

## Quote Sources and Citations for

### *Unlike Anything that Ever Floated: The Monitor and Virginia and the Battle of Hampton Roads, March 8-9, 1862*

By Dwight Sturtevant Hughes

(Note: In Adobe reader, click Bookmarks to navigate to chapter and page headings.)

#### Quote Sources

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## Quote Citations

### Chapter 1: Prepare for Serious Work

#### Page 1

“4 o’clock P.M. We have just parted. . . .”

William Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Robert W. Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor: 1862: The Letters of Acting Paymaster William Frederick Keeler, U. S. Navy to His Wife, Anna* (Annapolis, MD, 1964), 27.

“all the thousand & one things . . . .”

Keeler to Anna, February 9, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 7.

#### Page 2

“Your better half will be in no more danger. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, February 13, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 11.

#### Page 3

“Not a whistle sounded to cheer us. . . .”

David A. Mindell, *Iron Coffin: War, Technology, and Experience aboard the USS Monitor*, Updated Edition (Johns Hopkins Introductory Studies in the History of Technology) (Baltimore, 2012), loc. 1380 of 4524, Kindle.

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“It is difficult to give an adequate impression. . . .”

Correspondent’s letter dated February 16, 1862, Burlington Weekly Free Press, February 28, 1862, in Anna Gibson Holloway and Jonathan W. White, *Our Little Monitor: The Greatest Invention of the Civil War* (Kent State University Press, 2018), loc. 1175-1181 of 6733, Kindle.

“People. . . said she looked like ‘a wash-tub on a raft,’ . . . .”

Alban C. Stimers, "An Engineer Aboard the Monitor," in *Civil War Times Illustrated*, vol 9 (April 1970), Number 1, 29.

"Here was an unknown, untried vessel, with. . . ."

John Worden, "The Monitor's First Trip," *Youth's Companion*, Aug. 15, 1895, Frank H. Pierce Papers, New York Public Library, New York, in Mindell, *Iron Coffin*, loc. 1542-1546 of 4524, Kindle.

"and in all respects prepare. . . ." . . . "not to go under fire. . . ."

Gideon Welles to Captain John Marston, March 4, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 1, vol. 6, 678-679. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

"Doubts were entertained. . . ."

Gideon Welles, "The First Iron-Clad Monitor" in *The Annals of The War Written By Leading Participants North and South* (Philadelphia, 1879), 23.

"The moon is shining bright. . . ."

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 27.

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"Not a sea has yet passed. . . ."

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 27.

"will not hesitate. . . ." . . . "noble kindness of heart. . . ." . . . "was nearly worshiped by us all."

Keeler to Anna, February 9, 13, March 26, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 8, 13, 53.

"I think I lived ten good years."

Dana Greene to parents, March 14, 1862, in "Voyage to Destiny," *Naval History Magazine* vol. 21 (April 2007), Number 2, 2.

"black hair & eyes that look through a person."

Keeler to Anna, February 9, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 9.

"Her roll was very easy and slow. . . ."

S. D. Greene to Gideon Welles, March 27, 1862, *ORN* series 1, vol. 7, 170.

"Now the top of every sea that breaks. . . ."

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 28.

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"Our decks are constantly covered with. . . ."

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 28.

"like a waterfall" . . . "in perfect floods" . . . .

Dana Greene, "In the 'Monitor' Turret," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon "The Century War Series." Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of "The Century Magazine,"* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 720.

"wet & very disagreeable below" . . . .

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 27-28.

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"The accumulative weight [of water] . . . ."

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 27-28.

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“the fires burned with a sickly blaze. . . .” . . . “very limber in the legs” . . . “I managed to reach [the top] . . .”

Stimers, “An Engineer Aboard the *Monitor*,” 30.

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“Our Engineers behaved like heroes. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862.

“It was a sorry looking company. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 30.

“Then times looked rather blue. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862

“We might have to ‘give up the ship.’”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 30.

“My mechanical genius came in play. . . .”

Ibid.

“We commenced to think then the *Monitor* would never see day light.”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862.

“It seemed singular to sit in my room. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 30

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“Nothing but the subsidence of the wind. . . .”

Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” 720.

“I consider the form and strength. . . .” . . . “it is only the man who has studied. . . .”

Stimers to Smith, March 9, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 27.

“We imagined we heard heavy guns. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 30.

“We did not credit it, at first. But. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862.

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“As the darkness increased, the flashes. . . .” . . . “how slow we seemed to move. . . .” . . . “As we neared the harbor. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 31.

“all its mysteries of moat. . . .” . . . “As we steamed up through. . . .”

John Emmet O’Brien, *Telegraphing in Battle: Reminiscences of the Civil War* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa, 1910), 60-67.

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“We were, therefore, in daily expectation. . . .” . . . “I saw the dim outline. . . .” . . . “The ironclad Ericsson battery . . . .”

O’Brien, *Telegraphing in Battle*, 60-67.

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“An atmosphere of gloom. . . .”

Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” 722.

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“Oh! you cannot imagine. . . .” . . . “against enormous odds” . . . “At 4:15 a.m. we all lay down. . . .”

C. S. Cotton to Parents, March 10, 1862, in Papers of the Charles S. Cotton Family, Archives Branch, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington, D.C.

“Certainly a grander sight was never seen. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862; Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” 722.

**Chapter 2: Sink Before Surrender****Page 17**

“calm and peaceful as a May day” . . . .

Hardin B. Littlepage, “The Career of the *Merrimac-Virginia*: With Some Personal History,” in Mathless, Paul, ed., *Voices of the Civil War: The Peninsula*. (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1997), 44.

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“I could not see where she commenced. . . .”

Captain William Harwar Parker, *Naval Officer: My Services in the U. S. and Confederate Navies 1841-1865* (Big Byte Books, 2014), loc. 3712 of 5575, Kindle.

“the black mouthed guns peeping from the ports. . . .”

Eugenius A. Jack, in John V. Quarstein, *The CSS Virginia: Sink Before Surrender* (Charleston, SC, The History Press, 2012), loc. 5251 of 12416, Kindle.

“bore some resemblance to. . . .”

Dinwiddie B. Phillips, “Notes on The Monitor-Merrimac Fight,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 718. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

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“In fact she was designed from the first. . . .”

Phillips, “Notes on The Monitor-Merrimac Fight,” 718.

“many vexatious delays. . . .”

Catesby ap Roger Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 11 (January-December 1904), 66.

“was put up in the roughest way. . . .” . . . “in every respect ill-proportioned. . . .” . . . “and she never should have been found. . . .”

William Norris, “The Story of the Confederate States Ship ‘Virginia’ (Once Merrimac.) Her Victory Over the Monitor,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 42 (September 1917), 205-206.

“The crew, 320 in number, were obtained. . . .”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” 66-67.

