EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA CIVIL WAR SHIPWRECK DISTRICT: STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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As the nation approached ever closer to the precipice of civil war, the majority of North Carolina's citizens and public officials persisted in the hope that mounting sectional differences would somehow be resolved and that military conflict could be averted. Although Tar Heels were dismayed and alarmed by Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency in November of 1860, popular sentiment in the state remained overwhelmingly in favor of preserving the Union if at all possible. On the whole, North Carolinians were content to "watch and wait" while events unfolded. Even as late as 28 February 1861, the state's voters narrowly defeated a plan to hold a convention to consider secession.

It was only after the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops to "coerce" the seceded states that North Carolinians resolved at last to leave the Union and cast their lots with the Confederacy. When the legislature convened in special session, it quickly called for a convention to consider secession, refusing to hold a second referendum on the question and denying the voters of the state any opportunity to approve or repudiate the convention's actions. When the ensuing convention met in Raleigh on 20 May 1861, the state's ordinance of secession was adopted unanimously. North Carolina's fate would now be decided with that of the Confederacy as a whole.[1]

During the four years of conflict that followed secession, North Carolina's casualties would exceed those of any other state in the South. The majority of these casualties were

suffered on far-flung battlefields outside the state, particularly in Virginia and Pennsylvania; but many also occurred in the eleven battles and some seventy-three skirmishes fought within North Carolina itself.[2] While these engagements took place in virtually all areas of the state, most occurred on the sounds and rivers of the coastal region, or along their endless miles of convoluted shorelines. It was naturally from the sea that Union forces would first appear, initially to seize and then to occupy and control that strategically and economically important region. During the four years of naval and amphibious operations there, it was inevitable that numerous vessels on both sides would be damaged, captured, or lost. Many of the vessels lost during those years still rest beneath the waters of the coastal region, inviting the scrutiny of maritime historians and underwater archaeologists.

From the very outset of the Civil War, overall Union strategy involved a blockade of Confederate ports and coordinated attacks along the South's coastline and interior waters. Together, these operations were designed to cut off vital trade to the South and force a dispersion and weakening of its defensive capabilities.[3]

With respect to North Carolina specifically, Federal military strategists recognized that control over the sounds and navigable rivers of the coastal region would give them

control over roughly one-third of the entire state and place in jeopardy the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad so essential as an artery of supplies for Confederate troops in Virginia. Moreover, mastery over the upper sound region would also close off the Dismal Swamp and Albemarle and Chesapeake canals connecting the coastal waters of North Carolina with those of Virginia. To seize and control the sounds and rivers of coastal North Carolina, however, it would first be necessary that Union naval forces gain access through the navigable inlets along the Outer Banks. Confederate military planners, of course, were equally aware of the strategic and economic importance of North Carolina's sounds and rivers; and they clearly recognized the necessity of guarding those inlets with every resource at hand.[4]

When the Civil War commenced, only three fortifications were available to the Confederacy along the entire coast of North Carolina: Fort Macon at Beaufort Inlet, and forts Johnston and Caswell near the mouth of the Cape Fear River. The Outer Banks area was virtually defenseless. To alleviate this situation, forts were quickly thrown up at each of the principal inlets. Fort Ocracoke or Fort Morgan was built on Beacon Island, just inside Ocracoke Inlet; forts Hatteras and Clark were begun on the eastern side of Hatteras Inlet; and Fort Oregon was constructed on the south side of Oregon Inlet. A second line of defense for the Albemarle Sound area was

provided by the placement of fortifications on Roanoke Island. Despite enormous logistical problems and often horrendous working conditions, these defensive installations were completed and garrisoned by the early fall of 1861.[5]

In addition to its coastal fortifications, North Carolina had managed to acquire four small steamers for use in the sounds and along the coastline in both defensive and offensive operations. Scarcely deserving the name "navy," this group of utilitarian, nondescript vessels came to be known both disparagingly and affectionately as the "mosquito fleet." The vessels comprising the "fleet" initially were the Winslow, the Beaufort, the Raleigh, and the Ellis. The Winslow, largest of the four, was a side-wheel steamer; the three other vessels were propeller-driven river and canal boats of similar size and design. Early on in the conflict, these modest craft were relinquished by the state to the Confederacy.[6]

While the operations of the Ellis, the Raleigh, and the Beaufort were mainly confined within the sounds, the Winslow created considerable perplexity in Union naval circles by its activities in the vicinity of Hatteras Inlet. Indeed, during one six-week period the Winslow captured no fewer than sixteen prize vessels along the coast. Its success, moreover, attracted other privateer vessels to the Hatteras area, and enhanced the inlet's use as a haven for blockade runners.[7]

The repeatedly successful raids on commerce out of Hatteras Inlet soon aroused the ire of Northern ship owners, merchants, and insurers, as well as embarrassment and outrage in Federal military circles. From all quarters the demands grew shriller that something be done to prevent similar occurrences in the future.[8]

At length the depredations of this "nest of pirates" at Hatteras Inlet became intolerable, and an expedition of both naval vessels and ground forces was assembled to bring them to an end. The expedition comprised seven armed vessels under Commodore Silas Stringham, two chartered transports, and some 900 soldiers and marines under General Benjamin F. Butler. Departing Hampton Roads, Virginia on 26 August, it arrived off Hatteras Lighthouse the following afternoon. The initial plan called for Butler's ground forces to assault forts Hatteras and Clark from the rear, following a preliminary naval bombardment. As events unfolded, however, the ground assault proved unnecessary. The fierce artillery barrage alone was so successful against the inlet's recently completed defenses that the two forts surrendered without Butler's troops becoming actively engaged. Two Union vessels, the Adelaide and the Harriet Lane, ran aground within enemy range during the operation, but were gotten off without significant damage. Casualties proved extremely light, with the vanquished Confederates losing between four and fourteen men and the

Federals losing none. Some of the Confederate defenders escaped capture aboard the Winslow and the Ellis; but approximately 700 others, including Commodore Samuel Barron, were taken to New York as prisoners.[9]

With the fall of forts Hatteras and Clark, the Confederate defenders of Ocracoke and Oregon inlets reassessed the strengths of their own positions. This reassessment soon resulted in the abandonment of these installations as well. At Fort Ocracoke (or Morgan), the guns were spiked and their platforms set ablaze prior to evacuation, while at Fort Oregon an attempt was made to transport at least some of the ordnance to Roanoke Island. The decision to abandon these two forts, and the inlets they guarded, was by no means unanimous; but the view prevailed that resistance would be futile in the face of Union naval superiority. Again the "mosquito fleet" served to evacuate men from the facilities being abandoned, with the Ellis removing the Fort Ocracoke garrison and the Raleigh and several schooners evacuating the personnel of Fort Oregon. Within a relatively short time, and with relative ease, Federal forces had now seized not only Hatteras Inlet, but Oregon and Ocracoke inlets as well, thus sealing off the vast expanses of both Albemarle and Pamlico sounds.[10]

It was not long after their seizure of Hatteras Inlet before Union forces began to realize dividends from the operation. On 31 August, only two days after the surrender of

forts Hatteras and Clark, the USS George Peabody captured the brig Henry C. Brooks at the inlet. On 10 September the schooner Susan Jane similarly fell victim to the USS Pawnee, under Commander S. C. Rowan. Several other would-be blockade runners are also said to have been taken in the late summer of 1861, their hapless captains unaware until too late that Hatteras Inlet was now in Federal hands.[11]

The news of Hatteras' fall to Union forces evoked widespread and deeply felt emotions in both the North and South, though of course for distinctly different reasons. Throughout the North the victory at Hatteras was widely seen as retribution for the earlier humiliating defeat at First Manassas. Commodore Silas Stringham was showered with accolades from all sides, and Union morale in general was greatly bolstered. In the South, however, government officials on both the state and national levels scrambled to identify the individuals and agencies most culpable for the debacle; and those involved with the Hatteras loss were roundly pilloried in the press and in public discussion.[12]

Although General Benjamin Butler had initially been directed to depart from Hatteras after seizing its forts and closing the channel to navigation, he was quick to realize the strategic advantages to be gained by retaining the inlet as a base for future operations:

> It was the opening to a great inland sea running up 90 miles to Newbern and so giving

> water communication up to Norfolk. It seemed to me that if we ever intended to operate in North Carolina and southern Virginia, we should operate by way of that inland sea.[13]

After conferring with his naval counterpart, Commodore Silas Stringham, Butler therefore hastened to Washington to plead for reconsideration of his previous instructions, apprehensive that he might be court-martialed if his arguments did not prevail. In fact, Butler found in Washington that his superiors were already inclining to his point of view. They too appreciated the potentials of Hatteras for future operations in eastern North Carolina and southern Virginia. Indeed, it was Abraham Lincoln himself who made the final decision to hold Hatteras, after consulting with General George B. McClellan.[14]

The seizure of Hatteras Inlet, quite apart from its immediate strategic importance, took on a larger significance as an example of the successful use of land and sea power in a single, coordinated operation. The employment of naval bombardment in conjunction with amphibious assault was clearly a tactic that could be used not only at Hatteras, but potentially along the entire coastline of the South and along the innumerable streams of its interior:

> The early sea success at Hatteras, following Union defeat at Bull Run, and the subsequent capture of vital Port Royal [South Carolina], meant more than the lift of morale in the North. They marked fateful developments in the war pointing the way to

> a deadly drain on the Confederacy in loss of troops, ordnance, key coastal points and lodgement of Union forces far behind the lines that forced dispersal of Confederate strength from the main battlefields. This ability to act suddenly and powerfully along a far flung coastline, where only a few points could be strongly held against invasion, forcast inevitable disaster for the South unless . . . overseas powers joined to change this into a world war with great navies locked in decisive combat.[15]

Reflecting back on the struggle between North and South, Union Admiral David D. Porter would later observe that the seizure of Hatteras Inlet "ultimately proved one of the most important events of the war."[16]

The loss of Hatteras Inlet and its dire implications for the future produced great consternation throughout eastern North Carolina and numerous demands for defensive measures to prevent Union incursions westward into the interior. Importuned on every side, Governor Henry T. Clark relayed these demands to Confederate authorities in Richmond, only to be told that the central government could spare no more men or supplies for use in the Tar Heel state. This, despite the fact that large numbers of North Carolinians were stationed in neighboring Virginia, where their presence was deemed more crucial to the South's overall war effort. The central government did, however, dispatch several high-ranking Confederate officers to take charge of defenses in eastern North Carolina. Overall command of the Department of North Carolina went to Brigadier General Richard C. Gatlin, while

Joseph R. Anderson and North Carolina native D. H. Hill were placed in charge of the Wilmington and upper sound regions respectively. Still and all, these new architects of coastal North Carolina's defenses had very little to work with. Especially were resources wanting with respect to naval power. Aside from the "mosquito fleet," there were few vessels upon which they could call to support their outnumbered and widely dispersed ground forces.[17]

