast of the mysterious steamer.

Le Roy hailed "What steamer is that?"

Le Roy, however, received the same reply as *Stellwagen* on the *Mercedita*— "Halloo." Finding this reply unacceptable, the *Keystone State*'s starboard bow gun

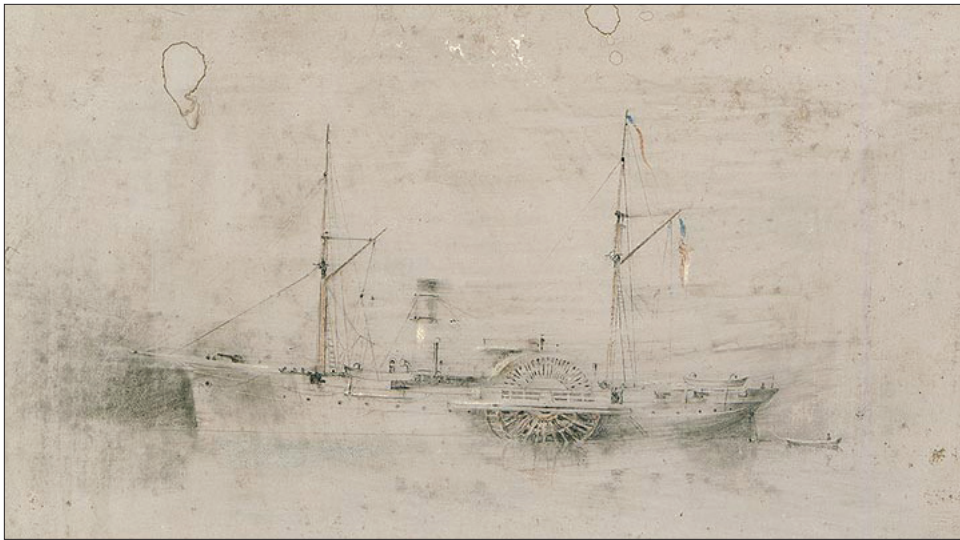


Captain William E. Le Roy, USN. Detail from photograph of Admiral David G. Farragut, commanding European Squadron, with other officers and ladies at St. Petersburg, Russia, 1867-1868. NH 85183 courtesy of Naval History and Heritage Command.

fired at the ironclad. Le Roy then had his ship swung hard apart in order to fire the whole starboard battery when the guns came to bear.¹²

The *Chicora* answered with her bow gun, then rounded to and gave the blockader a broadside. She finished with a shot from the after gun. One of the first shots to penetrate the *Keystone State* passed forward under the spar deck. Traveling along a line of hammocks, it decapitated three men and cut the feet off a fourth. The latter man had just come off duty and turned in with his head facing the wrong way. Another shell entered the berth deck and exploded amidships ripping a hole in the hull several feet in diameter. Another grazed a cabin boy's head and then entered the armory. All but one of the shells exploded. A fire started in the forehold and Le Roy had the helmsman steer north. Once the crew subdued the fire, he turned his ship around and ordered full throttle to run the ironclad down. At 6:17 a.m. a shell fired from the *Chicora* entered the port side, struck both steam drums, and emptied their contents. This caused the ship to heel nearly to her guards. Steam enveloped the engine room and the forward part of the ship and prevented men from reaching the forward magazines. With the ship critically wounded, the officers met at the rail on the hurricane deck. Le Roy stood there "nervous and excited" getting reports from his subordinates. With his ship on fire and likely sinking and with every discharge of the *Chicora*'s guns killing and wounding his crew, Le Roy chose to strike the flag.¹³

The *Chicora* ceased fire when the Union tars hauled the flag down. The escaping steam had driven the black gang and the engineers from the engine room, and they escaped through the coal bunkers to the deck. In their flight, they failed to secure the engines. The steam pressure remaining in the boilers continued to power the ship for twenty minutes. Due to her heel, the *Keystone State*'s starboard wheel remained buried deep in the water and took her slowly away from the ironclad. Confederate First Lieutenant William T. Glassell requested permission to fire on the Union vessel, but Tucker replied, "No; she has lowered her flag and surrendered." When the executive officer of the *Keystone State*, Lieutenant Commander Thomas Eastman, realized that someone had struck the flag, he asked who



