THE MISTIE STEPHENS: A SIDEWHEEL STEAMBOAT ON
THE INLAND RIVERS, 1863-1869

A Thesis
by
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THE MITTIE STEPHENS: A SIDEWHEEL STEAMBOAT ON
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ABSTRACT


The Mittie Stephens was built in Madison, Indiana, in 1863 for trade on the lower Missouri River. Six years later, while enroute to Jefferson, Texas, she burned and sank, with great loss of life, in Caddo Lake, Louisiana. Her journey from Missouri to Texas, and her flaming death, have been the subjects of high-school essays, Victorian poetry, and cracker-barrel conversations around the Caddo Lake region, where rumors, superstitions, and arguments about the boat abound.

Jefferson, once the head of Red River navigation, has long been conscious of its historical heritage and its early dependence on river traffic. The Mittie Stephens Foundation was established there to research the history of the boat, and to locate, excavate and subsequently display her remains.

During the Civil War, the Mittie Stephens was illegally seized by the Union and served to carry dispatches, troops, and supplies in the Red River campaign. In peacetime, she plied the Mississippi before becoming a New Orleans-to-
Jefferson packet. In February, 1869, carrying passengers and a government consignment of hay, gunpowder, and a $100,000 payroll for troops stationed in Jefferson, she steamed upriver to Caddo Lake, caught fire, and sank. Over sixty people lost their lives in a well-documented scene of chaos and pandemonium.

Eyewitness accounts of the disaster gave a glimpse of the passengers and crew that statistics cannot furnish. Stories began to emerge of greed and heroism, of mass graves and mistaken identities. Data accumulated in the investigation allowed previously unknown details of construction of the Mittie Stephens to emerge, and helped to paint a clearer picture of steamboats of the era.

The Mittie Stephens, originally thought to have burned on the Texas side of Caddo Lake, is known to have sunk in Lousiana, about a mile and half from the state line. Surveys conducted over a two-year period have recorded many anomalies; all but one were caused by oil-field debris. The remaining anomaly is believed to have been caused by the remains of the Mittie Stephens, and will be investigated when funding is available. It is hypothesized that enough of the boat remains to warrant excavation, and that the wreck can and will be found.
DEDICATION

To Richard Collins and Duke DeWare, whose generosity and unstinting support made this thesis possible.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with great pleasure that I take the opportunity to acknowledge the many individuals who contributed their time, money and energy to the Mittie Stephens project, which is the subject of this thesis. I owe a personal debt of gratitude to the president of the Mittie Stephens Foundation, Richard H. Collins, whose considerable financial support made possible the extensive research and fieldwork efforts; and to Jesse M. "Duke" DeWare, IV, co-founder and vice-president of the Foundation, who was consistently generous with his time and support, and whose encouragement kept the project going when the results were not always as anticipated.

Special mention is made to steamboat pilot Lexie Palmore, whose contributions as boat pilot and mechanic, steamboat historian, SCUBA diver, artist and researcher cannot be overstated; and to Jeffersonian John Nance, who never hesitated to offer his assistance, even for the most unpleasant of tasks. Charles "C.B." Ratchford, Jr., pursued a meticulous course of research on the Stephens family, and also assumed the duties of dive master, for which I am most grateful.

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Bill Crow and Hank Rhodes of Houston gathered equipment and offered their skills as marine surveyors. Dr. Ervan Garrison of Environmental Engineering, and his assistant James R. Shaeffer of the Computer Graphics Facility, both at Texas A&M University, provided the equipment and technological assistance for the field survey of summer,
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To Mr. J. Lenwood Inabnette, Mr. Frank T. Lodwick, and Neil and Rodney Cobb, descendants of passengers aboard the ill-fated Mittie Stephens, my sincere appreciation for their prompt and helpful replies to my inquiries. Mrs. Katherine Wise, of the Marion County Historical Commission, and the late Mrs. Lucille Bullard, of the Jefferson Historical Museum, willingly shared their extensive files. Many thanks are extended to Mr. Vivian Hackney of Marshall, who looked for items of interest to the Mittie Stephens Foundation while conducting his own research.