Despite their lack of adequate naval power, Confederate forces in eastern North Carolina gained a small measure of revenge for the loss at Hatteras Inlet when the "mosquito fleet" seized the Union tug Fanny in Pamlico Sound on 1 October. In this capture Commodore W. F. Lynch's modest flagship, the Curlew, played the principal role. Indeed, the capture of the Fanny seems to have been the first instance of the war in which Confederate naval forces seized an armed enemy vessel. Though of limited military importance in itself, the taking of the Fanny proved a keen embarrassment to the Union navy.[18]

The capture of the Fanny helped to brighten somewhat the spirits of Confederate troops along the Outer Banks, but they were concerned to learn from Union prisoners that a sizable enemy force was encamped at nearby Chicamacomico. Confederates who had fled to Roanoke Island with the fall of Hatteras Inlet now feared that the reported enemy troops at Chicamacomico

would soon be dispatched against their small garrison. At length, exaggerated fears of the enemy's size and intentions induced the Confederates on Roanoke Island to stage a preemptive strike. The "mosquito fleet" would be used to transport Confederate troops to points along the Banks both above and below the enemy position. Following the anticipated engagement, it was further hoped that Confederate troops might actually retake forts Hatteras and Clark with the support of the "mosquito fleet," which now included the recently captured Fanny. As events actually unfolded on October 5th and 6th, however, the maneuvers and countermaneuvers of both Union and Confederate troops developed into a mutually embarrassing affair since known as the "Chicamacomico Races." When the pointless but grueling movements to and fro along the Banks finally ended, the Confederates returned to Roanoke Island and the Federals to their erstwhile base at Fort Hatteras. Though little had been accomplished by either side, each was convinced that a major offensive by the other had been thwarted.[19]

From their initial contacts with Outer Banks residents and other citizens of eastern North Carolina, Federal military leaders were led to believe that a widespread Unionist sentiment might be cultivated to such an extent that North Carolina would renounce the Confederacy and rejoin the nation from which it had belatedly seceded. Gradually, however, the evidences of Unionist feeling became fewer and more isolated as

the invading forces established permanent occupation of coastal towns and outlying areas. Eventually, the early hopes of bringing North Carolina back into the Union went aglimmering. Despite her grievances with the newly established government in Richmond, it became increasingly apparent that North Carolina's commitment to the Confederate cause would not be repudiated.[20]

Since the early days of the war, Union naval strategists had given serious consideration to blocking the various inlets along North Carolina's coast as at least a temporary means of curtailing trade. This was to be accomplished by sinking stone-filled hulks of vessels in the inlet channels normally used for purposes of navigation. Though it was recognized that the sunken vessels would obstruct Confederate commerce only for a brief period, it was hoped that the measure would buy time for the acquisition of enough vessels to establish a more effective blockade. In its most ambitious formulation, the plan called for the blocking of as many as nine inlets from Oregon in the north to Tubbs in the south; but as plans changed and as the war itself proceeded, the list of prospective inlets grew considerably shorter. Finally, in November of 1861, Ocracoke Inlet alone was obstructed by the scuttling of three schooners "athwart the channel in nine feet of water." These three schooners were apparently the only vessels to be sunk by the Union navy in North Carolina's inlets, although no fewer

than twenty-two vessels were originally intended for that fate.[21]

Almost immediately after the initial success of Union forces at Hatteras Inlet, in late August of 1861, discussions began at the highest levels of the Federal government and military establishment of a second and much larger operation along the North Carolina coast. These discussions involved, among others, President Abraham Lincoln, Secretary of War Simon Cameron, General George B. McClellan, Commodore Louis M. Goldsborough, and General Ambrose E. Burnside. Eventually, the expedition would be led by Burnside and would bear his name in subsequent histories of the Civil War.[22]

Although the idea of a "coast division" may have been McClellan's initially, it was Burnside who translated the idea into practical terms and gradually carried it into effect. Burnside proposed and later, in fact, organized an amphibious army comprising:

> from 12,000 to 15,000 men, mainly from the states bordering on the northern sea-coast, many of whom would be familiar with the coasting trade, and among whom would be found a goodly number of mechanics.[23]

He also proposed a flotilla of light-draft steamers, sailing ships, and barges specially designed to move troops quickly "from point to point on the coast with a view to establish lodgments . . . landing troops, and penetrating into the interior."[24] The division and fleet so formed by Burnside have

together been described as the "first major amphibious force" in American history.[25]

The principal objectives of Burnside's massive expedition were best summarized in the detailed instructions finally issued to him by General McClellan on 7 January 1862. Moreover, these instructions would prove more than a little prophetic of the future course of events in North Carolina during the balance of the Civil War:

> In accordance with verbal instructions heretofore given you, you will, after uniting with Flag-officer Goldsborough at Fort Monroe, proceed under his convoy to Hatteras inlet, where you will, in connection with him, take the most prompt measures for crossing the fleet over the Bulkhead into the waters of the sound. Under the accompanying general order constituting the Department of North Carolina, you will assume command of the garrison at Hatteras inlet, and make such dispositions in regard to that place as your ulterior operations may render necessary, always being careful to provide for the safety of that very important station in any contingency.
>
> Your first point of attack will be Roanoke Island and its dependencies. It is presumed that the navy can reduce the batteries on the marshes and cover the landing of your troops on the main island, by which, in connection with a rapid movement of the gunboats to the northern extremity as soon as the marsh-battery is reduced, it may be hoped to capture the entire garrison of the place. Having occupied the island and its dependencies, you will at once proceed to the erection of the batteries and defences necessary to hold the position with a small force. Should the flag-officer require any assistance in seizing or holding the debouches of the

> canal from Norfolk, you will please afford it to him.
>
> The commodore and yourself having completed your arrangements in regard to Roanoke Island and the waters north of it, you will please at once make a descent on New Berne, having gained possession of which and the railroad passing through it, you will at once throw a sufficient force upon Beaufort and take the steps necessary to reduce Fort Macon and open that port. When you seize New Berne you will endeavor to seize the railroad as far west as Goldsborough, should circumstances favor such a movement. The temper of the people, the rebel force at hand, etc., will go far towards determining the question as to how far west the railroad can be safely occupied and held. Should circumstances render it advisable to seize and hold Raleigh, the main north and south line of railroad passing through Goldsborough should be so effectually destroyed for considerable distances north and south of that point as to render it impossible for the rebels to use it to your disadvantage. A great point would be gained, in any event, by the effectual destruction of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. I would advise great caution in moving so far into the interior as upon Raleigh. Having accomplished the objects mentioned, the next point of interest would probably be Wilmington, the reduction of which may require that additional means shall be afforded you.[26]

While the men comprising his "coast division" assembled at Annapolis, Maryland, Burnside cast his net widely in his search for suitable vessels. In the end, the heterogeneous flotilla he finally put together left much to be desired. It was, by Burnside's own admission, a "motley fleet," comprised of a variety of steamers, sailing vessels, barges, tugs, and ferry boats, with a wide assortment of drafts and capabilities.

Burnside himself observed that his vessels exhibited "few of the virtues and most of the deficiencies of improvisation." Burnside's naval counterpart in the joint expedition, the man charged with command over the assembled fleet, was Flag Officer Louis M. Goldsborough.[27]

On the morning of 9 January 1862, after months of extensive preparation, the "coast division" was taken by transports from Annapolis southward to Fort Monroe, where it was joined by the remaining vessels of the fleet late on the following day. On the 11th of January the expedition got underway for Hatteras Inlet, the opening through which it would pass as the first step in seizing control over North Carolina's interior waters. Aware that the fleet was widely regarded as unseaworthy, Burnside made it a point to claim as his headquarters the smallest of all the vessels, the tug Picket. Rounding Cape Hatteras on the 13th, the fleet was buffeted violently by the first of a series of storms that would persist for nearly two weeks thereafter. The turbulent seas and accompanying winds compounded the already formidable difficulties of getting the fleet safely through the inlet and into Pamlico Sound. Numerous vessels drug their anchors and parted their cables in their efforts to maintain position. Others collided, ran aground, or otherwise suffered significant damage. Three vessels were lost entirely during the two-week ordeal: the City of New York, the Pocahontas, and the army gunboat Zouave.

It was not until 4 February that the last of the vessels finally made their way through the inlet and dropped anchor in Pamlico Sound.[28]

There was little doubt in the minds of Confederate military strategists that, once inside Hatteras Inlet, Burnside's large amphibious force would soon launch an attack on Roanoke Island. Both sides appreciated the fact that this island was the key to the entire Albemarle Sound region and to the Norfolk area just to the north as well. Confederate efforts to defend Roanoke Island against attack had increased significantly since the initial seizure of Hatteras Inlet in August of 1861; but shortages of both men and materials had severely handicapped these efforts.[29]

Due to a recent reorganization of the Confederate command structure in eastern North Carolina, final preparations for the defense of Roanoke Island fell to Brigadier General Henry A. Wise of Virginia. Though more experienced in politics than in military affairs, Wise clearly saw that the island's defenses were woefully inadequate. By the time of the eventual attack, three fortifications had been established on the western side of Roanoke Island, mounting a total of twenty-five guns. On the island's eastern side, considered less susceptible to attack, was a small battery mounting two guns. In addition, a large redoubt with a three-gun implacement straddled the middle

of the island to protect the only road running from north to south. On the mainland shore opposite the island was yet another fortification, with seven guns. It was hoped that Union vessels moving up Croatan Sound would be caught in a damaging crossfire between the guns on the mainland and those on the island. To man these fortifications and defend the island as a whole, Wise had less than 1,500 men, many of whom were both sick and inexperienced.[30]

In addition to the land defenses, General Wise had available to him the small "mosquito fleet" under Commodore W. F. Lynch. By this time the little fleet comprised some seven gunboats: the Curlew, Seabird, Appomattox, Ellis, Beaufort, Raleigh, and Forrest. All told, these vessels boasted only eight guns between them.[31]

In a further attempt to block passage of the superior Federal fleet up Croatan Sound, the Confederates placed heavy pilings and a double line of sunken vessels across the width of the sound. Such use of sunken vessels to obstruct enemy navigation would, in fact, be fairly common on both sides in eastern North Carolina and elsewhere throughout the remainder of the war.[32]

On February 5th, only one day after the last of the Union fleet had passed through Hatteras Inlet, Burnside set his massive amphibious expedition in motion towards its island objective. In stark contrast with Wise's roughly 1,500 men and

seven gunboats, Burnside led a force of 13,000 men and a fleet of nineteen gunboats, far more heavily armed and better equipped than their Confederate counterparts. Moreover, counting transports and other craft in addition to the gunboats, the Federal flotilla comprised some sixty-seven vessels in all. It is little wonder that General Wise's attitude as the battle approached was somewhat less than sanguine. In fact, Wise was to be spared from participation in the actual fighting, being confined by pleurisy to his sickbed in Nags Head. In his absence, responsibility for Roanoke Island's defense in the coming fight devolved unhappily on Colonel H. M. Shaw.[33]