USS *Keystone State*. Pencil sketch by Xanthus Smith, depicting the ship at Port Royal, South Carolina, December 15, 1862. NH 60640-KN courtesy of Naval History and Heritage Command.

did it. Le Roy replied, “I ordered it down. We are disabled and at the mercy of the Ram who can rake and sink us. It is a useless sacrifice of life to resist further.” Eastman, exasperated by this decision, reportedly threw his sword on the deck exclaiming, “God damn it. I will have nothing to do with it.” Le Roy asked Eastman if he would take responsibility and Eastman replied, “Yes sir I’ll take responsibility.” He picked up his sword and had the flag hoisted again. At long range, the *Keystone State* began firing at the ironclad.¹⁴

The nearby *Memphis*, hearing the continued gunfire, steamed to the sounds and discovered the crippled *Keystone State*. Her crew passed her disabled consort a hawser and towed her out of danger. The escape of the *Keystone State* after striking her flag and Le Roy’s actions, were viewed by the Confederates as “faithless” and “beyond the pale of civilized and honorable warfare.” Le Roy escaped with his vessel shot up, twenty killed and a like number wounded, at least three mortally.¹⁵

The *Chicora* and *Palmetto State* now looked for other quarry.

Despite the gunfire, most of the blockaders on station still assumed that it was the result of a vessel’s attempt to

run the blockade. Gradually, however, the continued firing alarmed some of the other vessels and they began slipping their anchors and steamed through the fog to determine the cause. Eventually, the *Quaker City*, *Memphis*, *Augusta*, and *Housatonic* all entered the fray. The screw-propelled gunboat *Memphis* stumbled into both ironclads and fired a few shots, but did not remain to fight. She steamed eastward to escape and found the *Keystone State*. The 1,428-ton side-wheel *Quaker City* also advanced toward the

gunfire and received a shot in her engine. The heavily armed screw sloop *Housatonic* and side-wheel gunboat *Augusta* both exchanged shots with the rebel rams at long range and a shot struck *Augusta* just above the boiler. Not a single shot fired by the Union vessels hit its mark, except for a random shot that severed the *Palmetto State*’s flagstaff. At 7:30 a.m., believing they had done all the damage they could, the Confederate ironclads began steaming northeast back towards the harbor completely unscathed.¹⁶

The Battle’s Aftermath

The ironclads stood into Charleston at Beach Channel, leaving the Union blockade in chaos. The Confederate vessels met the three transports that helped guide them through the channel and they anchored at 8:45 a.m. and remained there for seven hours for high tide. The ironclads then stood down the harbor and received salutes from the Confederate forts. They arrived back in Charleston to a hero’s welcome. The citizens of Charleston lined the banks and wharves to cheer. The Charleston papers’ headlines read “Brilliant Naval Victory.”¹⁷

The Union vessels, on the other hand, had suffered a humiliating defeat.

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The ironclads left two blockaders severely damaged and the *Quaker City* received a shell in her engine room that left her machinery partially disabled. At least twenty-seven men died—twenty-three on the *Keystone State* and four on the *Mercedita*. Another twenty lay wounded, some seriously.¹⁸

Shortly after the ironclads steamed to their berths, Ingraham reported to Richmond that he had broken the Union blockade. The Confederate Government accepted this statement and forwarded this information to the British, Spanish, and French consuls. This statement carried important international and legal implications regarding the legitimacy of the blockade. If the ironclads had indeed broken the blockade, international law proscribed it would be necessary to issue a new notice of the blockade before the Union warships could legally enforce it. The law also required that a grace period of fifteen days be observed before the blockade could be enforced again.¹⁹