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Dr. William Still of the History Department at East Carolina University is gratefully acknowledged for having enough confidence in me to sign on as Principal Investigator and as the person ultimately responsible to the State of Louisiana for the fulfillment of their permit requirements for the Mittie Stephens project.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On February 12, 1869, the steamboat *Mittie Stephens* burned and sank, with great loss of life, in Caddo Lake, Louisiana, while enroute to Jefferson, Texas\(^1\) (see map, ill. 1). The remains of the *Mittie Stephens* have since disappeared from sight, but the tragedy of her final voyage figures prominently in the history of the Caddo Lake region.

The *Mittie Stephens* was only six years old when she sank, but her years of service coincided with significant events in American history and the development of transportation in the West. Before the Civil War, steamboats were gradually displaced by towboats and railroads as the primary form of transportation. During the war, however, the demand for steamboats increased and many new steamboats were built (or old ones refitted) in anticipation of large and quick profits.\(^2\) The *Mittie Stephens* was one of these, but the evidence suggests that she was an expensive and finely-built boat for this time.\(^3\) Less than one year after she was launched, the *Mittie Stephens* was employed in the Union navy as a dispatch and troop ship.\(^4\) During the

The style and format of this thesis are those followed by the *American Journal of Archaeology*. 
Ill. 1. Steamboat route from New Orleans to Jefferson. (Map courtesy of Lexie Palmore.)
Reconstruction period, she plied the Mississippi and Red Rivers, becoming a permanent New Orleans-Jefferson packet in 1866.\(^5\)

For the past 117 years, the fate of the **Mittie Stephens** has been closely identified with Jefferson, a town whose numerous historic sites and buildings attract thousands of visitors yearly. In the 1860s, Jefferson was the largest inland port in Texas and was second only to Galveston in commercial importance.\(^6\) The city's prominence waned in the late 1870s, as did that of the steamboats that made Jefferson a center of westward expansion and trade.\(^7\) Today, beautiful Victorian houses and brick-lined streets recall Jefferson's former prosperity, yet little remains of the steamboats that were an integral part of her history.

Two historic-minded Texans, Dallas businessman Richard H. Collins, a member of the Texas Historical Commission, and Jefferson attorney Jesse M. "Duke" DeWare, IV, then chairman of the Marion County Historical Commission, decided that salvage and subsequent display of the remains of the **Mittie Stephens** would remedy this situation. At the request of the Marion County Historical Commission, headquartered in Jefferson, State Archaeologist J. Barto Arnold conducted a magnetometer survey in July, 1982, at Swanson's Landing on the Texas side of Caddo Lake. A state historical marker cites Swanson's Landing as the site of the sinking, although
Fig. 1. Texas state historical marker citing Swanson's Landing as the location of the Mittie Stephens. (Photo Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

no evidence exists to support this (fig. 1). Mr. Arnold recorded a significant anomaly and recommended that the project be pursued.

In February, 1983, the Mittie Stephens Foundation was established by Richard Collins and Duke DeWare to fund research on the boat as well as an archaeological search for
her remains. Subsequently, the Foundation engaged Dr. Ervan Garrison of the Texas A&M University Engineering and Extension Service. Dr. Garrison and his crew were unable to locate the vessel's remains after three magnetometer surveys that covered Swanson's Landing and high probability areas on the Lousiana side of the lake. Nonetheless, enough pertinent information on the history and construction of the Mittie Stephens was collected to warrant further investigation.

In September, 1983, I was named Director of the Mittie Stephens Foundation. After analyzing the data collected by Mr. Arnold and Dr. Garrison, extensive research was conducted on the history of the Mittie Stephens with emphasis placed on determining the location of her sinking. Based on the accumulated data, areas of high probability for the site of her remains were determined. Two magnetometer surveys were conducted during the year, resulting in two significant anomalies.