“There was a sprinkling of old man-of-war’s men. . . .” . . . “whose value at the time could. . . .” . . . “had never even seen a great gun. . . .”

Captain Eggleston, "Captain Eggleston's Narrative of the Battle of the Merrimac," in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 41 (September 1916), 168.

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"Buchanan was a typical product of. . ."

Eggleston, "Captain Eggleston's Narrative, 168.

"The *Virginia* is a novelty in naval construction. . . ."

Mallory to Buchanan, February 24, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 1, vol. 6, 776-777. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

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"Like the bayonet charge of infantry. . . ."

Mallory to Buchanan, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 6, 776-777.

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"ought to have been defended by all the means. . . ." . . . "It was the key to all. . . ."

Report of the Investigating Committee Confederate House of Representatives, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), Series 1, vol. 9, 188. Hereafter cited as *OR*. All references are to series 1 unless otherwise noted.

"Our utmost exertions" . . . "Action—prompt and successful action" . . . "I congratulate you upon it. . . ."

Mallory to Buchanan, February 24, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 6, 776-777.

"Could you pass Old Point [Comfort] and. . . ." . . . "Can the *Virginia* steam to. . . ."

*Ibid.*; Mallory to Buchanan, March 7, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 6, 780-781.

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"Such an event would eclipse all the glories. . . ."

Mallory to Buchanan, March 7, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 6, 780-781.

"My plan is to destroy the Frigates first. . . ."

Buchanan Magruder, March 2, 1862, in Quarstein, *The CSS Virginia*, loc. 1659-1660 of 12416, Kindle.

"*Patrick Henry*," recalled an officer, "was not at all fitted. . . ."

Parker, *Naval Officer*, 3098 of 5575, Kindle.

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"It is too late to co-operate with my army. . . ."

Magruder to Buchanan, March 3, 1862, *OR*, vol. 9, 50.

"We do not believe that you [Magruder] are in the slightest danger. . . ."

Benjamin to Magruder, March 4, 1862, *OR*, vol. 9, 53.

"would incur a risk of disaster. . . ."

Magruder to Cooper, March 6, February 24, 1862, *OR*, vol. 9, 44, 57.

"It would have been glorious. . . ." . . . "Any dependence upon me. . . ."

Magruder to Buchanan, March 3, 1862, *OR*, vol. 9, 51.

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"huge, unwieldy make-shift" . . . "officered with the very cream. . . ." . . . "freighted down to the very guards. . . ." . . .

“Every man and officer well understood. . . .”

Norris, “Story of the Confederate States Ship ‘Virginia,’” 206.

“The weather was fair, the wind light. . . .” . . . “A great stillness came. . . .” . . . “but no voice broke the silence. . . .” . . .

Parker, *Naval Officer*, 3762 to 3776 of 5575, Kindle.

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“iron-plated coffin” . . . .

Parker, *Naval Officer*, 3762 to 3776 of 5575, Kindle.

### Chapter 3: “It Strikes Me There’s Something in It”

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“Much attention has been given. . . .” . . .

“From the report of the Secretary of the Navy, July 4, 1861,” in *Report of the Secretary of the Navy in Relation to Armored Vessels* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 1. Hereafter cited as *Report...Armored Vessels*.

“Yet it was evident that. . . .”

“From the report of the Secretary of the Navy, December 1, 1862,” *Report. . . Armored Vessels*, 8.

“proper and competent board”

“From the report of the Secretary of the Navy, July 4, 1861,” *Report. . . Armored Vessels*, 1.

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“coolness and placidity of temper.”

Admiral David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War* (New York: 1886), 360.

“distinguished citizen of Massachusetts”. . . . “mail-clad steamers—a subject which. . . .” . . . “England and France will. . . .”

John C. Rives, *The Congressional Globe: The Debates and Proceedings of the First Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress* (Washington, 1861), 210.

“We need a more effective blockade. . . .”

*Ibid.*, 256-57.

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“Suppose England, in her love for cotton. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“Steam-propelling power, the rifle cannon. . . .”

Major Richard Delafield, *Report on the Art of War in Europe, 1854, 1855, and 1856* (Washington, 1860), 176.

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“If we intend to have a national naval force. . . .”

*Philadelphia Examiner*, March 21, 1861, in David A. Mindell, *Iron Coffin: War, Technology, and Experience aboard the USS Monitor*, Updated Edition (Baltimore, 2012), loc. 658 of 4524, Kindle.

“would be a floating fortress. . . .” . . . “She could entertain herself. . . .”

*Mobile Register*, August 11, 1861, in John V. Quarstein, *The Monitor Boys: The Crew of the Union’s First Ironclad* (Charleston: The History Press, 2011), loc. 326 of 6387, Kindle.

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“iron or steel-clad steamships. . . .”



“Act of Congress authorizing the construction of iron-clad vessels,” *Report. . . Armored Vessels*, 1-2.

“We approach the subject with diffidence. . . .”

“Report of board to examine plant of iron-clad vessels, under act of August 3, 1861,” *Report. . . Armored Vessels*, 3.

“Opinions differ amongst naval. . . .”

Ibid.

“We consider iron-clad vessels. . . .”

Ibid.

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“A difficulty might arise. . . .” . . . “We are of opinion that. . . .”

Ibid., 4-5.

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“a full electric battery himself”

C. S. Bushnell, “Negotiations for the Building of the ‘Monitor,’” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 749. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

“Mr. Ericsson is in some respects a peculiar man. . . .”

John Rogers in Anna Gibson Holloway, *Our Little Monitor: The Greatest Invention of the Civil War* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2018), Notes, Chapter 2, Note 31, loc. 4861 of 6733, Kindle.

“a floating battery absolutely impregnable. . . .”

C. S. Bushnell, “Negotiations for the Building of the ‘Monitor,’” *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 748.

“a device familiar to all well-informed naval artillerists.”

John Ericsson, “The Building of the Monitor,” *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 738.

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“I had found a battery which. . . .”

C. S. Bushnell, “Negotiations for the Building of the ‘Monitor,’” *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 748.

“extraordinary and valuable features” . . . “a revolution in naval warfare.”

Gideon Welles, “The First Iron-Clad Monitor,” in *The Annals of The War Written By Leading Participants North and South* (Philadelphia, 1879), 18-19.

“was at once greatly pleased. . . .” . . . “All [board members] were surprised. . . .” . . . “All I have to say is. . . .”

C. S. Bushnell, “Negotiations for the Building of the ‘Monitor,’” 749.

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“The air had been thick with. . . .” . . . “take the little thing home. . . .” . . .

Ibid.

“would upset and place her crew. . . .”

Ibid.

“well-informed and experienced. . . .”

John Ericsson, “The Building of the Monitor,” 731.

“Gentlemen, after what I have said. . . .”

Ibid., 750.