General Beauregard provided the steamer *General Clinch* to take the foreign consuls stationed in Charleston to observe personally the absence of blockading vessels. The British Consul in Charleston, Robert Bunch, instead boarded the HBMS *Petrel* to confirm that the ironclads broke the blockade. The French and Spanish consuls also went to examine the fleet to substantiate the allegation. Much to the dismay of the Confederate State Department, all these men reacted with extreme caution, and none of the consuls accepted the Confederate government's claim.²⁰ The Union officers reacted to the Confederate proclamations with indignity and declared the statements "false in every particular." They claimed that the hazy day had added to the confusion of distance. They pointed out that even the vessels attacked by the ironclads did not withdraw. The others had supposed the firing was at a blockade runner and thus did not leave their stations until the battle ended. The executive officer of the *Palmetto State*, First Lieutenant William Parker, admitted years later that the blockaders only withdrew slightly to the north, but kept the ironclads under observation. The misunderstanding was a case where "distance lent enchantment to the view."²¹

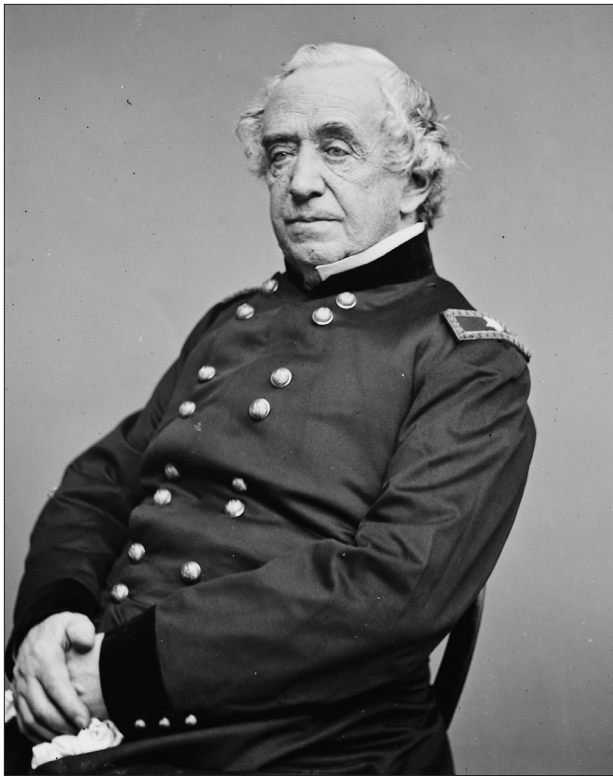
Many in the South celebrated this naval battle and it boosted Confederate morale. Others closely associated

with both sides, however, realized that this represented only a minor victory for the Confederacy and a small setback for the Union navy. The *Chicora's* Second Assistant Engineer best summed this when he wrote, "They say we raised the blockade, but we all felt we would have rather raised hell and sunk the ships."²²

Both Stellwagen and Le Roy requested a court of inquiry to clear them of wrongdoing. Du Pont, though, declared a court of inquiry unnecessary for Le Roy. While waiting for the outcome of Stellwagen's court of inquiry, Du Pont "scrupulously avoided" making any changes to the *Mercedita*. He did not remove anything or change her armament in case the court ruled her a prize of war.



Rear-Admiral William B. Shubrick, USN. Carte de visite photograph taken circa 1862-1864 and published by Edward Anthony, New York. NH 88398 courtesy of Naval History and Heritage Command.



Brigadier General Joseph G. Totten, Chief, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army. Photographed by Brady's National Photographic Portrait Galleries, circa 1860-1864. Library of Congress (LC-DIG-cwpb-05190).

He did have her repaired in Philadelphia in hopes the board would find in the United States Navy's favor.²³

An initial court met and determined that it could not rule on portions of the case and that further proceedings were necessary. The court did conclude that the parole given by Lieutenant Commander Abbot should be binding, but also determined that the parole did not include the *Mercedita* and her equipment. The Navy Department convened a second board consisting of Rear-Admirals William B. Shubrick and Charles H. Davis, and Brigadier General Joseph G. Totten to reexamine the findings of the first board. This board met and concluded that the paroles given were valid. It ruled that Stollwagen sanctioned Abbot to ask for surrender and that Abbot had "assumed the responsibility" of giving the parole for the men on the *Mercedita*.²⁴

The Confederate ironclad attack had definite consequences.