This thesis presents the results of the research and survey efforts conducted to date. Chapter II discusses the boatyard where the Mittie Stephens was built and her original owners. Construction details are presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV covers her first year of service, her seizure by the United States Prize Commission and subsequent use as a dispatch and transport boat, and her peacetime trade. Her final voyage, including information
collected on her passengers and crew, is the topic of Chapter V. The next two chapters are based on the physical search for her remains. Chapter VI concerns the physical characteristics of Caddo Lake and the electronic field surveys conducted by Dr. Garrison. Chapter VII covers the methodology and results of the field surveys conducted by the author, and discusses the potential remains of the Mittie Stephens. The final chapter, Chapter VIII, summarizes the main points and conclusions of the previous chapters, and suggestions for further research are made. In each chapter an attempt is made to present specific facts about the Mittie Stephens in relation to the historical context in which they occurred.
CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND ORIGINS

Steamboat interests suffered a serious blow at the outbreak of the Civil War. According to Louis Hunter, closing or impeding the channels of river commerce plunged the industry "into a depression from which there was little relief until the second year of war." Commercial trade was slow to resume, but by the summer of 1862, the demand created by the advancing Federal armies for boats to transport troops, munitions, livestock, provisions, captured equipment, and contraband goods brought boom times to the rivers. Boatyards began operating at full capacity, building new boats and refitting old ones in an effort to fill the soaring demand for tonnage. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville (Kentucky) were the leading boatbuilding centers in the West, but smaller yards, located predominantly on the Ohio River, were equally busy during the war.

MADISON MARINE RAILWAYS

The Mittie Stephens was built in 1863 at the Madison Shipyards and Dry Dock, one of the smaller yards on the Ohio River. Also known as the Madison Marine Railways, it was established circa 1850 at Madison, Indiana (see map, ill. 2).
Ill. 2. Mississippi and Ohio River systems. (Map courtesy of Lexie Palmore.)
On May 20, 1852, under the new ownership of Alex F. Temple and D.C. Robinson, the yard was expanded and incorporated. In the decade that followed, Temple and Robinson established a reputation for building fast and reliable boats. By 1855, the yard employed 100 men to build and repair steamboats and other watercraft, and by 1857, its payroll was estimated at $1,000 per week. Experiencing a temporary decline from 1857 through 1859, business at the yard improved substantially in 1860. In that year, a second yard, the Madison Dry Dock Company, was established in response to the improved business climate.

Steamboat construction in Madison suffered with the rest of the industry when the war began. Only five boats were built there in 1861 and 1862, three of which had less than 150 tons capacity. By 1863, the war brought prosperity to the Madison yards: ten boats were produced in 1863 (including the Mittie Stephens); eight in 1864; and, with the end of hostilities, only four in 1865. Of the twenty-two boats constructed from 1863 to 1865, eighteen were employed in some capacity by the Federal Army.

Despite the building surge during the war, the Madison Marine Railways was "in debt and hard run," and, in 1865, Temple and Robinson sold the yard to I.H. Vance and H.H. Armstrong. J.B. Stuart and Company, owners of the yard when the photograph in fig. 2 was taken, bought the yard
Fig. 2. Madison Marine Railways, ca. 1870s. (Courtesy of Howard National Steamboat Museum, Jeffersonville, Indiana.)
sometime prior to 1872.\textsuperscript{18}

The Madison Marine Railways survived a succession of owners\textsuperscript{19} and remained in existence until 1932, when it was destroyed by fire.\textsuperscript{20} The records and ledgers that might have shed light on the origins and construction of the Mittie Stephens were lost forever.