By mid-morning of 7 February the Federal fleet had moved into position in Croatan Sound and the long-awaited battle for Roanoke Island had begun. Throughout the remainder of the day Federal gunboats exchanged vigorous fire with Fort Bartow on the island and with Commodore Lynch's "mosquito fleet." Fort Bartow, the most southerly of the three Confederate installations on the island's west side, was the only one to become significantly involved in the artillery battle, the others being too far distant to the north. From the very outset of the engagement, Lynch's "mosquito fleet" was arrayed just beyond the line of pilings and sunken vessels in the upper portion of Croatan Sound. On two occasions the little fleet passed briefly through the obstructions in attempts to lure

Federal vessels within range of the two upper forts, but to no avail. Late in the afternoon one of the Confederate gunboats, the Curlew, received a devastating hit from the Union flagship Southfield. Her hapless master, Commander Thomas T. Hunter, immediately headed for the mainland shore so that he might run her aground before she sank. This he succeeded in doing, but only in such a way as to obstruct potential fire from the nearby Confederate battery, Fort Forrest. Soon thereafter the Curlew was burned by her crew to prevent her capture. Another Confederate vessel, the Forrest, was also struck and damaged by enemy fire. While not sunk by the hit, she was disabled and forced to retire. By day's end the remaining vessels of the "mosquito fleet" had nearly exhausted their supply of ammunition and had retreated northward.[34]

As the uneven contest between Federal and Confederate gunboats continued, Burnside's numerous transport vessels made their way into Croatan Sound and prepared to land forces at Ashby's Harbor, some three miles south of Fort Bartow. This landing site had been selected with the help of a former resident of the island, a slave boy. By midnight nearly all of the Federal troops had come ashore with little or no resistance being offered them.[35]

On the morning of 8 February the Union fleet resumed its firing on Confederate positions as Burnside's troops advanced northward from Ashby's Harbor. The remaining vessels of the

"mosquito fleet" were able to lend but little support to the outnumbered Confederate land forces, and soon withdrew from the area while the battle still continued. As Burnside's troops advanced, the Confederates fell back before them, confident at least that their flanks would be protected by the swamps that lay along both sides of the north-south road. To their astonishment and dismay, however, Federal troops were able to move on both flanks and also continue a strong offensive against the Confederate center. In the face of this three-pronged attack, and overwhelming numbers, the Confederate troops had little choice but to withdraw to the north end of the island, where they surrendered later that evening. Casualties were relatively light on both sides during the Battle of Roanoke Island; but the first of Burnside's major objectives had nevertheless been achieved.[36]

As had been the case six months earlier with the fall of Hatteras Inlet, the relatively easy victory of Union forces at Roanoke Island evoked strong feelings in both North and South. Charges of incompetence and cowardice were leveled against North Carolina governor Henry T. Clark and against the island's defenders and their officers, especially Colonel H. M. Shaw. The Confederate Congress in Richmond launched an investigation of the debacle, and Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin was forced to resign. Moreover, newspapers in North Carolina and throughout the South were strident in their denunciations of

the Roanoke Island affair. In the Northern press and political circles, on the other hand, the mood was one of ebullience and gratification.[37]

Reactions to the events at Roanoke Island were generally in proportion to their military significance. Both sides recognized the importance of the Union victory in shaping the course of future events. The North now held the keys to Albemarle Sound and the back door to Norfolk. It also had a secure base of operations for attacks deep into North Carolina's interior.[38] Even more than the earlier loss of Hatteras Inlet, the fall of Roanoke Island brought North Carolinians face to face with the fact that the state was under seige and very much at risk:

> Overnight the sounds and rivers of the Albemarle-Pamlico region were exposed to the imminent possibility of being overrun and decimated under the heel of enemy armies. Terror and dismay fell upon the Coastal Plain population while the legions of the young Confederacy, busy with heavy fighting in other areas, looked back to discover themselves vulnerable far down along their own coast line.[39]

The Union vessels assigned to duty in North Carolina waters following the seizure of Roanoke Island were a motley assemblage gathered from many sources. In general, they were assigned to this duty only after proving unfit for more demanding assignments beyond the Outer Banks. Some were older military vessels which had lost their former seaworthiness. Others were ex-merchantmen hastily converted for military use.

Still others were relatively new but rapidly constructed craft, sometimes referred to derisively as "ninety day gunboats." Whatever their origins, the craft chosen for riverine and sound duty in North Carolina were generally small, shallow draft vessels with low pressure steam engines and armament consisting of rifled guns and howitzers.[40]

The duties of these naval vessels were numerous and varied. The principal ones consisted of lending support to military operations on land, conducting necessary reconnaissance, interdicting Confederate trade and supply lines, removing torpedoes and other obstructions from essential channels of navigation, and, of course, engaging enemy vessels whenever the opportunity presented itself.[41] In the course of carrying out these duties, Federal vessels maintained a constant surveillance over the movements of enemy troops and supplies, seized Confederate vessels, and destroyed bridges and production sites in any way contributing to enemy commerce.[42]

With the passage of time, Union naval vessels in eastern North Carolina achieved devastating levels of effectiveness in stopping the flow of waterborne trade. It is reported that from November 1862 to March 1863 no fewer than 250 boats and small vessels were intercepted and destroyed. Special attention was devoted to the extreme northeastern counties of the state, whose rich soils possessed such vast potential for supplying grain and other agricultural commodities to the Army of Northern Virginia.[43]

The nature of their various duties and the shallow and hazardous waters in which they operated necessarily involved frequent damage to Union vessels in eastern North Carolina. Rudders, for example, were often in need of repair. As a result, the Union navy gradually established repair facilities at Roanoke Island, New Bern, Washington, and Beaufort as these locations came under its control. Beaufort and New Bern also developed as important coaling and supply stations. Smaller supply depots were established at Plymouth and Washington to serve vessels stationed on inland waters. By necessity, Union vessels were unavailable for service much of the time, while undergoing repairs or replenishing supplies.[44]

As the fall of Roanoke Island became inevitable, Commodore W. F. Lynch had retreated northward with his "mosquito fleet" to Elizabeth City, an important river port with connections via the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk. There he found no safe haven, however, for a Federal flotilla of thirteen vessels soon followed after him under Commander Stephen Rowan. Despite the obvious superiority of the forces opposing him, Lynch chose to defend Elizabeth City rather than retreat further. Frantic last ditch efforts to improve a defensive battery below the town and to summon local militia forces availed Lynch but little as the battle approached; and it was obvious before it began that the contest for Elizabeth City would be an uneven one.[45]

Early on the morning of 10 February, Confederate lookouts reported the approach of the superior Union naval force up the Pasquotank River toward the awaiting "mosquito fleet." The Confederate vessels were the first to fire at long range, not receiving fire in return until the opposing forces were within three-quarters of a mile of each other. When the two fleets finally came together, Commodore Lynch watched helplessly as his vessels were "destroyed under his eyes."[46] In a subsequent letter to Confederate Secretary of the Navy S. R. Mallory, Lynch recounted the fateful events of the day:

> The enemy advanced very boldly and contrary to my expectation, instead of taking position as he did at Roanoke Island for the purpose of shelling the battery, he continued to press on; in one hour and five minutes succeeded in passing it, and, with full complements of men, closed upon our half-manned gunboats.
>
> The commanders of the latter were instructed, when their ammunition failed, to escape with their vessels if they could; if not, to run into shoal water, destroy the signal books, set fire to the vessels and save their crews.
>
> The Appomattox succeeded in making her escape; the Sea Bird was sunk in the action; the Ellis was overpowered and captured, and the Fanny ran aground and set on fire by her commander, who brought her crew safely ashore.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The Forrest, in obedience to my orders, was burned by her officers before leaving Elizabeth City; the Ellis was captured; the Beaufort, Raleigh, and Appomattox escaped; the Fanny was set on fire and blew up; and the flagship was sunk, so that of our little squadron of gunboats, the Ellis (next to the Forrest the most indifferent one) alone fell into the hands of the enemy.

> The officers exhibited great gallantry, but were not universally sustained by their men, for some of them, being raw recruits, shrunk from a hand to hand encounter with a greatly superior force.[47]

In addition to the losses recounted in Lynch's report, the armed sloop Black Warrior was scuttled by her crew and sunk near the eastern shore of the Pasquotank opposite Elizabeth City. Moreover, the Appomattox, though she escaped northward with the Beaufort, had to be destroyed subsequently near the entrance to the Dismal Swamp Canal.[48]

The destruction of the "mosquito fleet" gave Federal naval forces a clear ascendency over the central and upper coastal regions of North Carolina. The way now lay open to extend the area of supremacy further into the interior, to block access to the canals leading northward into Virginia, and perhaps to threaten the vital Wilmington and Weldon Railroad.[49]

Following their decisive victory at Elizabeth City, Union naval contingents carried out several small operations to secure still further control over the Albemarle Sound region. On 12 February four Union gunboats under Lieutenant A. Murray approached the wharves of Edenton without opposition. Being formally received by a leading citizen delegated for that purpose, the Federal troops then spiked the several antiquated cannon in the town, destroyed a schooner under construction on the stocks, took two other schooners as prizes, and helped themselves to various provisions.[50]

Immediately following the Edenton expedition, Commander S. C. Rowan dispatched five Union vessels with two prize schooners to obstruct the "Beaches" link of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal. Upon arrival at the canal's entrance, however, it was discovered that this task had already been partially accomplished by Confederate troops. Nothing daunted, the Union naval contingent sank the two prize schooners and a large dredging machine "diagonally athwart the canal" for good measure.[51]

The blocking of the critical "Beaches" link of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal capped an extremely successful week for Federal naval forces in the upper coastal region of North Carolina. During that brief period Roanoke Island had been seized, Edenton and Elizabeth City secured, the "mosquito fleet" destroyed, and a vital artery of transportation for the Confederates rendered useless.[52]

Despite these considerable accomplishments, Burnside and Goldsborough resolved to "sweep Albemarle Sound clean of defenses" before proceeding southward to New Bern. To accomplish this aim, small expeditions of light draft gunboats were dispatched to key locations carrying detachments of infantry. Elizabeth City was again visited, suffering little additional damage; but Winton on the Chowan River experienced much harsher treatment.[53]

On 19 February 1862 an expedition of eight Federal gunboats under Commander Rowan started upstream for Winton with approximately one thousand men. Its objectives were to gauge the extent of Unionist sentiment in the Winton area and to destroy, if possible, two key railroad bridges above the town. Since the fall of Roanoke Island, Winton itself had assumed considerable importance as a base of Confederate operations. As Commander Rowan's flagship, the Delaware, approached the town wharf, it was suddenly greeted by fierce artillery fire from a high bluff overlooking the river. It was only with difficulty that the shell-riddled Delaware was able to veer off from the wharf at the last minute and fall back downstream to rejoin the trailing vessels in the expedition. On the following day Rowan's gunboats returned to Winton, and the course of events on this occasion took a decidely different turn. Abandoned by its erstwhile defenders and deserted by most of its residents, Winton quickly fell to the returning Federals, who then proceeded to pillage and completely burn the town. In fact, this unfortunate community is thought to have been the first of many to be laid waste during the Civil War; and its destruction did little to foster Unionist sentiment in the region. Moreover, it was found after the town's destruction that the railroad bridges upstream could not be reached because of sunken vessels and other obstructions in the Nottaway and Blackwater rivers.[54]