## Chapter 4: Not the Slightest Intention of Sinking

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“Iron Clad Shot-Proof Steam Battery”

John Ericsson, “Specification of an Impregnable Floating Battery, composed of Iron and Wood, Complete Ready for Service Excepting Guns, Ammunition, and Stores,” NARA, subject file, “1775–1910,” ser. AD, “Design & General Characteristics, U. S. Ships,” box 49, folder 1, in David A. Mindell, *Iron Coffin: War, Technology, and Experience aboard the USS Monitor, Updated Edition (Johns Hopkins Introductory Studies in the History of Technology)* (Baltimore, 2012), loc. 934 of 4524, Kindle.

“Excuse me for being so troublesome. . . .”

Smith to Ericsson, 14 October 1861, Ericsson Papers, American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia in Stephen Thompson, *The Construction of the U.S.S Monitor* (New York, 2019), loc. 968 of 2255, Kindle.

“In case of failure in any of. . . .”

“Report of board to examine plant of iron-clad vessels, under act of August 3, 1861,” *Report of the Secretary of the Navy in Relation to Armored Vessels* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 5.

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“If the structure cannot stand this test. . . .”

Ericsson to Smith, Sept. 28, 1861, NARA, subject file, “U. S. Navy, 1775–1910,” ser. AD, “Design & General Characteristics, U. S. Ships,” box 49, folder 1, in Mindell, *Iron Coffin*, loc. 944 of 4524, Kindle.

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“was highly satisfactory.”

Stimers telegram to Smith, December 31, 1861, NARA, RG 45, entry 502, AD, box 49, folder 2, in Anna Gibson Holloway, *Our Little Monitor: The Greatest Invention of the Civil War* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2018), 44.

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“Our quarters for eating & sleeping are. . . .”

William Keeler to Anna, February 13, 28, 1862, in Robert W. Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor: 1862: The Letters of Acting Paymaster William Frederick Keeler, U. S. Navy to His Wife, Anna* (Annapolis, MD, 1964), 11, 25.

“just so long that when my head touches. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 5, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 25.

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“other places not quite as reputable,” . . . “as if they were seated by my elbow.”

Keeler to Anna, March 5, 26, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 26, 56.

“I have for my desk a water pail. . . .” . . . “I am on the Hammocks. . . .”

Geer to Martha, February 21 and April 27, 1862, in George S. Greer Papers, 1862–1866 (MS10), The Mariners’ Museum Library, Newport News, Va.

“The impregnable and aggressive character. . . .” . . . “startled and admonished” . . . “On these and many similar grounds. . . .”

Ericsson to Fox, Jan. 20, 1862, John Ericsson Papers, New York Historical Society, New York in David A. Mindell, *Iron Coffin: War, Technology, and Experience aboard the USS Monitor, Updated Edition (Johns Hopkins Introductory Studies in the History of Technology)* (Baltimore, 2012), loc. 738 of 4524, Kindle.

**Page 50**

“After a hasty examination of [*Monitor*]. . . .”

Worden to Smith, January 13, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 1, vol. 6, 516. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

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“devote whatever of capacity. . . .”

Ibid.

“The assemblage cheered rapturously. . . .”

*New York Tribune*, February 1, 1862, in Holloway, *Our Little Monitor*, loc. 1149 of 4524, Kindle.

“notwithstanding the prognostication. . . .”

*New York Times*, January 31, 1862.

**Page 52**

“It was very evident to the dullest. . . .”

Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events*, 12 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1861-1868), vol. 4, 57-59.

“I congratulate you and trust. . . .”

Fox telegram to Ericsson, January 30, 1862, *ORN* series 1, vol. 6, 538.

“The impression prevails here. . . .” . . . “have so long disgraced. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, February 9, 13, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 7, 13.

“A better [crew] no naval commander. . . .”

S. Dana Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 719.

**Page 53**

“You fellows certainly have. . . .”

Irwin Mark Berent, *The Crewmen of the USS Monitor: A Biographical Directory* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 30 in John V. Quarstein, *The Monitor Boys: The Crew of the Union's First Ironclad* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011), loc. 603 of 6387, Kindle.

“You can imagine your polished. . . .” . . . “are a sure passport to. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, February 22, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 15.

“Everything was hurry & confusion. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, February 28, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 18.

**Page 54**

“Powder, Shot, shell, grape & canister were taken. . . .”

Ibid.

“like a drunken man on a side walk. . . .”

Ibid.

**Page 55**

“However everything passed off. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 4, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 2-22.

“Norman McPherson & John Atkins deserted. . . .”

*Log of U. S. Steam Battery Monitor*, March 3, 1862.

“We are finally all ready. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 4, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 21.

**Chapter 5: A Matter of the First Necessity****Page 57**

“great professional skill” . . . “Indeed, the utility of the armor-plating. . . .”

John Ericsson, “The Building of the Monitor,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 730. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

**Page 58**

“I regard the possession of an iron-armored ship. . . .”

Mallory to Conrad, May 10, 1861, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 2, vol. 2, 69. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

“Such a vessel at this time. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“But inequality of numbers may be. . . .”

*Ibid.*

**Page 60**

“The first idea presenting itself. . . .”

John M. Brooke, “The Plan and Construction of the ‘Merrimac’,” in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 715-716.

“flat-bottomed light-draught propeller. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“I proposed having the ends prolonged. . . .”

John M. Brooke testimony, “Investigation of the Navy Department,” *ORN*, series 2, vol. 1, 784.

“the peculiar and distinctive feature. . . .”

“Report of the Secretary of the Navy,” *ORN*, series 2, vol. 2, 175.

“is our only chance to. . . .”

William P. Williamson, John M. Brooke, John L. Porter, “Report to the Navy Department,” June 25, 1862, in “The Virginia, Or Merrimac: Her Real Projector,” *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 19 (January 1891), 11-12.

“We all thought the draught. . . .”

Brooke, “The Plan and Construction of the ‘Merrimac’,” 716.

**Page 61**

“Lieutenant Brooke was constantly proposing. . . .”

<sup>1</sup> John L. Porter, Letter to the Editor of the *Examiner*, March 29, 1862 in “The Virginia, Or Merrimac: Her Real Projector,” 13.

“very materially” . . . .

John M. Brooke, Letter to Mr. Porter, April 3, 1862 in “The Virginia, Or Merrimac: Her Real Projector,” 15.

#### Page 62

“At a distance of about 300 yards. . . .”

Brooke, “Plan and Construction of the ‘Merrimac,’” 785-786.

“The outer plates were shattered. . . .”

Ibid.

#### Page 63

“We could have rolled them in Norfolk. . . .”

H. Ashton Ramsay, “The Most Famous of Sea Duels, The Story of the Merrimac’s Engagement with the Monitor, and the Events that Preceded and Followed the Fight, Told by a Survivor,” in *Harper’s Weekly*, February 10, 1912, 11.

“Rifled cannon are unknown. . . .”