A listing of the steamboats built in Madison from 1852 to 1867 (see Appendix I) yielded some surprising information. Hunter states that steamboats built at the smaller yards measured an average of only 114 tons per boat as opposed to 212 tons for boats built at the major yards on the Ohio.\textsuperscript{21} Yet steamboats built at Madison averaged 360 tons, and quite a few of them were over 700 tons. Of course, the Madison boats provide a very small sample that might be statistically insignificant in a larger study.

As the list in Appendix I shows, the Madison Marine Railways grew during the 1850s, a period that, according to Hunter, was one of decline: "...the decade of the fifties, for the steamboat interests as a whole, was marked by depression and misfortune and by the beginning of the trend which within a few years was to relegate steamboats to a minor role in the economic life of the West."\textsuperscript{22} The Madison record does support a later study which shows a substantial increase in operating tonnage over the same period, and a general decline beginning as late as 1880.\textsuperscript{23} Although Hunter's work remains the most comprehensive study on
steamboating, it appears that, with the wider data base available today, at least some of his conclusions may be erroneous.

THE ORIGINAL OWNERS

"The mania at present," declared a river reporter in 1862, "is for investment in floating property. Everybody wants an interest in a steamboat. We learn of many happy possessors of cash sums of from one hundred dollars up, who eagerly desire to be steamboat owners. Youths and men who hardly ever saw a steamboat are tremblingly eager to invest."24 Investors owning an interest in steamboats were paid thousands of dollars to surrender their stocks, which were valued at the highest level in decades. Capital flowed into the industry on the promise of high rates, heavy cargoes, and lush government contracts.25

In the 1860s, over half of all steamboats were owned by two- to four-person partnerships. Ownership was expressed in terms of a fractional interest, commonly called steamboat stock, and ranged in size from halves to hundredths.26

Steamboat ownership offered more than an opportunity to invest surplus funds; it offered careers and high status as well. Due to the importance of steamboats in developing the West and their association with adventure, romance, and danger, great prestige was accorded their owners and operators. A variety of positions, from captain on down,
were often filled by the owner and his family members. Many steamboats, if not most, were owned at least in part by the captains who commanded them.

Another important source of capital was steamboat builders and suppliers. According to one estimate, as much as two-thirds of steamboat stock was in the hands of boatbuilders, boat storekeepers, and engine builders. The original owners of the Mittie Stephens represent the major suppliers of steamboat capital: a financier-banker, a steamboat captain, and a boatyard owner.

Of the three original owners of the Mittie Stephens, Captain Joseph Lafayette Stephens of Booneville, Missouri (fig. 3), was most likely the principal financial backer. Born in Cooper County, Missouri, on January 5, 1826, Captain Stephens rose far above his modest origins as the son of a farmer to achieve a position of honor and prominence in his home state. In 1844, he interrupted his pursuit of a law degree to enlist during the Mexican-American War, earning the rank of captain. He completed his legal studies in 1847 and soon commanded a widely-extended and lucrative practice.

Prior to the Civil War, Captain Stephens had been a member of the banking house of William H. Triggs of Booneville, an establishment that did extensive business in central Missouri, but divided its capital on account of the
war. Perhaps it was his share of the stock that Captain Stephens invested in the *Mittie Stephens*. A legal partnership was also dissolved at the beginning of the war, and Stephens went to Washington, D.C., where he became a member of the bar in the Court of Claims and in the Supreme Court of the United States. He continued to practice there until medical problems forced him to return home.
Back in Booneville, Captain Stephens opened a private banking house in 1864, the same year he sold his one-quarter share in the Mittie Stephens. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the banking house was financed, in part, with the profits from her sale. The following year, Captain Stephens organized the Central National Bank of Booneville and eventually held directorships in six banks throughout Missouri and Kansas. During the 1870s, he owned the Osage Valley and Southern Kansas Railroad, which later became part of the Missouri Pacific. Throughout all of his business endeavors, Captain Stephens remained active in state politics, although he never held an elected office. (One of his sons, Lon Stephens, did become Governor of Missouri.)