Some two weeks after the burning of Winton, the village of Columbia on the Scuppernong River was also visited by a Federal expedition. Although no Confederate soldiers were located in the vicinity, the rumor of potential resistance by local militiamen served as a pretext for plundering the community of various provisions and valuables. On 5 March a related expedition involving the Federal gunboat Husar had taken possession of the fifty-ton Cornelia Dunkirk on the nearby Alligator River, thus making the Union presence heavily felt along the south side of Albemarle Sound.[55]

By early March of 1862 the Federal navy, with its overwhelming supremacy, had cleared the entire Albemarle Sound area of Confederate gunboats and had established control over key trading centers along its shores and major tributaries. The Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal had been blocked against any movement southward from Norfolk; and Roanoke Island had developed into an important base for more amphibious operations. The necessary preparations had now been completed for a descent on New Bern.[56]

The Federal attack on New Bern constituted the second major phase of General Burnside's overall plan of action in eastern North Carolina. Having secured Roanoke Island and the Albemarle and Pamlico sound areas, he was now at liberty to commit the vast majority of his forces to the New Bern operation. Only a single brigade would be left to defend

Roanoke Island. The paramount objectives of the New Bern attack were to secure the town as a base of operations against Goldsboro and the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad to the west, and against Fort Macon and Beaufort harbor to the southeast. Moreover, since New Bern was the headquarters of the Confederate district of the Pamlico, it was felt that its seizure might seriously weaken the Confederate war effort throughout North Carolina.[57]

Burnside's attack on New Bern was to be a massive amphibious operation involving his own ground forces and a large naval contingent under Commodore Louis Goldsborough. However, the defenses to be overcome in approaching New Bern were quite extensive, both on land and in the water. Beginning nearly ten miles below the town were lines of entrenchments running westward from the lower bank of the Neuse, together with seven forts designed primarily for defense against naval forces. The largest and most important of these forts was Fort Thompson, about six miles below the town. Of the thirteen guns comprising its ordnance, ten were trained on the river, while only three bore on the approaches by land. In charge of New Bern's defense was General Lawrence O'B. Branch. Unfortunately for Branch and for the Confederate cause in general in eastern North Carolina, his largely untested force of about 4,000 troops was woefully inadequate to man the town's rather elaborate defensive system.[58]

Supplementing the land defenses were numerous and varied obstructions in the Neuse River below New Bern, including iron-capped pilings, torpedoes, and sunken vessels, all designed to impede or prevent the approach of Union gunboats and transports.[59] Following the subsequent seizure of New Bern, the Union naval commander would describe the various obstructions he had faced:

> The obstructions in the river were very formidable and had evidently been prepared with great care. The lower barrier was composed of a series of piling driven securely into the bottom and cut off below the water. Added to this was another row of iron-capped and pointed piles inclined at an angle of about 45 degrees down the stream. Near these was a row of thirty torpedoes, containing about 200 pounds of powder each, and fitted with metal fuses connected to spring percussion locks with trigger-lines attached to the pointed piles.
>
> The second barrier was quite as formidable as the first, though not so dangerous. This was about a mile above and abreast of Fort Thompson, and consisted of a line of sunken vessels, closely massed and chevaux-de-frise, leaving a very narrow passage under the battery.[60]

On the very eve of the attack on New Bern, Commodore Goldsborough was ordered to Hampton Roads to support General George McClellan's movement up the peninsula and to take defensive measures against further attacks on the Federal naval vessels there by the CSS Virginia (formerly Merrimac). The vacancy created by Goldsborough's departure was filled by Commodore S. C. Rowan, who would lead the naval contingent in

the upcoming operation and assume overall command of Union naval forces in the North Carolina sounds.[61]

On the afternoon of 12 March 1862, the Federal flotilla bound for New Bern entered the mouth of the Neuse River and proceeded upstream as far as Slocum's Creek. The flotilla comprised some thirteen gunboats and sufficient transport vessels to carry approximately 11,000 men, nearly three times the number of Confederates who would oppose them. Early on the morning of 13 March the Federal gunboats opened a heavy barrage to cover the landing of the troops. The lack of Confederate opposition, however, soon rendered the shelling unnecessary, and the troops landed without serious incident. As the freshly disembarked troops proceeded upstream in the direction of New Bern, the gunboats cleared their path by continuous shelling of the shoreline. By nightfall, Federal troops had advanced nearly as far as the Fort Thompson line. The troops on both sides passed a long and miserable night, with the threat of imminent battle looming and rain falling heavily on the already muddy terrain.[62]

On the morning of 14 March the final battle for New Bern began with attacks on both flanks of the defending Confederate troops. As the battle developed, the Federals located a palpable weakness on the right side of the Confederate line near the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad. Soon, the militia troops defending this portion of the line

broke and ran, setting off a general if grudging retreat of Confederate forces toward New Bern and beyond to Kinston. By day's end the pursuing Federal troops had crossed the Trent River and had taken possession of the nearly deserted New Bern. The Union naval contingent had been extremely important in achieving the stunning success. Effective shelling had been provided during the initial landing of troops downriver and as these troops advanced toward the town during the next two days. The firepower of the gunboats had also damaged Confederate fortifications and had demoralized and dispersed their garrisons. Finally, making their way through the elaborate obstructions in the river, they steamed up to the docks at New Bern where their crews joined the victory celebration. With the seizure of New Bern, Burnside concluded the second phase of his overall plan in eastern North Carolina. The stage was now set for moves against both Goldsboro and Fort Macon. Moreover a vast quantity of munitions and supplies had been captured and Confederate military strategy thrown into confusion.[63]

From the earliest days of their presence in the Albemarle Sound area, General Burnside and other Union leaders had been concerned by recurring reports that the Confederates were building ironclad gunboats in Virginia with the view of bringing them south through the Dismal Swamp Canal. To preclude this possibility, Burnside directed Brigadier General Jesse Reno to move up to South Mills, in Camden County, to

destroy the locks located there, and otherwise render the canal useless. After proceeding all the way from New Bern, however, Reno and his force of more than 3,000 men were sharply repulsed by outnumbered Confederate troops at South Mills and forced to abandon their mission. The threat remained, then, that Confederate ironclads might descend southward through the Dismal Swamp Canal, and it was therefore deemed essential that a strong Federal presence be maintained at Elizabeth City.[64]

The subsequent fall of Norfolk to Federal forces on 10 May 1862 would effectively end the long-standing threat of Confederate gunboats moving down into North Carolina waters, and would therefore permit Union vessels to circulate more freely through the upper sounds and along their tributaries. This unhindered ability to project power swiftly and at will would put increasing pressure on the Confederates' remaining defensive positions in the region and at length would compel the Confederates to shift their defenses further into the interior. Unfortunately for the South, this withdrawal westward would eventually entail the loss of more than two million acres of productive farm land and the concomitant loss of more than five million bushels of desperately needed corn.[65]

Even after the loss of Norfolk as a base of construction for ironclads that could be used in North Carolina waters, the Confederate Navy Department endeavored to provide the vessels needed. Increasingly it was recognized that only

ironclads could hope to challenge Union naval supremacy within the Outer Banks and perhaps venture forth from time to time to breach the Federal blockade of strategic inlets.

Indeed, both sides became increasingly committed to the design and construction of ironclad vessels, following the general patterns exemplified by the Virginia (formerly Merrimac) and the Monitor. During the fall of 1862, the North Carolina firms of Howard and Ellis and Martin and Elliot would each be engaged to build armored vessels for service in the state. The former was to build such a vessel at Whitehall on the Neuse; the latter was to build one of similar design at Edward's Ferry on the Roanoke and a second on the Tar River at Tarboro. Though great expectations would be fostered concerning these ironclads, only one was to have a significant impact on the course of future events.[66]

After gaining clear supremacy in the upper sounds and rivers of North Carolina, Burnside next directed his attention to Beaufort Inlet, the only entrance through the Outer Banks not yet under his control. Beaufort Inlet, however, was guarded by Fort Macon, the most formidable defensive installation he had yet confronted. The reduction of Fort Macon and possession of Beaufort Inlet were seen as prerequisite to any future advance westward to Goldsboro and the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. These measures would also

secure for the Federal navy one of the best natural harbors on the North Carolina coast.[67]

The actual siege of Fort Macon was preceded and accompanied by the deployment of Union land forces on Shackleford and Bogue banks and by considerable activity on the part of Union naval vessels. A Union gunboat and at least one other vessel took up positions well inside Beaufort Inlet, controlling the approaches and exits of both Bogue and Core sounds. On 22 April several Union vessels dropped anchor near Harkers Island to the east of Beaufort. One of these was the Alice Price, which served temporarily as Burnside's headquarters. During the day-long siege of Fort Macon on the 25th, Federal land forces were suported by the small Federal fleet which lay off shore, under the command of Captain Samuel Lockwood. Lockwood's fleet bombarded the fort intermittently throughout the day, but was finally forced to withdraw due to heavy seas. It was the horrific bombardment from shore batteries, however, that proved truly decisive. On the morning of 26 April, the vanquished commander of Fort Macon, Colonel Moses J. White, met with generals Parke and Burnside on Shackleford Banks, where terms of surrender were offered and accepted.[68]

With the fall of Fort Macon and Beaufort Inlet, Union control over North Carolina's Outer Banks was secured. Moreover, the capacious natural harbor inside Beaufort Inlet could now be transformed into an important base of operations

and supply for Union forces in the coastal area. The threat of blockade running north of the Cape Fear had been greatly reduced, and Union military leaders could now turn their efforts and resources toward additional objectives in North Carolina's interior regions.[69]

One of the most important of these inland objectives from the very outset of the Burnside campaign had been the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, a vital artery of transportation and supply running northward from Wilmington through Weldon and onward via the Petersburg Railroad to Richmond. The already considerable importance of this rail line as a source of supply for the Confederacy had grown progressively with the rise of Wilmington as a major center for blockade running. From their base at New Bern, it was hoped that Union forces could mount a major thrust westward and destroy the railroad at Goldsboro. In anticipation of this move inland, four Confederate brigades under Major General Theophilus H. Holmes were stationed in the Goldsboro area.[70]

Prior to moving on Goldsboro, however, Burnside felt that he needed additional men and materiel to assure the operation's success.[71] While awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, Federal forces undertook a number of relatively minor operations along the sounds and rivers of eastern North Carolina, in many cases interdicting local supply lines and seizing Confederate vessels. On 21 March a contingent of three

Union gunboats and one troop ship ascended the Pamlico River to the Beaufort County seat of Washington. In the face of their approach, a group of retiring Confederates destroyed a gunboat on the stocks and sizable quantities of cotton and naval stores. So little resistance was offered on the occasion that it was decided soon afterward to occupy the town and to station several gunboats in the vicinity.[72] Only five days later the gunboat Delaware reconnoitered up the nearby Pungo River, where two Confederate schooners were confiscated. With Confederate naval power almost completely eliminated in the upper sounds and rivers of North Carolina, such raids could now be carried out at will and with relative impunity.[73]