“Report of the Secretary of the Navy,” April 26, 1861, *ORN*, series 2, vol. 2, 53.

#### Page 66

“They are certainly a very different. . . .”

Mallory to Benjamin, January 25, 1862, *ORN*, series 2, vol. 2, 137.

#### Page 67

“This course proved eminently judicious. . . .”

Lewis Hampton Jones, *Captain Roger Jones of London and Virginia: Some of His Antecedents and Descendants* (Albany, NY, 1891), 267.

“Great credit is due [to Williamson]. . . .”

Sumner B. Beese, *C.S. Ironclad Virginia and U.S. Ironclad Monitor* (Newport News, VA, 1996), 26.

“radically defective.”

Catesby ap Roger Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 11 (January-December 1904), 66.

“The want of interest and energy. . . .”

George M. Brooks, Jr., *John M. Brooke: Naval Scientist and Educator* (Charlottesville, 1980), 247.

#### Page 68

“I received but little encouragement. . . .” . . . “You have no idea what. . . .” . . . “I must say I was astonished. . . .”

Constructor Porter letter published in *Charleston Mercury*, March 19, 1862 in “The Virginia, Or Merrimac: Her Real Projector,” 8.

“There were no invitations to governors. . . .”

Wm. R. Cline, “The Ironclad Ram Virginia - Confederate States Navy, Story of Her Launching and Accomplishments and Her Memorable Engagements of March 8 And 9, 1862,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 32 (January-December 1904), 243-44.

#### Page 69

“She is not sufficiently protected. . . .” . . . “We are least protected. . . .”

Jones to Brooke in “The Virginia, Or Merrimac: Her Real Projector,” 31.

“This is a bad piece of work. . . .”

*Mobile Register*, February 14, 1862.

“I have great hopes in our success. . . .”

Robert Dabney Minor Papers, Minor Family Papers Collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

## Chapter 6: She Went Down with Colors Flying

### Page 72

“Bright-colored signal flags were run up. . . .”

H. Ashton Ramsay, “The Most Famous of Sea Duels, The Story of the Merrimac’s Engagement with the Monitor, and the Events that Preceded and Followed the Fight, Told by a Survivor,” in *Harper’s Weekly*, February 10, 1912, 11.

### Page 73

“[Virginia] will, in all probability, prove. . . .”

Goldsborough to Secretary of the Navy, October 17, 1861, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 1, vol. 6, 333. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

“I trust you will not hold me responsible. . . .”

Wool to Scott, October 6, 1861, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), Series 1, vol. 4, 620-21.

“In fact, rumors of [Virginia’s] expected. . . .”

Thomas O. Selfridge, Jr., “The Merrimac and the Cumberland,” in *The Cosmopolitan*, vol. 15 (June 1893), 180.

### Page 74

“One watch slept at the guns. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“Her tall sides, pierced for forty-four guns. . . .”

Joseph McDonald, “How I Saw the Monitor-Merrimac Fight,” in *New England Magazine*, vol. 36 (March-August 1907), 548.

“I thought I might get a position. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“fitting up the old *Merrimac*. . . .”

*Ibid.*, 548-549.

“We were always ready. . . .” . . . “We. . . were laughed at. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“with their very formal and dignified manners. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“put at her” . . . “and everything else”

Goldsborough to Secretary of the Navy, October 17, 1861, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 6, 334.

### Page 75

“Nothing, I think, but very close work. . . .”

Ibid.

“anxiously expecting the. . .” . . . “We are all ready, and. . .” . . . “I sincerely wish she would. . .”

Van Brunt to Goldsborough, February 23, 1862, *ORN* series 1, vol. 6, 663; Van Brunt to Goldsborough, February 28, 1862, *ORN* series 1, vol. 6, 672.

“I shall never forget that day. . .” . . . “so the sailing-ships must. . .” . . . “Pretty soon that great. . .” . . . “just like an old duck. . .”

McDonald, “How I Saw the Monitor-Merrimac Fight,” 549.

“Our gallant tars jumped cheerily. . .”

C. S. Cotton to Parents, March 10, 1862, in Papers of the Charles S. Cotton Family, Archives Branch, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington, D.C.

“Rebel shot and shell whistled. . .”

Ibid.

## Page 76

“Nothing indicated that we were expected.”

John Taylor Wood, “The First Fight of Iron-Clads,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 696. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

“Many a poor fellow. . .”

Captain Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative of the Battle of the Merrimac,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 41 (September 1916), 170.

“But the *Congress* looked. . .”

Ibid.

“The drum and fife are sounding. . .” . . . “We go quietly to our stations. . .”

Ibid.

“Every eye on the vessel. . .”

Frank Stedman Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac:’ The Story of Frederick H. Curtis, A Gunner on the ‘Congress,’” in *The New England magazine* 19 (February 1899), 688.

## Page 77

“what looked like the roof. . .”

Henry Reaney, “How the Gun-Boat ‘Zouave’ Aided the ‘Congress’” in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 715.

“was a splendid type of. . .” . . . “stood at their guns. . .” . . . “for what was known. . .”

Selfridge, “The Merrimac and the Cumberland,” 181.

## Page 78

“a splendid seaman. . .” . . . “an introduction to. . .”

Ibid.

“The action soon became general. . .”

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 44.

## Page 79

“It was done with alacrity. . .”

Mansfield to Wool, March 10, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 35.

“For a time only the wide waters. . . .”

Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative,” 171.

“Suddenly there leaped from her sides. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“sweeping the men about it. . . .”

Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac,’” 689.

“There was an ominous pause. . . .”

Ramsay, “The Most Famous of Sea Duels,” 11.

“Scarcely had the smoke. . . .”

Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative,” 171

### Page 80

“The noise of the crashing timbers. . . .”

Catesby ap Roger Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 11 (January-December 1904), 68.

“it would have fallen on the Merrimac’s deck. . . .”

Selfridge, “The Merrimac and the Cumberland,” 182.

“We’ve sunk the *Cumberland*.”

Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative,” 171.

“The blow was hardly perceptible. . . .”

Wood, “The First Fight of Iron-Clads,” 698.

“[The Yankee’s] fire appeared. . . .”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” 68.

### Page 81

“two mad bullocks with their horns locked.” . . . “I have often thought. . . .”

Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative,” 172.

“There was a terrible crash in the boiler room. . . .”

Ramsay, “The Most Famous of Sea Duels,” 11.

“I could hardly believe my senses. . . .”

Brigadier-General R. E. Colston, C. S. A., “Watching The ‘Merrimac,’” in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 712.

“The cannonade was visibly raging. . . .” . . . “We could see every flash. . . .”

*Ibid.*

“Events followed too fast. . . .” . . .

Selfridge, “The Merrimac and the Cumberland,” 182.

### Page 82

“No one flinched. . . .” . . . “firing them as fast. . . .”