Captain Joseph L. Stephens, farmer's son, soldier, lawyer, steamboatman, banker, railroad magnate, and politician, died suddenly in his home in August, 1881, at the age of fifty-five.

The **Mittie Stephens** was named for the Captain's eldest daughter (fig. 4), who was born May 27, 1862, according to her obituary, or in 1861, according to her gravestone (fig. 5). Mittie married Abel Leonard on December 10, 1883, and died on December 2, 1912.

When Mittie was one and a half years old, Captain Stephens commissioned a "distinguished artist of New York" to paint a portrait of his daughter with her steamboat
Fig. 4. Mittie Stephens Leonard. (Courtesy of Joella Moore.)
namesake floating on the Missouri River in the background. The painting, which was hung over the piano in the saloon of the Mittie Stephens, was returned to the Stephens family by General Nathaniel Banks after the boat was seized by the Federal government (see Chapter IV). The painting has not been located to date and is feared lost in a fire that destroyed the Leonard home in the early years of this century.34

In contrast to the information on Captain Stephens, little is known about the other one-quarter owner of the
Mittie Stephens, Alex F. Temple of the Madison Marine Railways. Before coming to Madison in 1852, Temple lived in Cincinnati, where he probably constructed steamboat cabins at one of the larger boatyards. He is credited with building the superstructures of such fine steamboats as the Golden Gate (1855),35 the David White (1853),36 and, of course, the Mittie Stephens. Temple sold his ownership of the Mittie Stephens on June 25, 1864, when Captain Stephens sold his share.37

The third owner, who held one-half of the stock in the Mittie Stephens, was Captain Archibald C. Goddin of St. Louis, who, as captain of the vessel, was responsible for every aspect of her daily operation. Captain Goddin appears to have been a well-known steamboatman.

The "Mittie Stephens March" was composed and dedicated to Captain Goddin in 1864 by C. Farringer, "an extremely obscure composer," who may have capitalized on the reputation of Goddin and the Mittie Stephens to increase the sales of his sheet music.38 The "Mittie Stephens March," reprinted in Appendix II, was often played to accompany the cabin passengers to dinner.39

The sidewheel steamboat A.C. Goddin, built at the Madison Marine Railways in 1856 for the Missouri river trade, and which burned in 1857,40 was most likely named for Captain Goddin. He is usually associated with the Wild Waggoner, a sidewheeler famed for her elaborate paddlebox art. In 1867,
Goddin served as her master, and later as her captain. One account states that when the *Wild Waggoner* burned, Captain Goddin replaced her with yet another sidewheeler, the *Wade Hampton*, implying that he was an owner of both vessels. In July, 1871, Goddin was standing in the office of the *Wade Hampton* when a bullet fired by a New Orleans citizen "creased his brain." Goddin recovered, but the *Wade Hampton* sank in November, 1871, and was abandoned.

Since information after this date is lacking, it is presumed that Captain Goddin retired from a river career punctuated by loss and tragedy. His first-known vessel (assuming he was an owner of the *A.C. Goddin*) sank after being in operation for only one year; his second, the *Mittie Stephens*, was seized by the Federal government, possibly under false pretexts (see Chapter IV) after less than a year's service; and his last two sank. In addition to snags on the river and federal agents in the woodwork, Goddin experienced the most insidious hazard of all: the gun-slinging Southerner!

Research on Stephens, Temple, and Goddin included an attempt to locate some of their descendants who might have saved diaries, ledger books, photographs, or other documents that would provide data on the original owners as well as the *Mittie Stephens*. In September, 1983, researcher Charles B. Ratchford, Jr., of Columbia, Missouri, contacted Mr. Charles
Leonard, a grand-nephew of Mittie S. Leonard. Mr. Leonard resides at Ravenswood, the former estate of his great-aunt, and maintains there an extensive collection of family scrapbooks, photographs, and other memorabilia. Unfortunately, this collection lacked information that could be useful to this study. Two years later, however, Mr. Leonard informed our researcher that he had been in contact with a niece of Mittie Leonard, Mrs. Joella Moore, of Memphis, Tennessee. Mrs. Moore, upon learning of our search, graciously sent the photograph of her aunt in fig. 4, p. 16. Mrs. Moore recalls having a photograph of the boat Mittie Stephens but has been unable to locate it as of this writing.
CHAPTER III