The senior Union naval officers realized that the Confederates might again use their ironclads offensively and that an attack could come at any time. This complicated the enforcement of the blockade. This incidence also confirmed the vulnerability of the wooden and lightly built ex-merchant vessels, particularly the slow and inadequately armed ones. It also displayed the greatest limitation of the Confederate ironclads—they did not have good speed.

The attack did have one positive outcome for future Union naval operations. The Union navy's plans for a naval strike on the defenses of the city were far along when the Confederate ironclads sortied against the blockading force. In fact, the first monitors assigned to this operation were already on their way south by the time of the Confederate sortie. Admiral Du Pont believed that this incident "stirred up the Department which nothing else could have done..." The impending attack on the "cradle of secession" would now be augmented with additional monitors.²⁵

Sources

1. It is likely that the *Charleston* was the "Ladies Gunboat," but the *Palmetto State* went by the nickname. Du Pont to Wise, January 16, 1863, John D. Hay (Charleston, SC), Editor. Samuel Francis *Du Pont: A Selection From His Civil War Letters*, 3 Volumes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969), Volume 2, p 359 (hereafter Du Pont, *Letters*); J. Thomas Scharf. *History of the Confederate States Navy: From Its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel* (Reprint, Fairfax Press, 1977), p 670-671; Paul H. Silverstone. *Warships of the Civil War Navies* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1989), p 205; William N. Still, Jr. *Iron Afloat: The Story of the Confederate Armorclads* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), p 81; Marguerite Couturier Steedman. "The Ladies Build a Gunboat," *Sandlapper: The Magazine of South Carolina*, Volume 1, p 57-63, September 1968.
2. The information regarding the building of these vessels and their armament is confusing and conflicting. Some sources give the *Chicora* four broadside guns. William Harwar Parker. *Recollections of a Naval Officer 1841-1865* (Reprint, Annapolis, MD: United States Naval Institute, 1985), p 308; Scharf, p 671; Still, Jr., p 82.
3. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard. Defense of Charleston. In: Robert Underwood Johnson, Clarence Clough Buel, Editors. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (Reprint, New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), Volume IV, p 6; Scharf, p 676; Du Pont to Welles, September 5, 1862, Du Pont, *Letters*, Volume 2, p 216; Memoranda Concerning Charleston Harbor, January 14, 1863, Du Pont Family Papers (hereafter Du Pont Papers), The Hagley Library and Museum, Wilmington, Delaware.
4. Scharf, p 674-675.
5. Henry James Rochell. *Life of Rear Admiral John Randolph Tucker* (Washington, DC: The Neale Publishing Company, 1903), p 24; Richard N. Current. *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*, 4 Volumes (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1993), Volume 4, p 1623-1624.
6. Parker, p 308, 314-315, 317; Report of Flag-Officer Ingraham. C.S. Navy, Charleston, S.C., to S.R. Mallory, February 2, 1863. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (hereafter ORN), Series I, Volume 13: South Atlantic Blockading Squadron (May 14, 1862 to April 7, 1863), p 617-619 (Washington, DC Government Printing Office, 1901).