*Ibid.*



“You could hear them cheer. . . .” . . . “but it was no go. . . .”

Daniel O’Conner to Timothy, March 13, 1862, in “Muzzle to Muzzle with the *Merrimack*,” *Civil War Times* 35 (June 1996), 67.

“Dam[n] you, you coward. . . .”

Ibid.

“Heart-rending cries could be heard. . . .”

Selfridge, “The Merrimac and the Cumberland,” 182.

### Page 83

“Don’t mind me boys. . . .”

William Keeler to Anna, March 30, 1862, in Robert W. Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor: 1862: The Letters of Acting Paymaster William Frederick Keeler, U.S. Navy to His Wife, Anna* (Annapolis, MD, 1964), 65.

“Master-mate Harrington had his head. . . .”

Selfridge, “The Merrimac and the Cumberland,” 182-183.

“The after pivot-gun broke. . . .”

Ramsay, “The Most Famous of Sea Duels,” 12.

“I picked myself up as quick. . . .”

O’Conner, “Muzzle to Muzzle with the *Merrimack*,” 67.

“In this moment of dire confusion. . . .”

Selfridge, “The Merrimac and the Cumberland,” 183-184.

### Page 84

“After one or two lurches. . . .”

Colston, “Watching The ‘Merrimac,’” 712.

### Page 85

“No officer or man brought anything. . . .”

Radford to Welles, March 10, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 20-21.

“This action demonstrated. . . .”

Wood, “The First Fight of Iron-Clads,” 703.

“she went down with a roar. . . .”

Ibid., 698.

“thinking of the poor nameless thing. . . .” . . . “Then, was I homesick. . . .”

Martha Derby Perry, ed., *Letters from a Surgeon of the Civil War* (Boston, 1906), 5-7.

“fit monument—grave and monument. . . .”

Harriet Douglas Whetten, diary entry for August 1, 1862, in Paul H. Hass, ed., “A Volunteer Nurse in the Civil War: The Diary of Harriet Douglas Whetten,” in *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 48 (Spring 1965), 213.

## Chapter 7: Don’t Tell Me Ever Again About Fireworks

### Page 87

“Having sunk the *Cumberland*. . . .” . . . “We were some time. . . .”

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 1, vol. 7, 44-45. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

“They were soon sadly undeceived.”

Ibid.

“We silenced several of the batteries. . . .” . . . “The loss of life on shore. . . .”

Ibid.

“And now the hush. . . .”

James H. Rochelle to Flag-Officer John R. Tucker, January 30, 1865, *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 51-52.

## Page 88

“The flash from [*Patrick Henry*’s] guns. . . .”

Ibid.

“Poor fellow, he was . . . .”

Ibid.

“contributed much to the success of the day.”

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 48.

“However, we kept loading. . . .”

Henry Reaney, “How the Gun-Boat ‘Zouave’ Aided the ‘Congress,’” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 715. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

## Page 89

“Cries of the wounded. . . .”

Ibid.

“We immediately backed our engine. . . .”

C. S. Cotton to Parents, March 10, 1862, in Papers of the Charles S. Cotton Family, Archives Branch, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington, D.C.

“The lofty frigate, towering. . . .”

Brigadier-General R. E. Colston, C. S. A., “Watching The ‘Merrimac,’” in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 713.

“Our two stern guns were. . . .”

Pendergrast to Marston, March 9, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 23-24.

“The men were swept away from them. . . .”

Ibid.

“It was a pretty busy time. . . .”

Frank Stedman Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac:’ The Story of Frederick H. Curtis, A Gunner on the ‘Congress,’” in *The New England magazine* 19 (February 1899), 689.

“The order was then passed. . . .”

Ibid.

## Page 90

“Her gallant commander. . . .”

Catesby ap Roger Jones, "Services of the Virginia," in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 11 (January-December 1904), 69.

"His wounds were fatal. . . ." . . . "His injuries were fatal. . . ."

Alger, "The 'Congress' and the 'Merrimac,'" 689-690.

"was very much excited. . . ."

Ibid.

"The coxswain of one. . . ."

Ibid.

"Blood was running from. . . ."

Reaney, "How the Gun-Boat 'Zouave' Aided the 'Congress,'" 715.

"Projectiles hurled at the *Merrimac*. . . ."

Colston, "Watching The 'Merrimac,'" *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 713.

#### Page 91

"He was smoking a cigar and. . . ."

Alger, "The 'Congress' and the 'Merrimac,'" 690.

"With us of the navy it was. . . ."

Captain Eggleston, "Captain Eggleston's Narrative of the Battle of the Merrimac," in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 41 (September 1916), 173.

#### Page 92

"Some of the rebels acted. . . ."

Alger, "The 'Congress' and the 'Merrimac,'" 690.

"We here had them at about 800 yards. . . ."

Mansfield to Wool, March 10, 1862, *ORN*, Series 1, vol. 7, 35.

"It became so hot. . . ."

John Taylor Wood, "The First Fight of Iron-Clads," in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 700.

#### Page 93

"During this delay. . . ."

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 45.

"Had she been retaken. . . ."

Jones, "Services of the Virginia," 70.

"That ship must be burned. . . ."

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 45.

"This movement of the *Patrick Henry*. . . ." . . . "No wooden vessel could. . . ."

Rochelle to Tucker, January 30, 1865, *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 52-53.

#### Page 94

"Half in prayer and. . . ."

Ibid.

"At the moment no one knew. . . ."

Ibid.

“They were under a galling fire. . . .”

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 44.

“I sank well under. . . .” . . . “I saw several of my comrades. . . .” . . . “so weak that. . . .”

Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac,’” 690.

“Buchanan, in a ringing voice. . . .”

Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative,” *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 173.

#### Page 95

“They were rolled into the flames. . . .”

H. Ashton Ramsay, “The Most Famous of Sea Duels, The Story of the Merrimac’s Engagement with the Monitor, and the Events that Preceded and Followed the Fight, Told by a Survivor,” in *Harper’s Weekly*, February 10, 1912, 11.

“a distant and unsatisfactory fire” . . . “which had become annoying.”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 70.

“with orders to fight her. . . .”

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 45.

#### Page 96

“A pretty good day’s work. . . .”

Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative,” *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 173-174.

“Ten minutes before 4 o’clock. . . .”

Marston to Welles, March 9, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 8.

“Just at that moment the scene. . . .”

Colston, “Watching The ‘Merrimac,’” 713.

“The entire horizon was lighted. . . .”

Ibid.

“The *Minnesota* was now. . . .” . . . “Her destruction or surrender. . . .”

Ibid.

“It was now 5 o’clock. . . .” . . . “She was aground. . . .”

Wood, “The First Fight of Iron-Clads,” 700.

#### Page 97

“The latter frigate fired. . . .”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 70.

“My brother, Paymaster Buchanan. . . .”