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MITTIE STEPHENS

Western steamboats shared certain structural characteristics due to the need to transport with the greatest of speed a maximum load of freight and passengers on hulls light enough to navigate the shallow waters of western rivers. Early steamboats have been described by Alan Bates, the well-known steamboat historian and model builder, as "an engine on a raft surrounded by a freight warehouse covered by a hotel," and later ones defined as "an engine on a raft with $11,000 worth of fretwork." Although many generalities were made about steamboats, in jest or in all seriousness, there existed an enormous variety of form. Classified according to the type of paddlewheel placement—stern, side, and, to a lesser extent, center—steamboats were further categorized according to function. Whether employed as packets, towboats, ferries, dredges, snagboats, gunboats, or hybrids of any combination, each steamboat "did a specific job in a particular manner and was thus a specialized craft." The character, style, and construction of each boat were also influenced by geography and temporal developments and trends.

There is little information available on early
steamboats, and by the 1860s, when the photographic record began in earnest, the evolution of steamboat design was virtually complete. Fortunately, the Mittie Stephens was built during this period, and enough comparative information exists so that, combined with specific documentation, a general picture of her construction can be determined.

HULL AND TONNAGE

According to her first enrollment document, the Mittie Stephens was 169 feet long, 29 feet wide, 4.8 feet deep, and measured 224 tons. The system of admeasurement was changed by the act of May 4, 1864 (13 Statutes at Large 69-72), and the Mittie Stephens was readmeasured on October 4, 1865, at 168.6 feet long, 29.8 feet wide, 4.7 feet deep, and her tonnage was reduced to 209.41 tons. On January 31, 1868, her tonnage was increased by 106.43 tons to a total of 315.8 tons, due to "admeasure of freight room." Lewis Hunter calculated an average increase in tonnage of 45 percent under the new rules. That the tonnage of the Mittie Stephens was decreased approximately 15 percent and later increased about 55 percent (from the original tonnage) may reflect modifications in superstructure, specifically the enclosure of open areas.

The Mittie Stephens had a square stern, a feature that appears to be unusual in sidewheelers built during and after the Civil War. The lozenge-shaped hull (i.e., rounded stern)
was the most common, according to Bates, and Hunter discovered only through enrollment records that sidewheelers were built with square sterns. A painting of the St. Louis waterfront, dating from 1840 (fig. 6), shows a levee crowded with sidewheelers, apparently all with square sterns. Since so little documentation exists on steamboats built before the 1860s, it may be that the popular conception of round sterns does not reflect the typical sidewheeler, but only a later, albeit well-documented, adaptation. Only through an analysis of enrollment documents covering a representational geographical and temporal span will the prevalence and evolution of stern types be known.

Most of the river landings on western waters lacked docks and wharves, due to the expense involved even for the simplest structure and the wide fluctuations in water stages, making fixed wharves impractical. The docking problem was solved by giving the stem a long rake. "This made possible quick and easy landings directly at the riverbank, and the early practice of anchoring in midstream while cargo was sent ashore became unnecessary." Thus, with a long rake to her bow, the Mittie Stephens was able to approach close enough to a riverbank to reach the shore with a gangplank.