On 8 April Union troops arrived by steamer from Roanoke Island to surprise a militia encampment near Elizabeth City, taking a number of militiamen prisoner and seizing their stockpile of arms and ammunition.[74] On 10 April the Federal gunboat Whitehead captured no fewer than three Confederate vessels in nearby Newbegun Creek: the sloop America and the schooners Comet and J. J. Crittenden. On 24 April still another naval expedition placed a captured schooner and other obstructions in the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, thereby supplementing the obstructions placed in the canal some two months earlier.[75]

First from Washington and then from Plymouth, recurring reports of Unionist sentiment reached General Burnside,

encouraging him to establish permanent garrisons and bases of operation in those towns. Accordingly, he followed up his Washington expedition of late March with a similar visit to Plymouth. Arriving there initially about the 1st of May, three Union gunboats tarried only long enough to distribute a proclamation to the populace. Some two weeks later, on 14 May, Plymouth was again visited by three Federal gunboats: the Commodore Perry, the Lockwood, and the Ceres. Encountering no opposition, the small naval contingent continued upriver to Jamesville and onward nearly to Williamston. There, about three miles below the town, they seized the Confederate steamer Alice, which was taken in tow back to Plymouth. It was in an effort to discourage such incursions up the Roanoke that Fort Branch was begun at Rainbow Banks just below Hamilton. This installation was especially intended to protect the vital railroad bridge at Hamilton and the shipyards farther upstream at Edwards Ferry and Halifax.[76]

Almost immediately after Norfolk's fall to Union forces, Commodore S. C. Rowan led a sizable naval force up the Chowan River in an attempt to intercept Confederate troops retreating southwestward into North Carolina. Some Union vessels ascended the stream nearly to the mouth of the Blackwater River, where they located an abandoned Confederate fortification and associated obstructions to navigation.[77]

Closely associated with Rowan's move up the Chowan were similar naval forays up the Roanoke and the Meherrin. On 18 May the Union vessels Hunchback and Shawsheen captured the Confederate schooner G. H. Smoot in Potecasi Creek, a tributary of the Meherrin. On 20 and 22 May the USS Whitehead seized the schooner Eugenia in Bennetts Creek and the sloop Ella D. in Keel Creek, both streams being tributaries of the Chowan.[78]

In late April of 1862 Burnside had at last received the cavalrymen he had urgently requested, together with additional infantry units, increasing his total troop strength to approximately 17,000. With these additional forces he should now be able at last to move westward on Goldsboro and the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. Yet, even as Burnside's forces increased in eastern North Carolina, events in neighboring Virginia were soon to deny him his Goldsboro objective after all. These events grew out of General George McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, which had been launched in early April and by late June was experiencing serious reversals. In early July, just as Burnside was preparing to move on Goldsboro, he received a direct communication from President Lincoln which altered his plans completely: "I think you had better go, with any reinforcements you can spare, to General McClellan." On 6 July Burnside departed New Bern for Virginia, taking some 7,000 Federal troops with him. The greatly reduced Federal force of 9,000 to 10,000 men and the Department of North Carolina in

general were left in the hands of Burnside's successor, Brigadier General John Foster.[79]

The sizable reduction in Federal troop strength in eastern North Carolina transformed a potentially offensive force into one best suited for defensive operations. Foster therefore set about strengthening his defenses in the New Bern area and elsewhere along the sounds and rivers. The Federal naval presence had also been reduced substantially as a result of McClellan's increasing imperilment in Virginia. In early June the number of Union vessels in eastern North Carolina had dropped to a mere thirteen.[80]

Despite its failure to seize the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad at Goldsboro, the Burnside expedition had firmly secured North Carolina's major inlets and had taken possession of Roanoke Island, New Bern, and Fort Macon. Only Wilmington now remained as a major center of Confederate trade. Moreover, the expedition had established at least a temporary supremacy over many of the interior waters of North Carolina and had closed the canals linking North Carolina with Virginia. Goldsboro and the even more ambitious objective, Raleigh, would await other commanders and further developments. From the Confederate vantage point, the inability to drive Burnside's invading forces out of North Carolina and the lack of response to repeated pleas for additional men and supplies had exacerbated the already strained relations between the governments in

Raleigh and Richmond. A deep resentment festered among state leaders that North Carolina was too often being required to subordinate its own interests to those of neighboring states.[81]

Despite the departure of Burnside and the siphoning off of Federal troops and supplies to Virginia, the sizable Federal forces remaining in the New Bern area and elsewhere in eastern North Carolina were sufficient to sustain fears that an attempt would yet be made against the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad at Goldsboro. Governor Henry T. Clark urgently requested that General Robert E. Lee take additional steps to avert such an attempt. Lee, for his part, appreciated the critical importance of the railroad and the inadequacy of existing defensive measures, but explained that to weaken his own defenses in Virginia might open the way for even more disastrous developments, not only for North Carolina but for the South as a whole.[82]

On 9 July 1862, only three days after Burnside's departure northward, a small Federal naval expedition under Lieutenant Charles W. Flusser tested Confederate defenses along the Roanoke River. As Flusser's three gunboats approached Rainbow Banks, just below Hamilton, they were vigorously fired upon by Confederate cavalrymen. Enduring this fire, Flusser's gunboats continued upstream to Hamilton, where he briefly occupied the town and seized a small Confederate steamer, the Wilson. Returning downstream with their prize, Flusser's force

encountered no further resistance. Though of brief duration, Flusser's raid on Hamilton made even more apparent than before the need for adequate defenses along the Roanoke.[83]

In early November of 1862 Federal naval forces again made their presence felt at Hamilton. On this occasion the expedition comprised five vessels. Its two-fold mission was to destroy the fortification supposed to be underway at Rainbow Banks (Fort Branch) and to investigate reports that Confederate gunboats were being built at Hamilton. Much damage was, in fact, done to Fort Branch, though destruction was far from complete. With respect to the gunboats, evidence was found that they were under construction upstream from Hamilton rather than at Hamilton itself. Nevertheless, Union forces sacked and partially burned the town before departing.[84]

Again it had been demonstrated to Confederate military leaders that more vigorous measures would have to be taken to guard the approaches to Hamilton and the railroad and shipyards further upstream against Federal incursions. These measures finally reached fruition in February of 1863, when Fort Branch was completed.[85]

General Robert E. Lee's refusal to dispatch additional troops from Virginia to eastern North Carolina dictated not only that Confederate defensive capabilities would remain limited in the latter place, but also that any offensive operations against Federal positions there would have to be

managed with the men already on hand. The first such offensive operation came on the morning of 6 September with an attack on the Federally occupied town of Washington. Surprised and at first confused, the Federal garrison there quickly gathered its wits and resources to repel the assault. As the fog lifted over the Pamlico River, the gunboats Picket and Louisiana opened a vigorous fire on the enemy intruders. Then, without warning, the Picket's magazine suddenly exploded, sending her to the river's bottom and killing her captain and nineteen crewmen. Heartened by their initial success and by the Picket's sinking, the Confederate troops anticipated that Washington would soon be theirs; but the timely arrival of Federal reinforcements and continuing fire from the Louisiana soon turned the tide of battle, and the town remained under Federal occupancy. Only the Picket's loss provided a measure of compensation to the defeated Confederates.[86] Two months after its pivotal role in the battle for Washington, the gunboat Louisiana again proved its usefulness. On 5 November it captured the Confederate schooner Alice L. Webb near the mouth of the Pamlico River.[87]

As summer passed into autumn, Union forces in coastal North Carolina made their presence felt along both the Roanoke and Tar rivers. The early November attack on Fort Branch and on nearby Hamilton followed an attack on a Confederate encampment at Plymouth, involving some five Federal vessels under

Commander Henry K. Davenport. Withering under the combined fire of these vessels, the Confederate troops on shore were forced to withdraw. Moreover, the raid on Hamilton was, itself, followed by a further ascent upstream on the part of Davenport's gunboats, as coordinated elements of the Union army attempted unsuccessfully to penetrate as far as nearby Tarboro.[88]

Finally, on 9 November a naval reconnaissance of sorts was carried out on the Tar River as far as Greenville, although involving in its latter stages only a flatboat and a launch. The transport steamer North State had gotten within a mile of Greenville, but had run aground on a sandbar. Coming ashore from their modest vessels under a flag of truce, the Union seamen actually took possession of the town briefly before returning downstream.[89]

Some three months after their surprise attack on Washington, Confederate forces in eastern North Carolina mounted a similar effort at Plymouth. Bursting into town on the morning of 10 December, the Confederate troops under Colonel John C. Lamb drove the Federal defenders away, after first disabling the gunboat Southfield with artillery fire. The forced retreat of the Southfield, the only Federal gunboat in the vicinity at this time, proved crucial to the success of this Confederate raid. Indeed, the temporary absence of a second Union vessel, the Commodore Perry, had been a significant factor in provoking the attack. After plundering

the town of supplies and burning half its buildings, the Confederate troops departed; but the success of the Plymouth raid gave a needed measure of encouragement to the troops in gray throughout eastern North Carolina.[90]

In mid-December of 1862, some five months after the departure of Burnside and the shift of men and supplies to Virginia, the long anticipated Federal attack on Goldsboro and the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad finally materialized. With a force of more than 10,000 men, General John G. Foster made his way up the Neuse River in a joint army-navy operation. The waterborne component of this operation was intended to be an important one, involving some four naval vessels and five army transports. Unfortunately for the Union effort, these vessels were prevented by low water from ascending the Neuse as far as planned; but they did provide early support to the ground troops which reached Kinston on the 14th and, two days later, Whitehall, where the Confederate ram Neuse was damaged by artillery fire. Even without naval support, Foster's troops finally fought their way to Goldsboro and destroyed the railroad bridge there before falling back to New Bern. Though long feared, the attack on Goldsboro and the destruction of the railroad bridge did not prove as disastrous as had been feared. Only three weeks later, the bridge was repaired and normal rail traffic resumed. In the end, the Federal incursion into the interior had accomplished little of lasting importance.[91]

Soon after Foster's operation against Goldsboro, approximately 14,000 Federal troops were transferred from eastern North Carolina to South Carolina. This opened a door of opportunity for the Confederate troops under Major General D. H. Hill to undertake an offensive of their own. In mid-March of 1863, Hill ordered an attack on New Bern under the command of Brigadier General John Pettigrew, who very nearly succeeded in securing the surrender of nearby Fort Anderson. While awaiting an answer to his request for surrender, however, Pettigrew and his force were turned back by vigorous gunfire from Union vessels offshore. The timely arrival of these vessels not only prevented the fall of Fort Anderson, but also thwarted the attempt on New Bern in general. Indeed, it was clearly regarded at the time as an exemplary instance of cooperation between Federal army and naval forces in repulsing an enemy attack.[92]

Denied victory at New Bern, D. H. Hill now shifted his focus to another Federally occupied town, Washington. The experience at New Bern and elsewhere had clearly demonstrated the difficulty of overcoming naval superiority in mounting a successful attack. It had been learned that Federal gunboats were formidable not only because of their firepower, but also for their ability to move troops rapidly from one place to another as dictated by the needs of battle.[93]