Eggleston, “Captain Eggleston's Narrative,” *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 173.

“There was not much more sleep. . . .” . . . “we did not see what. . . .”

Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac,’” 692.

“And now followed one of the grandest episodes. . . .”

Colston, “Watching The ‘Merrimac,’” in *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 714.

“every mast, spar, and rope. . . .” . . . “each port-hole seemed. . . .”

Ibid.

“a monstrous sheaf of flame. . . .”

Ibid.

“A deep report announced” . . . “It continued to burn. . . .”

Ibid.

#### Page 98

*The slaughter must have been awful. . . .*

Henry Eaton Coleman to wife, March 10, 1862, in Henry Eaton Coleman Papers (MS319), The Mariners’ Museum Library, Newport News, Va.

“The column of flame seemed. . . .”

Ibid.

#### Page 99

“The burning hulk burst asunder. . . .”

Ramsay, “The Most Famous of Sea Duels,” 12.

“Don’t tell me ever again about fireworks.”

George M. Newton to his family, March 11, 1862, in George M. Newton Letters (MS0673/01), The Mariners’ Museum Library, Newport News, Va., 4.

“although our best efforts were made. . . .”

Mansfield to Wool, March 10, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 35-36.

“Our loss is 2 killed and 19 wounded. . . .”

Buchanan to Mallory, March 27, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 46.

“The bearing of the men was all. . . .”

Ibid.

#### Page 100

“nothing outside escaped.”

Wood, “The First Fight of Iron-Clads,” 700-701.

“After making preparations for. . . .”

Ibid.

“when there passed a strange looking craft. . . .”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” *ORN* series I, vol. 7, 70-71.

#### Page 100

“It is thought the *Merrimack*, *Jamestown*, and *Yorktown*. . . .”

Wool to Stanton, March 8, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 4-5.

## Chapter 8: The Most Frightened Man

#### Page 103

“The house is as full of shadows. . . .”

William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times* (New York, 1890), loc. 1622-1623 of 3309, Kindle.

“almost a breaking-down with grief” . . . “really there will have been. . . .”

Ibid.

“The President is vehemently. . . .”

Ibid.

“The *Merrimack* is being towed down. . . .”

Mansfield to Wool, telegrams, March 8, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 1, vol. 7, 3-4.

“For a while the news looked. . . .”

Michael Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln’s Journalist: John Hay’s Anonymous Writings for the Press, 1860-1864* (Carbondale, 1998), 231.

#### Page 104

“Some of our best ships. . . .” . . . “Have similar sea-monsters. . . .”

Stoddard, *Inside the White House*, loc. 1627-1645 of 3309, Kindle.

“The hours go by. . . .”

Ibid.

“was as gloomy as any. . . .”

Lucius E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and His Administration* (New York, 1901), 223-224.

“Nothing was too wild to be believed. . . .”

Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln’s Journalist*, 231.

“discussing the intelligence in much alarm.”

Gideon Welles, “The First Iron-Clad Monitor” in *The Annals of The War Written By Leading Participants North and South* (Philadelphia, 1879), 23-24. Hereafter cites as *Annals of The War*.

#### Page 105

“probably, while we were in council”

Ibid.

“perhaps the most excited. . . .”

John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, 10 vols. (New York, 1886), vol. 5, 226.

“That day and its incidents were. . . .”

William E. Gienapp and Erica L. Gienapp, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Gideon Welles, Lincoln’s Secretary of the Navy: The Original Manuscript Edition* (Urbana, IL, 2014), loc. 15429-15431.

“the President always gave me. . . .”

Ibid., 15397 of 18532, Kindle.

“The most frightened man on. . . .” . . . “He was at times almost frantic. . . .”

Ibid., 15411-15413 of 18532, Kindle.

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“panic under which he labored. . . .”

Welles, “The First Iron-Clad Monitor,” 24.

“come up the Potomac and disperse congress. . . .”

Ibid.

“Foreign intervention would surely follow. . . .” . . . “Stanton, unable to control. . . .”

Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, 226-227.

“Lincoln was, as usual in. . . .”

Ibid.

“Most of Stanton’s complaints. . . .” . . . “I had little to impart. . . .”

Welles, “The First Iron-Clad Monitor,” 25.

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“mingled look of incredulity and contempt.”

Gienapp and Gienapp, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Gideon Welles*, loc. 15423-15425 of 18532, Kindle.

“so cut down and. . . .” . . . “ascend the river and. . . .”

Welles, “The First Iron-Clad Monitor,” 25.

“It would better become us. . . .”

Ibid.

“promptly rally and catch at hope.”

Ibid.

“which seemed to increase the panic.” . . . “and deferred to him more. . . .”

Gienapp and Gienapp, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Gideon Welles*, loc. 15397-15406 of 18532, Kindle.

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“and in full sympathy with. . . .” . . . “but neither of them was endowed. . . .”

Ibid., 15397-15406, 15433-15434 of 18532, Kindle.

“The *Congress* sunk!” . . . “Then Joe is dead.”

Welles, “The First Iron-Clad Monitor,” 26.

“You don’t know Joe. . . .” . . . “And he did not. . . .”

Ibid.

“A little time and reflection. . . .” . . . “spoke out with some fierceness. . . .”

Ibid.

“The commandants of the harbor defenses. . . .”

Burlingame, ed., *Lincoln’s Journalist*, 231.

“was a man of resources and great energy.”

Welles, “The First Iron-Clad Monitor,” 26.

“would be more valuable. . . .”

Ibid.

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“The President, though feeling as uncomfortable. . . .”

Gienapp and Gienapp, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Gideon Welles*, loc. 15439-15441, Kindle.

“he had no news. . . .” . . . “It was evident, from the general excitement. . . .”

Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln*, 224.

“The ironclad Ericsson battery. . . .”

John Emmet O’Brien, *Telegraphing in Battle: Reminiscences of the Civil War* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa, 1910), 67.

## Chapter 9: With Mutual Fierceness

### Page 111

“The warm sun shone over. . . .” . . . “Everything was bustle. . . .”

Frank Stedman Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac:’ The Story of Frederick H. Curtis, A Gunner on the ‘Congress,’” in *The New England magazine* 19 (February 1899), 692.

“Everything seemed in confusion.”

William Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Robert W. Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor: 1862: The Letters of Acting Paymaster William Frederick Keeler, U.S. Navy to His Wife, Anna* (Annapolis, MD, 1964), 33.

“The report every little while. . . .”

*Ibid.*, 32.

“with two jiggers of whiskey. . . .”

Wm. R. Cline, “The Ironclad Ram Virginia - Confederate States Navy, Story of Her Launching and Accomplishments and Her Memorable Engagements of March 8 And 9, 1862,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 32 (January-December 1904), 246.

### Page 112

“If I cannot lighten my ship. . . .” . . . “I will stand by you. . . .” . . . “No sir, you cannot help me. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 33.