In order to obtain shallow drafts without reducing speed or cargo capacity, hulls were built longer, wider, shallower, and lighter, until, by the 1860s, the average boat in the
Fig. 6. Painting of the St. Louis waterfront, 1840. (Painted by J.C. Wild, Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society.)
same tonnage class as the **Mittie Stephens** had a length-to-breadth ratio of 5.0 to 1,\(^59\) and a length-to-depth ratio of 33.5 to 1.\(^60\) The **Mittie Stephens** had a length-to-breadth ratio of 5.6 to 1, which, while not deviating greatly from the average, is more typical of steamboats of 300 to 350 tons built in the 1860s. Her length-to-depth ratio of 35.2 to 1 falls within the average for steamboats of 100-125 tons built during this same decade. Taking both ratios together, however, the **Mittie Stephens** falls into the average range of a 200 to 225-ton vessel built in the 1880s: length to breadth, 5.7 to 1; length to depth, 34.3 to 1.

Three hypotheses can be drawn from this: 1) the hull of the **Mittie Stephens** had unusual dimensions for a boat of her tonnage class and date, 2) the deviation from the average is statistically insignificant, and 3) the statistics as compiled by Hunter are meaningless when discussing a particular vessel. One is tempted to suspect all of the above, but a scholarly testing of these hypotheses is clearly beyond the scope of this work.

In the quest for lighter hulls, the double framing and heavy scantlings (see Glossary, Appendix III) found in the early steamboats gave way to single framing and light construction, making boats built after 1840 or so "marvels of naval construction."\(^61\) Usually, the framework and planking were of white oak, but for the rest of the hull, lighter
woods, such as white pine, poplar, and cedar were used. Such flimsy construction, "with all the lightness in any way consistent with safety against falling to pieces," resulted in structural modifications to strengthen the hull and prevent hogging. An external keel greatly strengthened the hull but was not necessary for lateral stability in steamboats and was replaced by a main keelson and usually two bilge keelsons (ill. 3, d and i). Solid bulkheads (usually three) ran the length and depth of the hull (ill. 3, r and s, and ill. 4). Another design, employed in the 1850s, "consisted of a series of arches or miniature hog frames made of planks bent over vertical posts and tied by rods" (ill. 5). In addition to the bulkheads, any number of longitudinal strakes running fore and aft, short clamps, and upright stanchions reinforced the widely-spaced floors and futtocks, and supported the main deck (ill. 3).

The hull in ill. 3 shows a square knuckle, or hard chine to the turn of the bilge, and a flat, barge-like bottom. The Mittie Stephens had a round knuckle, or curving turn of the bilge, which would result in graceful curving lines and a bottom not quite as flat as a boat with a hard chine. The arrangement of strakes and clamps on a hull with a round knuckle would probably vary somewhat from the arrangement shown in fig. 3, and may have been similar to the hull of the Black Cloud, a sidewheeler built in Texas in 1864 (ill. 6).
Ill. 3. Cross section of a typical western steamboat. (From Bates, Western Rivers Steamboat Cyclopaedium, p. 30.)
ILL. 4. Main deck framing showing hull bulkheads. (Drawing by Lexie Palmore, adapted from Bates, Western Rivers Cyclopoedium, p. 47.)
III. 5. Longitudinal section showing arched bulkheads. (From Russell, "On American River Steamers.")
Ill. 6. Stern section of the sidewheeler Black Cloud. (Drawing by Donald H. Keith.)
The **Black Cloud** was smaller than the **Mittie Stephens**, measuring 129 feet long and 33 feet wide, and had a capacity of 223.82 tons under the new rules of admeasurement. Her hull would have needed less reinforcing than the **Mittie Stephens**. It is interesting to note that the **Black Cloud** also had a square stern.

Finally, longitudinal hogging was reduced through a system of iron hog chains, which were usually kept out of sight on sidewheelers, although a few extended above the waterdeck line (ill. 7). Lateral hogging, a major problem for sidewheelers, was minimized by a series of iron knuckle and cross chains (ill. 3, p. 27, and ill. 8). The cross chains supported the outward edge of the guards on sternwheel cotton packets with very wide guards and on all sidewheelers.68

**MACHINERY**

The machinery of the **Mittie Stephens** was taken from the wreck of the **Grampus**.69 Although there are six known vessels named **Grampus** (eight if both boats named **Grampus No. 2** are included), the only sidewheeler among them with tonnage similar to that of the **Mittie Stephens** had a capacity of 221 tons, and was built at Freedom, Pennsylvania, in 1850.70 At the start of the Civil War, this **Grampus** fell into Rebel hands. Fred Way, Jr., editor of the **S&D Reflector**, printed the following account of the **Grampus** in his publication:
Ill. 7. Longitudinal view of hog chain system on a sidewheeler. (Bates, *Western Rivers Steamboat Cyclopoedium*, p. 27.)