In late March Hill personally led a force of 9,000 men along both the north and south banks of the Pamlico River to begin a protracted seige of Washington, taking measures to prevent the arrival of Federal reinforcements by either land or water. Downstream from Washington artillery was positioned along the shoreline and obstructions placed in the river itself. At the outset of the seige, only the gunboats Louisiana and Commodore Hull were on hand to assist the small Union garrison of 1,200. As the attack progressed, however, the Union vessels Ceres and Escort succeeded in breaching the Confederate defenses downstream and in reaching Washington, bringing with them badly needed supplies, ammunition, and additional men. Hill at length realized the futility of continuing the seige and abandoned his attempt to retake Washington. The seriously outnumbered Federal garrison had held out with crucial naval support. Once again, Hill's attempt to assume an offensive posture in the face of Union naval superiority had proven futile.[94]

While Confederate efforts to seize the initiative evinced themselves from time to time in the early months of 1863, scattered Union raids along the streams of eastern North Carolina nevertheless continued. On 5 March, for instance, the Union gunboat Lockwood returned to New Bern from an expedition up the Pungo River, having destroyed a bridge and captured a small Confederate schooner.[95] On 20 May the Confederate

schooner R. T. Renshaw was similarly captured on the Tar River above Washington by a boat crew from the gunboat Louisiana; and less than a week later a number of small schooners and boats were taken or destroyed along the lower Neuse in the vicinity of Wilkinson's Point.[96]

Raids of this kind continued along eastern North Carolina waterways during the summer of 1863 as well, even as more momentous events were unfolding along the lower Mississippi and in the fields of Pennsylvania. On 22 June the schooner Henry Clay was seized on Spring Creek during a reconnaissance of the Bay River area by the USS Shawsheen. An armed boat from the Shawsheen also captured a small schooner in Dimbargon Creek before returning to New Bern.[97] Less than a month later, on 20 July, the Shawsheen experienced remarkable success in the Neuse River near Cedar Island, taking as prizes the schooners Sally, Helen, Jane, Elizabeth, Dolphin, and James Brice. On the same day Union army troops boarded and burned the steamer Colonel Hill near Tarboro.[98] Not content with its conquests of July 20th, the Shawsheen seized the schooner Telegraph just over a week later near the mouth of the Pamlico River, having pursued the hapless vessel for sixteen miles before making the capture.[99]

The latter half of 1863 saw a marked diminution in the level of military activity in eastern North Carolina. This comparative lull eventually gave rise to a bold Confederate

plan to drive the Union forces of occupation from New Bern, capture Union gunboats there, and again secure control of the Neuse River. Both Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis believed that a decisive and sudden attack by both land and water might well prove successful. Indeed, Davis initially proposed that Lee command the operation himself. Eventually, however, command of the operation was assigned to Major General George E. Pickett. The Confederate naval contingent was to be led by Commander John Taylor Wood, whose primary objective would be to capture the Union gunboat Underwriter. It was hoped that the captured Underwriter could then operate in conjunction with Pickett's force of some 13,000 men in a projected three-pronged attack on New Bern itself. It was further hoped that a successful operation against New Bern might lead to similar operations against Washington, Plymouth, and other eastern North Carolina towns under Federal occupation.[100]

Prior to the actual attack, Wood assembled a modest fleet of small vessels of various types well upstream from New Bern, some of which had been transported overland from as far away as the James River. In the early morning hours of 2 February 1864, having moved downstream the previous day, Wood's small flotilla surprised the Underwriter at her moorings, but became engaged in a spirited battle at close quarters with her crew. Although overcoming this resistance, Wood's party and the captured vessel were soon subjected to heavy fire from

Union batteries on shore. Unable to raise sufficient steam to get the Underwriter under way, Wood had little choice but to scuttle and abandon his newly won prize. The Underwriter was left in flames as Wood and his small fleet made their way back upstream. The failure to hold the Underwriter for use in the impending attack on New Bern severely reduced Pickett's chances for success. Moreover, additional ground and naval forces arrived soon after the Underwriter episode to bolster Union defensive capabilities even further. In the face of these mounting defenses, Pickett's resolve weakened, and the operation against New Bern was at length abandoned altogether. As events finally unfolded, the destruction of the Underwriter would prove the single significant achievement of the whole abortive affair.[101]

Despite the failure to retake New Bern, Confederate military strategists thought that better success might be realized against Plymouth with help from the CSS Albemarle, the formidable ironclad still under construction on the Roanoke River. Begun in 1863 at Edwards Ferry, the mighty ram was now nearing completion at Hamilton.[102]

While the Albemarle was under construction on the Roanoke, her sister ship, the CSS Neuse, was similarly under construction at Kinston on the Neuse. Having been laid down initially at Whitehall in the fall of 1862 and damaged during a Federal attack later that year, she had subsequently been

brought down to Kinston for repairs and completion. Unlike the Albemarle, however, the Neuse would play little or no part in shaping the course of future events.[103]

A third Confederate ironclad, laid down at Tarboro, was destined to play a role even less significant than that of the Neuse. This vessel, still unnamed, was destroyed during the early phases of construction by Union troops in the summer of 1863.[104]

Federal commanders in the sounds and rivers of eastern North Carolina were cognizant of the Confederate ironclads under construction and aware of the threats they posed to their continued dominance in the region. Moreover, they were unable to acquire ironclads themselves to oppose the Confederate leviathans, having to rely instead upon more numerous vessels of far less formidable design and construction. Lacking ironclads of their own, Union naval forces placed various obstructions in the river channels downstream from the Confederate vessels. Both the Neuse and the Roanoke were littered with pilings, torpedoes, and sunken hulks. In turn, of course, Confederates employed similar obstructions to defend North Carolina's coastal towns and prevent Federal vessels from penetrating too deeply into the state's interior.[105]

In order to assure that the Albemarle would be completed in time for his attack on Plymouth, Brigadier General Robert F. Hoke visited Hamilton and urged all deliberate speed in the

work still left to be done. Satisfied that the ram would be ready, Hoke set his army in motion in mid-April. With the Albemarle assigned a crucial role, Hoke planned a combined attack on the town by both water and land. The task would not be an easy one, however. Plymouth was defended by strategically located fortifications and by Federal gunboats lying offshore: the Southfield and Miami, and the smaller Ceres and Whitehead.[106]

The seige of Plymouth began on the evening of 17 April and continued indecisively throughout the following day. Still, the Albemarle had failed to appear as expected. Finally, on the morning of the 19th, the ram made its way past obstructions upstream and bore down on the town out of the lingering darkness. The transport Colton Plant accompanied her with a contingent of sharpshooters on board. Union naval forces made the best defensive effort they could by lashing together the gunboats Miami and Southfield, hoping to entangle the Albemarle between them and destroy her with their combined gunfire at close range. Commander Cooke of the Albemarle, however, eluded the trap that had been set for him and instead maneuvered into position to ram the Southfield hard amidships at nearly full speed. The heavily damaged Southfield sank almost immediately, threatening at first to drag the Albemarle after her. Once extricated from the sinking Southfield, the Albemarle began a vigorous exchange of fire with the nearby Miami, an exchange

during which the Miami's skipper, Commander C. W. Flusser, was killed. Dispirited by Flusser's death and clearly overmatched, the Miami then fell downriver to safety, accompanied by the Ceres and Whitehead. Having cleared the Roanoke of her opponents, the Albemarle began shelling Federal positions on-shore in preparation for Hoke's assault by land. After enduring heavy artillery fire and repeated infantry advances, the Federal defenders of Plymouth finally capitulated on the morning of April 20th.[107]

Hoke's success at Plymouth had an immediate and invigorating effect on Confederate forces in eastern North Carolina and provided ample evidence of the benefits to be derived from the combined use of ground and naval forces in a single operation. This lesson had been learned long since by Federal military strategists in the region; but until the completion of the Albemarle the use of adequate power afloat had seldom been an option open to their Confederate opponents. In practical terms, the retaking of Plymouth secured to the victorious Confederates badly needed quantities of artillery, horses, firearms, and provisions. Even more important, it seemed to provide an opportunity to sweep enemy gunboats from the sounds and rivers and to recapture the Federally held towns along their shores.[108]

Only a week after the retaking of Plymouth, Washington once again returned to Confederate hands. Hoke had initially

planned to take the Pamlico River town by force of arms, but postponed his attack on news that the Federal garrison there was leaving voluntarily. Unfortunately, the evacuating garrison also sacked and burned the town prior to their final departure. With this additional success at Washington, albeit tarnished, Hoke now undertook the far more ambitious project of driving Federal forces from New Bern.[109]

It had initially been planned by Confederate military strategists at the highest level to launch a coordinated assault on both Plymouth and New Bern with support from the Albemarle and Neuse respectively. As the spring of 1864 drew near, however, it had been decided to proceed with the Plymouth operation with the one ironclad available, the Albemarle. The ill-fated Neuse had at length been completed, but had promptly run "hard aground" scarcely half a mile from her point of departure. Furthermore, there seemed little prospect for getting her off for several months to come. As a result, it was decided that the Albemarle could be used instead in the New Bern venture, having already completed her mission at Plymouth. The logistical and strategic aspects of the operation were now radically different, however, from the naval point of view. The Neuse would only have had to fall downriver from Kinston in order to support the attack on New Bern; the Albemarle, on the other hand, would be required to pass through the hazardous channels of Albemarle, Croatan, and Pamlico sounds, and then

ascend the Neuse River, merely to be in position for the operation.[110]

Despite the risks involved, Commodore J. W. Cooke of the Albemarle gamely weighed anchor on the afternoon of 5 May 1864 and began the descent of the Roanoke to Albemarle Sound, accompanied by the Bombshell and Cotton Plant, all with New Bern as their ultimate destination. At the very head of Albemarle Sound, however, the mighty ram and her two consorts were challenged by seven vessels under the command of Captain Melancton Smith, the largest and most powerful being the Sassacus, Wyalusing, Miami, and Mattabessett. The Cotton Plant immediately reversed course and retreated up the Roanoke toward Plymouth, but the Albemarle and Bombshell began a vigorous exchange of fire with the more numerous enemy. The Sassacus quickly delivered a powerful broadside against the Albemarle at close range, but the barrage ricocheted off the ram's armor plating "with no apparent effect." The Sassacus next turned her ordnance against the much less formidable Bombshell, and soon thereafter received her surrender. The captain of the Sassacus then resolved to ram the Albemarle amidships in hopes of rendering her helpless. In the ensuing collision the Sassacus was herself heavily damaged, but the Albemarle was damaged as well. Even after the collision the battle continued until well into the evening, with the Albemarle sustaining all told nearly 300 hits by the time the engagement ended.