“Our fastenings were cast off. . . .”

Lieutenant Worden, “The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*” in Lieut. J.L. Worden, U.S.N., Lieut. Greene, U.S.N., H. Ashton Ramsay, C.S.N., *The Monitor and the Merrimac: Both Sides of the Story* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1912), loc. 90-91 of 568, Kindle.

“[*Minnesota’s*] wooden sides shewed. . . .” . . . “The idea of assistance or protection. . . .” . . . “curt & crispy” . . . “As the *Merrimac* approached. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 33.

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“To tell the truth, we did not. . . .”

Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac,’” 692.

“There was the little *Monitor*. . . .”

Joseph McDonald, “How I Saw the Monitor-Merrimac Fight,” in *New England Magazine*, vol. 36 (March-August 1907), 552.

“Her first shot struck. . . .”

*Ibid.*

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“Send them that with my complements. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 34.



“A few straggling rays of light. . . .”

Ibid.

“We were enclosed in what we supposed. . . .”

Ibid.

“Everything seemed so still. . . .”

David Ellis, “The Story of the Monitor,” unpublished manuscript and typescript, Battle of Hampton Roads Collection (MS0359), The Mariners Museum Library, Newport News, VA, 25.

“Now mark the condition our men. . . .”

Dana Greene to parents, March 14, 1862, in “Voyage to Destiny,” in *Naval History Magazine*, vol. 21 (April 2007), number 2.

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“As for myself. . . .”

Ibid.

“The contrast was that of a pigmy. . . .”

Van Brunt to Welles, March 10, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), Series 1, vol. 7, 11. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

“The infernal howl. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 34.

“The situation was novel. . . .” . . . “difficult and uncertain.”

S. Dana Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 724. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

“They performed their work with zeal. . . .”

Ibid.

### Page 116

“Tell Mr. Greene not to fire. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 34.

“At this time. . . I was approaching. . . .” . . . “Commence firing!”

John L. Worden to Gideon Welles, January 5, 1868, in “Voyage to Destiny,” in *Naval History Magazine*, vol. 21 (April 2007), number 2.

“And thus commenced the great battle. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862, in “Voyage to Destiny,” in *Naval History Magazine*.

“O, what a relief it was. . . .” . . . “her iron scales rattle.” . . . “which rattled on our iron deck. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 34-35.

“The d..d fools are firing canister. . . .”

Alban C. Stimers, “An Engineer Aboard the *Monitor*,” in *Civil War Times Illustrated*, vol. 9 (April 1970), Number 1, 33.

### Page 117

“Did the shot come through. . . .”

Ibid.

“Then we would be wholly disabled.”

Worden, “*Monitor and the Merrimac*,” loc. 951-1118 of 568, Kindle.

“a perfect mold” . . . “If anything could test the turret. . . .”

Ibid.

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“It might open a seam. . . .”

Ibid.

“The hull was uninjured, except. . . .”

Ibid.

“The *Merrimac* could not sink us. . . .” . . . “The men cheered; the knowledge put. . . .”

Ibid.

“A look of confidence passed over. . . .”

Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret” in *Battles and Leaders* vol. 1, 723.

“It don’t make much difference who fires at us.”

Albert Campbell to Clara, March 10, 1862, in *Perspectives on the Civil War* (Newport News, Va.: The Mariners’ Museum, n.d.), 23.

“Ironclad against ironclad. . . .”

Stimers to Ericsson, March 9, 1862, in *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 26.

“covered with powder & smoke. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 35.

“We. . . were often within a ship’s length. . . .”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 11 (January-December 1904), 71.

### Page 119

“Once while passing we fired a broadside at her only a few yards distant. She and her. . . .”

Ibid.

“Five times during the engagement. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862, in “Voyage to Destiny,” in *Naval History Magazine*.

“I dropped like a dead man. . . .”

William C. Davis, “The Battle of Hampton Roads,” in Harold Holzer and Tim Mulligan, eds., *The Battle of Hampton Roads* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 13.

“I immediately jumped up again. . . .”

Stimers, “An Engineer Aboard the *Monitor*,” 35.

“The effect upon one shut up. . . .”

Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” in *Battles and Leaders* vol. 1, 724-726.

### Page 120

“How does the *Merrimac* bear?” . . . “On the starboard beam” . . . “On the port-quarter. . . .”

Ibid.

“A careless or impatient hand. . .” . . . “For this and other reasons. . .”

Ibid.

“not altogether satisfactory.”

Ibid.

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“an active, muscular man. . .” . . . “The conditions were very different. . .”

Ibid.

“I give a niger a half a dollar. . .”

Sam McKee to Church McKee, March 10, 1862, in Hugh McKee, ed., *The McKee Letters, 1859-1880: Correspondence of a Georgia Farm Family during the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (Milledgeville, GA, 2001), 63-64.

“The *Virginia* is discouragingly cumbrous. . .” . . . “than if we had thrown marbles. . .” . . . “The *Monitor* is whirling around. . .”

William Norris, “The Story of the Confederate States Ship ‘Virginia’ (Once Merrimac.) Her Victory Over the Monitor,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., vol. 42 (September 1917), 210.

“of midnight hue, which, like a thing of darkness. . .”

Sallie Brock Putnam, “Memoir of Sallie Brock Putnam,” in *Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observation* (New York: G. W. Carleton, 1867), 389.

## Chapter 10: Nearly Every Shot Struck

### Page 123

“she could not possibly have made her appearance. . .” . . . “She appeared but a pigmy. . .”

John Taylor Wood, “The First Fight of Iron-Clads,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for The Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers. Based Upon “The Century War Series.” Edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, of the Editorial Staff of “The Century Magazine,”* 4 vols. (New York, 1884-1888), vol. 1, 701. Hereafter cited as *Battles and Leaders*.

“When her turret revolved we could see. . .”

Wm. R. Cline, “The Ironclad Ram Virginia - Confederate States Navy, Story of Her Launching and Accomplishments and Her Memorable Engagements of March 8 And 9, 1862,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols. (January-December 1904), vol. 32, 246.

“The *Virginia*, however, was a large target. . .”

Catesby ap Roger Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols, vol. 11, 71.

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“The only damage [*Monitor*] did was to the armor. . .”

Ibid., 72-73.

“Generally the shot were much scattered. . .”

Ibid.

“want of homogeneity” . . . “to go almost anywhere except. . .”

Stimers to Smith, March 9, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 2 series, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), series 1, vol. 7, 27-28. Hereafter cited as *ORN*.

“Not a single shot struck [*Virginia*]. . .”

Wood, "First Fight of Iron-Clads," 703.

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"shoot the first man that you see. . . ."

Memoir of Richard Curtis in *Perspectives on the Civil War* (Newport News, Va.: The Mariners' Museum, n.d.), 19.