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7. Stellwagen to Du Pont, January 31, 1863, Du Pont Papers; Parker, p 316; Proceedings of the Naval Court of Inquiry, Record Number 3181, Records of General Courts Martial and Courts of Inquiry of the Navy Department, 1799-1867, RG 125, National Archives (Microfilm Publications Number M273).
8. The *Mercedita* carried eight 32-pounders and one 20-pound rifled gun. Report of Flag-Officer Ingraham, C.S. Navy, to S.R. Mallory, February 2, 1863. *Ibid*, p 617; Report of Captain Stellwagen, U.S. Navy, commanding the U.S.S. *Mercedita*, Port Royal, to Rear-Admiral S.F. Du Pont, January 31, 1863, *ibid*, p 579-580; Parker, p 316; *Charleston Mercury* (Charleston, SC), February 2, 1863; Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, Record Number 3181, RG 125, M273, National Archives.
9. Report of Rear-Admiral Du Pont, U.S. Navy, forwarding proceedings of the court of enquiry in the case of the U.S.S. *Mercedita*, Port Royal Harbor, S.C., to Gideon Welles, February 18, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 613; Report of Captain Stellwagen, U.S. Navy, commanding U.S.S. *Mercedita*, Port Royal, to Rear-Admiral S.F. Du Pont, January 31, 1863, *ibid*, p 579-580; Report of Lieutenant-Commander Abbot, U.S. Navy, executive officer U.S.S. *Mercedita*, At Sea, off Port Royal, to Captain Henry S. Stellwagen, January 31, 1863, *ibid*, p 580-581; Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, Record Number 3181, M273, RG 125, National Archives.
10. Thirteen Union sailors also put a boat over the side and deserted the *Mercedita*. They were later held in confinement by the U.S. Navy. *Ibid*.
11. Du Pont to Sophie, May 19, 1862, Du Pont, *Letters*, Volume 2, p 59-60; Lewis Randolph Hamersly. *The Records of Living Officers of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1870), p 430; Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, Record Number 3181, M273, RG 125, National Archives.
12. Report of Commander Le Roy, U.S. Navy, commanding U.S.S. *Keystone State*, Port Royal, S.C., to Rear-Admiral S.F. Du Pont, January 31, 1863, *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 581-582; Abstract Log *Keystone State*, January 31, 1863, Du Pont Papers; Correspondence of William E. LeRoy, Entry 395, RG 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, National Archives, Washington, DC.
13. Scharf, p 677; Xanthus Smith. Confederate Ram Raid off Charleston, S.C. In: George M. Vickers, Editor. *Under Both Flags: A Panorama of the Great Civil War* (Philadelphia, PA: People's Publishing, 1896), p 239; Abstract Log *Keystone State*, Du Pont Papers; Le Roy to Du Pont, January 31, 1862, Le Roy Correspondence, Entry 395, RG 45, National Archives.
14. Scharf, p 677-678; Le Roy to Du Pont, January 31, 1863, Le Roy Correspondence, Entry 395, RG 45, National Archives; A. K. Eddowes to Le Roy, January 31, 1863, *ibid*; Letter of Second Assistant Engineer James H. Tomb, C.S. Navy, Charleston, S.C., January 30, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 622-623; D.W. Grapley Diary, as cited in Still, Jr., p 122.
15. Report of Commander Tucker, C.S. Navy, commanding C.S.S. *Chicora*, to Flag-Officer D.N. Ingraham, January 31, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 619-620; Le Roy to Du Pont, January 31, 1863, Le Roy Correspondence, Entry 395, RG 45, National Archives; Extract from letters of Lieutenant-Commander Eastman, U.S. Navy, January 31, 1863; T. H. Eastman to Mrs. Eastman, February 3, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 586.
16. Neither the *Powhatan* nor *Canandaigua*, two of the heaviest armed warships in the squadron even participated. Both were in Port Royal for coal and repairs. The captain of *Housatonic* claimed to have shot away the pilothouse and flag staff of one of the rams. Report of Captain Taylor, U.S. Navy, commanding U.S.S. *Housatonic*, Off Charleston, to Rear-Admiral S.F. Du Pont, January 31, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 587-588; Report of Flag-Officer Ingraham, U.S. Navy, Charleston, S.C., to S.R. Mallory, February 2, 1863, *ibid*, p 618; Parrott to Du Pont, January 31, 1863, Du Pont Papers; Edward A. Butler. Personal Experiences in the Navy 1862-1865. *War Papers Read Before the Commandery of the State of Main, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, 2 Volumes (Portland, ME: Lefavor-Tower Company, 1902), p 191.