Finally, her smokestack riddled with holes and her steering seriously impaired, it was only with difficulty that the Albemarle was able to return to Plymouth. Like her sister ship, the Neuse, she would not be available for use at New Bern. In light of this and other unfavorable developments in Virginia, the New Bern operation was cancelled. Indeed, the Federal occupation of New Bern would never again be seriously contested.[111]

The Union naval operation in Albemarle Sound had successfully prevented the Albemarle's use at New Bern, and had forced her to retreat upriver for repairs. In the course of the battle, however, she had demonstrated awesome power, singlehandedly engaging some seven vessels after the departure and capture respectively of her two consorts. Moreover, though herself damaged, she had exacted a heavy toll, seriously damaging several enemy vessels and taking the lives of eight of their crewmen. For the next five months Union naval activities in Albemarle Sound would focus on containing the Confederate ram and plotting her destruction.[112]

The presence of the Albemarle at Plymouth posed a lingering and serious threat to Federal naval forces in northeastern North Carolina waters. At any time, it was feared, the mighty ram might burst forth from her moorings and wreak havoc among the Union vessels in Albemarle Sound. Indeed, the ram's presence at Plymouth was a principal reason for their being in

the sound. Moreover, as long as the Albemarle remained at Plymouth, Union military strategists could not realistically hope to retake the town and secure control over the Roanoke River.[113]

The relatively close proximity of the Albemarle, however, by no means ended Federal naval operations altogether in the Albemarle Sound area; nor in neighboring Pamlico Sound. These operations continued, at least on an intermittent basis, throughout the spring and summer of 1864.

On 13 May the USS Ceres and the army steamer Rockland proceeded up the Alligator River with a force of approximately 100 men. There they captured the schooner Ann S. Davenport and rendered a gristmill inoperative.[114] In mid-June the Ceres again took part in an expedition, on this occasion in conjunction with the army transport Ella May. Near the mouth of the Pamlico River the two Union vessels destroyed two schooners and captured some three others: the Iowa, Mary Emma, and Jinny Lind. After being joined by the USS Valley City, this expedition reconnoitered up the Pungo River for five additional days before returning to its New Bern base.[115] In mid-July the Ceres, the Whitehead, and the transport Ella May conducted an expedition up the Scuppernong River to Columbia. While capturing no enemy vessels, the expedition nevertheless destroyed a bridge and a sizable quantity of grain before returning.[116] Finally, near the end of July, the USS Whitehead

and the army steamers Thomas Colyer and Massasoit carried out a raid up the Chowan River, seizing the steamer Arrow at Gatesville, together with its valuable cargo of cotton and tobacco.[117]

As early as 25 May 1864, a Union naval expedition from the USS Wyalusing attempted to make its way up the Roanoke River and destroy the ram Albemarle at her moorings. This attempt, however, stumbled in the threshold of success when torpedo lines became ensnared and the explosives rendered unusable.[118] Following this failure, Admiral S. P. Lee assigned the destruction of the Albemarle to the dashing hero of many such exploits, Lieutenant William B. Cushing. Cushing had already made a name for himself bedeviling Confederate military authorities along the North Carolina coast; and in fact, he would continue to do so until the war's end. The Albemarle assignment, however, would prove his finest hour.[119]

After lengthy preparations for his task, Lieutenant Cushing and his small crew stealthily made their way up the Roanoke River in a specially designed torpedo launch. Initially, Cushing had hopes of capturing the ram and of steaming triumphantly back downriver and into Albemarle Sound under a Union flag. When a Confederate sentinel on shore detected his presence, however, he decided instead that the ram must be destroyed. Approaching from the opposite side of the river at full steam, and into the teeth of fierce enemy fire,

Cushing succeeded in forcing his small vessel atop the heavy log boom surrounding the Albemarle and in calmly placing the explosive charge against the ram just below her waterline. The ensuing explosion tore a hole in the ram's hull "big enough to drive a wagon in," sending her quickly to the bottom of the river. Having accomplished his mission against enormous odds, Cushing then made good his escape and finally was able to reach the USS Valley City in Albemarle Sound. Only one other member of his small band escaped; the rest were either killed or captured. What Cushing and his men had accomplished, however, would have a significant impact on the future course of the war in North Carolina waters.[120]

With the threat of the Albemarle no longer a factor, Federal forces in northeastern North Carolina were quick to seize the initiative. On 31 October, only four days after the Albemarle's sinking, Commander W. H. Macomb retook the town of Plymouth, following a vigorous naval bombardment from a gunboat flotilla comprised of the Commodore Hull, Tacony, Shamrock, Otsego, and Wyalusing. The tinclad Whitehead and the tugs Bazely and Belle also took part. Prevented from ascending the Roanoke by two sunken schooners abreast of the Southfield wreck, Macomb had made his way up the Middle River so as to approach Plymouth from above. So effective was the naval bombardment, that the battered and virtually abandoned

Confederate positions in and around Plymouth offered but little resistance. Along with the town itself, Macomb seized a number of prisoners, sizable quantities of arms and supplies, and the wreck of the once dreaded Albemarle. Nor was this all. As a result of their victory at Plymouth Union forces again controlled the Roanoke River and therefore threatened the interior regions through which it flowed.[121]

Having evacuated Plymouth as a result of the Union onslaught, many of its erstwhile defenders moved thirty miles upriver to Fort Branch at Rainbow Banks. But plans were soon formulated for a Union expedition to capture this position as well, involving both army and naval contingents. It was hoped that the seizure of Fort Branch might pave the way for an assault further upstream against the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, and that this latter operation would prevent the future movement of men and materials southward to aid in the defense of Fort Fisher.[122]

For more than a month after the fall of Plymouth, Union vessels conducted preparatory reconnaissance expeditions up the Roanoke, despite the torpedoes, sunken vessels, and other defensive measures to discourage and imperil such operations. Finally, on successive days in early December, these defensive measures exacted a toll of two of the vessels making their way upriver under Commander W. H. Macomb. On 9 December the gunboat Otsego struck two torpedoes and sank near Jamesville,

as Macomb's small flotilla awaited the arrival of Federal ground troops. On the following day the tug Bazely met a similar fate at the same location, while attempting to rescue men from the Otsego. Within yards of the Otsego wreck the Bazely also struck a Confederate torpedo, which sent her to the river's bottom with the loss of two lives.[123]

Despite the loss of the two vessels near Jamesville, the remainder of Macomb's flotilla continued cautiously upstream to attack the Confederates at Fort Branch. The progress was tortuously slow because of intermittent Confederate rifle fire from the banks. Moreover, the ground forces supposed to move in concert with the gunboats against Fort Branch proceeded so slowly that the garrison there had additional time to prepare for the coming attack. At length, the Federal movement upstream was reconsidered and the decision made to return to Plymouth. En route, the Federal forces destroyed the wrecks of the Otsego and Bazely to prevent their falling into Confederate hands. As events unfolded, Fort Branch would finally be abandoned by its small Confederate garrison in early April of 1865.[124]

Well before the abortive move against Fort Branch in December of 1864, the focus of Union activity in North Carolina had shifted dramatically southward from the Albemarle region to the lower Cape Fear. President Abraham Lincoln and his chief military leaders had resolved several months earlier to deliver

a mortal blow to the Southern war effort by capturing Fort Fisher and sealing the Cape Fear River--the last major artery of supplies for the beleaguered Confederacy. On 24 and 25 December 1864, Fort Fisher successfully withstood a furious bombardment from a large fleet of Federal warships under the command of Admiral David D. Porter, while also turning back the advances of Union skirmishers who came within yards of its outer walls.[125]

Not withstanding Fort Fisher's successful stand against this first assault, there was firmly based apprehension that another, perhaps more formidable, attack would soon be mounted. When Porter's armada reappeared off Fort Fisher on the evening of 12 January 1865, it was indeed larger and more awesome than before. Moreover, the second attack was to prove from the outset to be better organized and more closely coordinated than the first. From 13 to 15 January the Federal flotilla maintained a constant and horrendous bombardment, while thousands of troops landed north of the fort unopposed. By the afternoon of the 15th, Fort Fisher had been severely damaged, and the massive assault by land commenced against its hopelessly outnumbered and battered garrison. During the evening of the 15th, despite a valiant defense, the once mighty fortress fell.[126]

By February 17 Federal troops had begun an advance northward along the west bank of the Cape Fear toward

Wilmington, while a separate Union force moved inexorably along the east side of the river with the same objective in mind. On the afternoon of the 20th, the outnumbered defenders of Wilmington retreated into the city itself in the face of the enemy's advance; but the defense of the port city was now clearly hopeless. During the following night Wilmington was reluctantly evacuated, and on 22 February victorious Union forces swept into the city virtually unopposed. With the loss of Wilmington, the fate of the Confederacy was all but sealed.[127]

Despite the much larger and more important operations in connection with Fort Fisher and Wilmington to the south, Union naval forces in northeastern North Carolina continued to make their presence felt. On 9 January 1865, for example, less than a week before Fort Fisher's fall, the Confederate schooner Triumph and its cargo of salt were captured near the mouth of the Perquimans River by the USS Wyalusing. On the following day the steamer Philadelphia and its cargo were similarly taken in the Chowan River by the USS Valley City.[128]

During the final stages of the Civil War in North Carolina, Union naval forces lent close support to the movements of General William T. Sherman and his army of 60,000 men. Having marched northward from Georgia and through South Carolina, the main body of Sherman's army entered North Carolina on the 8th of March, with its primary objectives being Goldsboro and the

rail connections with the coast. By 14 March Union advances along the Neuse River had reached as far as Kinston, prompting the destruction of the ill-fated ram Neuse to prevent her falling into enemy hands.[129]

Between 19 and 21 March the further movement of Sherman's army toward nearby Goldsboro was stubbornly resisted at Bentonville by Confederate forces under General Joseph E. Johnston, although with only 30,000 men Johnston's army was outnumbered by approximately two to one. This bloody three-day battle, the largest ever fought on North Carolina soil, ended in a virtual stalemate, though Union forces held possession of the field at the termination of the fighting.[130]

An important part of the Union navy's role in support of Sherman was to eliminate the last vestiges of Confederate trade in eastern North Carolina and to seize or destroy all manner of supplies that might sustain Confederate resistance. This aspect of Union naval strategy was clearly emphasized in an order of 23 March from Admiral David D. Porter to Commander W. H. Macomb, only two days after the Battle of Bentonville:

> It seems to be the policy now to break up all trade, especially that which may benefit the rebels, and you will dispose your vessels about the sounds to capture all contraband of war going into the enemy's lines. You will stop all supplies of clothing that can by any possibility benefit a soldier; seize all vessels afloat that carry provisions to any place not held by our troops and send them into court for adjudication.[131]

The broad outlines of the Union navy's supportive role with relation to Sherman's army and other land forces were more clearly established during the historic meeting at City Point, Virginia on March 28th, attended by President Lincoln, Admiral Porter, and generals Grant and Sherman. Following this meeting, Porter directed Macomb "to cooperate with General Sherman to the fullest extent." This cooperation was seen as especially crucial along the Neuse, but was important in the Albemarle region as well.[132] Receiving more specific orders with regard to this region on 30 March, Macomb acted swiftly to carry them into effect. Ascending the Chowan River with the Shamrock, Wyoming, Hunchback, Valley City, and Whitehead, Macomb ferried a Union regiment across the stream as it proceeded westward to join Sherman's forces. By 5 April Macomb had taken his vessels even further up the Chowan and its tributaries, ascending the Meherrin as far as Murfreesboro.[133]

The end of fighting for naval and land forces, both North and South, had at last drawn near. On 13 April Sherman and his westward-moving army took possession of Raleigh, Confederate resistance having crumbled in their path. The war in Virginia had ended even before Raleigh's fall, for on the 9th of April Robert E. Lee had surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse. Finally, on 26 April, General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to Sherman at the Bennett farmhouse near Durham,

bringing the war to an end in North Carolina and throughout the southeast.[134]

In coastal North Carolina and throughout the South as a whole, Union naval supremacy and the increasingly effective use of combined and amphibious operations had taken a heavy toll on an embattled Confederacy. With its coastline under blockade, it was only with difficulty that essential supplies could reach the state's defenders and the defenders of other Southern states. Once Federal control was established over the strategic inlets along North Carolina's coast, Union naval forces were able to spread their area of dominance across Albemarle and Pamlico sounds and up the adjoining rivers, all the while moving men, supplies, and heavy artillery rapidly from place to place.