"both on our knees, but. . . ." . . . "look out Curtis. . . ." . . . "Sheriff and myself thought. . . ."

Ibid.

"bustle, smoke, grimy figures. . . ." . . . "down in the engine and boiler rooms. . . ." . . . "like so many gladiators"

H. Ashton Ramsay, "The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*" in Lieut. J.L. Worden, U.S.N., Lieut. Greene, U.S.N., H. Ashton Ramsay, C.S.N., *The Monitor and the Merrimac: Both Sides of the Story* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1912), loc. 313-317 of 568, Kindle.

"The noise of the cracking, roaring fires. . . ."

Ibid.

"More than two hours had passed. . . ."

Wood, "First Fight of Iron-Clads," 701-702.

"a broadside," he reported, "which would have blown. . . ."

Van Brunt to Welles, March 10, 1862, in *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 11-12.

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"demoralizing the after powder division. . . ."

C. S. Cotton to Parents, March 10, 1862, Papers of the Charles S. Cotton Family, Archives Branch, Naval History and Heritage Command, Washington, D.C.

"Just then I met my fate. . . ."

Joseph McDonald, "How I Saw the Monitor-Merrimac Fight," in *New England Magazine* (March-August 1907), vol. 36, 553.

"The air was so full of burning powder. . . ."

Ibid.

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"The roar of the battle continued, but. . . ."

Ibid.

"Negroes fought energetically and bravely. . . ."

Steven J. Ramold, *Slaves, Sailors, Citizens: African Americans in the Union Navy* (DeKalb, IL, 2002), 122.

"an incessant fire" . . . "At least fifty solid shot struck. . . ."

Van Brunt to Welles, March 10, 1862, in *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 12.

"an accident occurred that threatened. . . ."

Ramsay, *The Merrimac and the Monitor*, loc. 318-329 of 568, Kindle.

"but that which was actually vulnerable, had she known it."

Ibid.

"These exposed portions rendered us. . . ." . . . "heel of Achilles."

Ibid.

“We lashed down the safety valves. . . .”

Ibid.

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“It seemed impossible that the boilers. . . .”

Ibid.

“We set [*Minnesota*] on fire and. . . .”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” 71-72.

“We have knocked a hole into [*Minnesota*]. . . .”

William Norris, “The Story of the Confederate States Ship ‘Virginia’ (Once Merrimac.) Her Victory Over the Monitor,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, vol. 42 (September 1917), 215.

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“For nearly an hour we manoeuvred for a position. . . .”

Wood, “First Fight of Iron-Clads,” 702.

“I did not feel the slightest shock. . . .”

Ramsay, *The Merrimac and the Monitor*, loc. 330-332 of 568, Kindle.

“It gave us a shock, pushed us around. . . .”

Lieutenant Worden, “The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*” in Lieut. J.L. Worden, U.S.N., Lieut. Greene, U.S.N., H. Ashton Ramsay, C.S.N., *The Monitor and the Merrimac: Both Sides of the Story* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1912), loc. 119-121 of 568, Kindle.

“a tremendous thump” . . . “She will not try that again.”

Stimers to Ericsson, March 9, 1862, in *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 26.

“With the two large Worthington pumps, besides. . . .”

Ramsay, *The Merrimac and the Monitor*, loc. 336-338 of 568, Kindle.

“a particle more by the blow”

Admiral Worden in Dinwiddie B. Phillips, “Notes on the Monitor-Merrimac Fight,” in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 718.

“the shot rebounded without. . . .”

Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret” in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. 1, 725.

“Those shots must have been effective. . . .”

Worden, “The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*,” loc. 121-124 of 568, Kindle.

“Our ship [*Virginia*] was working worse. . . .” . . . “and always have us in range. . . .”

Wood, “First Fight of Iron-Clads,” 701.

“Why, our powder is very precious. . . .”

Ibid., 702.

“Again [*Monitor*] came up on our quarter. . . .” . . . “All the crews of the after guns were. . . .”

Ibid., 703.

“boarders away, and Rebels scrambled. . . .”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” 71.

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“Both. . .could have been easily disabled. . . .”

Ibid.

“The pilot-house. . .is a foursquare mass. . . .”

Worden, “The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*,” loc. 127-128 of 568, Kindle.

“[The explosion] was unusually heavy. . . .” . . . “Gentlemen I leave it with you. . . .”

William Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Robert W. Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor: 1862: The Letters of Acting Paymaster William Frederick Keeler, U.S. Navy to His Wife, Anna* (Annapolis, MD, 1964), 38.

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“[The captain] was a ghastly sight. . . .”

Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” 727.

“I then felt to the fullest extent my condition.”

Van Brunt to Welles, March 10, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 12.

“But even then, in this extreme. . . .”

Ibid.

“To us the *Monitor* appeared unharmed.”

Jones, “Services of the Virginia,” 72.

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“and then renew the engagement with every chance of victory.”

Ramsay, *The Merrimac and the Monitor*, loc. 354-357 of 568, Kindle.

“I determined to lighten the ship. . . .”

Van Brunt to Welles, March 10, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, vol. 7, 12.

“[She] would undoubtedly have been ablaze. . . .” . . . “the United States Frigate *Cumberland* saved. . . .”

Norris, “Story of the Confederate States Ship ‘Virginia’,” 216.

“Rushing on deck, I found. . . .” . . . “feeling as though a wet blanket. . . .”

Ramsay, *The Merrimac and the Monitor*, loc. 352-360 of 568, Kindle.

“As the *Merrimac* passed up the river. . . .”

Ibid.

“We knew that she could not sink us. . . .”

Lieutenant S.D. Greene, “The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*” in Lieut. J.L. Worden, U.S.N., Lieut. Greene, U.S.N., H. Ashton Ramsay, C.S.N., *The Monitor and the Merrimac: Both Sides of the Story* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1912), loc. 136-138 of 568, Kindle.

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“Our iron hatches were slid back. . . .”

Keeler to Anna, March 6, 1862, in Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor*, 38-39.

“our foe gave us a shell as a parting fire. . . .” . . . “Paymaster there’s some more pieces.”

Ibid.

“I confess I looked rather anxiously. . . .” . . . “with the respects of the officers. . . .”

Ibid.

“all eager to learn the extent of our injuries. . . .”

Ibid.

“As we ran along side,” wrote Lieutenant Greene. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862, in “Voyage to Destiny,” in *Naval History Magazine*.

“Blind and suffering as he was, Worden’s. . . .”

Greene, “In the ‘Monitor’ Turret,” 727.

“We soon learned that she was in a sinking. . . .”

Frank Stedman Alger, “The ‘Congress’ and the ‘Merrimac:’ The Story of Frederick H. Curtis, A Gunner on the ‘Congress,’” in *The New England magazine* 19 (February 1899), 693.

“All my underclothes were perfectly black. . . .”

Greene to parents, March 14, 1862.