17. Report of Flag-Officer Ingraham, U.S. Navy, Charleston, S.C., to S.R. Mallory, February 2, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 618; *Charleston Daily Courier* (Charleston, SC), February 2, 1863.
18. Nine of the deaths on *Keystone State* were caused by scalding from the steam escaping from the boiler. Report of Acting Assistant Surgeon Mason, Off Charleston, S.C., to H.S. Stellwagen, January 31, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 581; Extract of letters from Lieutenant-Commander Eastman, U.S. Navy, January 31, 1863, T. H. Eastman to Mrs. Eastman, February 3, 1863, *ibid*, p 586; Report of Acting First Assistant Engineer Farrer, U.S. Navy, regarding injuries sustained by the U.S.S. *Quaker City*, Off Charleston, S.C., to J. M. Frailey, February 2, 1863, *ibid*, p 594.
19. Letter from the Secretary of State of the Confederate States to British consuls, regarding result of the attack, Richmond, to George Moore, January 31, 1863, *ibid*, p 620-621; Letter from General Beauregard, C.S. Army, to Baron De St. Andre, January 31, 1863, *ibid*, p 621; Extract from *Savannah Republican* (Savannah, GA), February 2, 1863, *ibid*, p 617; Report of Captain Godon, U.S. Navy, regarding impressions of British naval officers relative to the condition of the blockade, Off Charleston, to Rear-Admiral Du Pont, February 8, 1863, *ibid*, p 600-601; Freeman Snow. *International Law: A Manual Based Upon Lectures Delivered At the Naval War College* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), p 157.
20. *Savannah Republican* (Savannah, GA), February 2, 1863; Letter from the Spanish consul at Charleston to General Beauregard, C.S. Army, announcing the forwarding of the news to Washington regarding the raising of the blockade, Munez de Moncada to Thomas Jordan, February 1, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 621-622; Scharf, p 683.
21. Certificate of commanding officers of United States vessels regarding the condition of the blockade, January 31, Off Charleston, February 10, 1863, *ibid*, p 605-607; Parker, p 321-323.
22. Letter of Second Assistant Engineer James H. Tomb, C.S. Navy, Charleston, S.C., January 30, 1863. *ORN*, Series I, Volume 13, p 623.
23. Report of Captain Stellwagen, U.S. Navy, commanding U.S.S. *Mercedita*, requesting a court of enquiry, Port Royal, to Rear-Admiral S.F. Du Pont, February 2, 1863, *ibid*, p 611; Report of Commander Le Roy, U.S. Navy, commanding U.S.S. *Keystone State*, requesting a court of enquiry, Port Royal, S.C., to Rear-Admiral S.F. Du Pont, February 5, 1863, *ibid*, p 612; Letter from Rear-Admiral Du Pont, U.S. Navy, to Commander Le Roy, U.S. Navy, declaring a court of enquiry unnecessary, Port Royal Harbor, S.C., to W.E. Le Roy, February 6, 1863, *ibid*, p 612; Report of Rear-Admiral Du Pont, U.S. Navy, referring to the disposition of the U.S.S. *Mercedita*, Port Royal Harbor, S.C., to Gideon Welles, February 12, 1863, *ibid*, p 660-661.
24. Report of Rear-Admiral Du Pont, U.S. Navy, forwarding proceedings of the court of enquiry in the case of U.S.S. *Mercedita*, Port Royal Harbor, S.C., to Gideon Welles, February 18, 1863, *ibid*, p 613; Order of the Secretary of the Navy to Rear-Admiral Shubrick, U.S. Navy, to serve as chairman of board on the status of the officers and others attached to the U.S.S. *Mercedita*, regarding their parole, Navy Department, to Rear-Admiral W.B. Shubrick, March 3, 1863, *ibid*, p 613-614; Report of the board appointed to consider the status of the officers and others of the U.S.S. *Mercedita*, regarding their parole, Navy Department, to Gideon Welles, March 12, 1863, *ibid*, p 614-615.
25. Report of Rear-Admiral Du Pont, forwarding additional reports, Port Royal Harbor, S.C., to Gideon Welles, February 3, 1863, *ibid*, p 577-578; Du Pont to Gerhard, February 19, 1863, Du Pont, *Letters*, Volume 2, p 448; Du Pont to H. A. Wise, January 16, 1863, Henry Augustus Wise Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.



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