Though some early success was experienced by North Carolina's "mosquito fleet," and later by the CSS Albemarle and other Confederate vessels, Federal naval supremacy overall was simply a factor which Southern military strategists had to bear in mind in planning the movement and deployment of men and supplies in the coastal region, always apprehensive that Union forces might strike westward against the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. Often, there were irreconcilable imperatives both to disperse defensive forces widely and, at the same time, concentrate them at a few critical points.

During the four years of conflict in eastern North Carolina, principally along its sounds and rivers, many vessels from both sides found watery graves due to enemy gunfire. Others were sunk deliberately as impediments to navigation or came to grief as a result of accident or malfunction. Whatever the cause, they yet remain beneath the vast expanses of North Carolina's coastal waters, well over a century after they first went down. In a wide variety of types and in varying stages of preservation, they comprise collectively a cultural resource of great interest, value, and significance. It is hoped that this report will contribute to the recognition and protection of these vessels, and provide a useful background for further research by both historians and archaeologists.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For more detailed discussions of North Carolina's entry into the Civil War, see John G. Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 3-16; and William C. Harris, North Carolina and the Coming of the Civil War (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1988), 35-56.

[2]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 29 and front flap of cover.

[3]E. M. Eller and others, editors, Civil War Naval Chronology, 5 parts (Washington: Navy Department, Naval History Division, 1961-1965), I, iii.

[4]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 31-32; Richard Allen Sauers, "General Ambrose E. Burnside's 1862 North Carolina Campaign" (Ph.D. dissertation: Pennsylvania State University, 1987), 64-66 and 70, hereinafter cited as "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign"; and Robert Monroe Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear: The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron During the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Alabama, 1988), 9-11, hereinafter cited as Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear."

[5]David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 118-120; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 32-34.

[6]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 35; and Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 117-118.

[7]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 35-36; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 16-17.

[8]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 36-37; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 16-17 and 19.

[9]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 36-45; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 20-22; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 3-6.

[10]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 46-49; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 129; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, I, 26-27.

[11]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, I, 24 and 26.

[12]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 45-46; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 22; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, I, iii and 24.

[13]Quoted in Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 46.

[14]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 46 and 60; and Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 128-129.

[15]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, I, iii.

[16]Quoted in Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, I, 23-24. For further discussion of Hatteras' fall and its significance, see Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 46-47 and 60-65; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 22-24 and 105; and Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 128-130.

[17]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 60-64.

[18]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 49-51; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 132; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 106-107; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, I, 28.

[19]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 51-55; and Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 130-136.

[20]For a fuller discussion of Unionist sentiment in North Carolina and of the false hopes it engendered, see Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 9-12 and 552-553.

[21]E. M. Eller and others, editors, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, 8 volumes (Washington: Navy Department, Naval History Division, 1959-1980), V, 425-427; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 18-19 and 105-106; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 22.

[22]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 22-24; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 66-67; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 107.

[23]Quoted in Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 66. See also Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 23-24.

[24]Quoted in Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 66. See also Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign, " 23-24.

[25]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 67.

[26]Quoted in Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 116-117; and in Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 68-69.

[27]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 33-38; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 66-70.

[28]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 123-124; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 66-73; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 108-109; and Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 138-140.

[29]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 3-7; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 63-65; and Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 136-137.

[30]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 73-74; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 136-137; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 111-113.

[31]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 75; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 141-142; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 113.

[32]Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, II, 588-589; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 73-74; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 137; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 110-111. At least nine of the vessels sunk in Croatan Sound have been identified. They were the schooners A. C. Williams, Carter, Josephine, Lydia and Martha, Rio, Southern Star, Spuell and Moss, Tripleet, and Zenith. See Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, II, 589.

[33]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 74-75; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 111-114.

[34]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 76-77; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 142-143; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 113-114; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 19.

[35]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 77-80; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 114; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 19.

[36]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 80-84; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 144-148; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 114-115. Union forces are

reported to have suffered some 37 men killed and 214 wounded. Among the Confederates, 23 men were killed and 58 wounded.

[37]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 89-90; Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 259-283; and James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 373.

[38]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 115-116; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 19-20.

[39]Tom Parramore, "The Burning of Winton," North Carolina Historical Review, XXXIX, No. 1 (Winter, 1962), 18.

[40]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 149-150, 359-360, and 372-373.

[41]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 269-272.

[42]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 269-274.

[43]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 275-276.

[44]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 375, 385-386, 403-404, 419-420, and 431.

[45]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 84-85; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 116-118.

[46]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 86-87.

[47]Richard Rush and others, editors, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, 30 volumes (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894-1914), Series I, Volume VI, 594-597.

[48]For further details on the engagement at Elizabeth City, see Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 117-118; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 229-237.

[49]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 118-119.

[50]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 88; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 119; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign,"238.

[51]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 88-89; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 119; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 238-239. One of the Confederate schooners sunk at this time was the Lynnhaven; the

other has not been identified. See Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, V, 440 and 441, notes 13 and 14.

[52]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 89.

[53]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 91-92.

[54]For a detailed account of these events, see Parramore, "The Burning of Winton." See also Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 245-249; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 92-95; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 119-120.

[55]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 251-252; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 95.

[56]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 255-256.

[57]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 287.

[58]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 95-97; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 305-306.

[59]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 306-307; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 120-121. See also Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 24-25.

[60]Commodore S. C. Rowan quoted in Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 307.

[61]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 97; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 120.

[62]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 98-99; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 121; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 289-299.

[63]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 99-108; Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 324-370; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 121-122.

[64]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 125-126; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 110-113.

[65]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 125-126; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 444 and 495.

[66]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 155-156; and David Stick, Graveyard of the Atlantic; Shipwrecks of the North

Carolina Coast (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 53.

[67]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 123-124; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 109.

[68]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 113-120; Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 397-409; and Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 148-153.

[69]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 408; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 123; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 120.

[70]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 287 and 539; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 192; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 108 and 120.

[71]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 120-121.

[72]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 110; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 122-123.

[73]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 420-421.

[74]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 124.

[75]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 47; and Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, V, 440. Strong circumstantial evidence indicates that the schooner sunk at this time was the recently captured J. J. Crittenden.

[76]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 123-124; Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 445; and Gordon P. Watts and others, The Fort Branch Survey and Recovery Project (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1979), Introduction.

[77]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 445.

[78]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 66.

[79]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 120-122 and 128; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 126-127.

[80]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 135-136.

[81]Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 541 and 569; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 129-130; Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 152-153.

[82]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 133.

[83]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 136; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 131-132; and Watts and others, The Fort Branch Survey, 7-8.

[84]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 138-139; and Watts and others, The Fort Branch Survey, 12-13.

[85]Watts and others, The Fort Branch Survey, 13-14.

[86]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 133-134; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 136-137, and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 96.

[87]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 108.

[88]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 105-107. The Federal vessels involved in this action were the Hetzel, Commodore Perry, Hunchback, Valley City, and Vidette.

[89]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 139.

[90]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 143; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 136; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 113.

[91]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 143-144; Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, II, 113; and Sauers, "Burnside's North Carolina Campaign," 559 and 566.

[92]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 144-146; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, III, 44.

[93]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 146-147.

[94]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 156-162; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 146-149; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, III, 55.

[95]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, III, 39.

[96]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, III, 84 and 86.

[97]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, III, 97.

[98]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, III, 119; and Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, II, 509.

[99]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, III, 122.

[100]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 202, 204, and 213; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 152-153.

[101]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 203-204 and 208-212; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 153-155; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 12-13. The boilers and engines of the Underwriter are reported to have been salvaged at a later time. Indeed, major portions of the vessel itself may have been raised in the mid-1870s. See Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, VII, 404; and the Wilmington Star of 4 August 1876.

[102]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 213-215; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 155-156; and Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, II, 495.

[103]William N. Still, Iron Afloat: The Story of the Confederate Armorclads (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), 91 and 156; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 155-156.

[104]Still, Iron Afloat, 156; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 155.

[105]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 156-157.

[106]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 213-216; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 158-161; and Still, Iron Afloat, 158-161.

[107]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 215-219; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 158-162; Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 44-46; and Still, Iron Afloat, 158-162. See also Roy F. Nichols, editor, "Fighting in North Carolina Waters," North Carolina Historical Review, XL, No. 1 (Winter, 1963), 79.

[108]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 220; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 162-163; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 45-46.

[109]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 220-221; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 163-164.

[110]Still, Iron Afloat, 157 and 162-163; Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 221-222; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 164.

[111]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 222-225; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 165-167; Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 54-55; and Still, Iron Afloat, 163-165.

[112]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 222-225; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 165-168; Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 54-55; and Still, Iron Afloat, 163-165.

[113]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 227; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 167-169; Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 85 and 90; and Still, Iron Afloat, 213.

[114]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 60.

[115]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 75.

[116]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 87-88.

[117]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 92.

[118]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 169.

[119]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 169-170; and Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 227.

[120]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 227-231; Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 124-126; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 169-171; and Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, II, 495. In March of 1865 a Federal naval contingent succeeded in raising the Albemarle, which was later taken to Norfolk for repairs. See Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, V, 29.

[121]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 127; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 171-172.

[122]Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 172.

[123]Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, I, 121 and V, 187; Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 144; and Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 173-174.

[124]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 147; Browning, "From Cape Charles to Cape Fear," 173-174; and Watts and others, The Fort Branch Survey, 22-25.

[125]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 262-270; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 149-150.

[126]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 270-279; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, IV, 11-16.

[127]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 280-284; and Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, V, 22, 31, 37, 39, 43, and 46-47.

[128]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, V, 10.

[129]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, V, 61; Eller and others, Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, II, 552; and Still, Iron Afloat, 221. For the movement of Sherman's army into North Carolina and its overall objectives, see Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 292-300.

[130]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 327-342.

[131]Quoted in Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, V, 65.

[132]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, V, 69 and 73.

[133]Eller and others, Civil War Naval Chronology, V, 73, 75-76, and 80.

[134]Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 370-377 and 380-389.

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