Ill. 8. Knuckle and cross chain system for a typical sidewheeler. (Adapted from Bates, *Western Rivers Steamboat Cyclopoedium*, p. 23.)
A letter published in the St. Louis "Republican" during April, 1862, says this: "We saw at the banks of Island 10 the Rebel gunboat Grampus so long notorious for reconnoitering purposes last winter at Columbus. On its stern end stood Capt. Chester of Pittsburg from whom the vessel had been stolen when the war broke out. It was painted dark brown and mounted with two guns. The boat will be raised immediately." Apparently it was not raised; the machinery was salvaged and in 1863 went to the MITTIE STEPHENS built at Madison, Ind. 71

Very little information on the engines and the machinery of the Mittie Stephens has been uncovered. According to an appraisers' report, she had "3 boilers, 2 Engines, 1 Doctor, all apparently in good order."72 The doctor, or donkey engine, was an independent feedwater pump that came into general use in the 1850s.73 Prior to its development, water to the boilers was supplied by a pump driven by the wheel shaft. When the wheels stopped, the water supply was cut off, causing many explosions when a boat was backing out from a landing after lying dormant. One marine engineer claimed the donkey engines were called doctors "because an unnamed wit observed 'that's the doctor' when he first saw one."74

The two engines were incline-mounted high-pressure engines 17 inches in diameter and had either a four- or five-foot stroke.75 Using a stroke of five feet and a 17-inch diameter, some rough calculations can be made about the paddlewheel assembly76 (ill. 9) of the Mittie Stephens: shaft diameter, 91/2"; wheel diameter, 15'; flange diameter, 4'3";
Ill. 9. Paddlewheel Assembly. (From Bates, Western Rivers Steamboat Cyclopaedium, p. 93.)
arm pocket depth, 17"; pitman length, 18'9"; pitman depth and width, 18"; and approximately 12 wheel buckets.

Without more specific information, it will be impossible to discuss further the details of the machinery of the Mittie Stephens without writing a treatise on the development of steam engineering, especially since so many modifications and improvements were made to the steam engine around the time her engines were built. Just two years after her engines were built, an important impetus toward standardization, the Steamboat Act of August 30, 1852, was enacted. Whether the engines on the Mittie Stephens were built in compliance with the act or had to be modified is not known. Larry Murphy, an archaeologist specializing in steam engineering, summarized the major changes and developments in machinery during 1841-1860, a period he labels "Revision and Standardization":

...Long horizontal return flue boiler, single, double and multiple flues are in use. Steamboat Act of 1852 begins standardization....Mid 1840s, wrought iron cranks come back into service. Pressures of 100 psi steam common and 150 psi not uncommon. Variable cut-off cams appear in 1850s, but do not spread widely. Double poppet valves introduced circa 1850. Improvement in boiler and flue designs reduce number of boilers on 240-350 ton size to 2-4. In mid-1850s multiple-flue boilers appear. Boilers required to have stamped boiler plates by law of 1852....Doctor engine for pumping water into the boiler appears in the early 1840s and in general use by 1850s. Bourdon steam gauge appears after 1848 and is required by law of 1852. Glass gauge for water level in common usage by 1850s. By 1850 cast iron steam pipe and boiler heads are decreasing rapidly. In 1862 metallic
packing replaces hemp rope in engine cylinder 
.... First compound engines appear....

Clearly then, excavation of the Mittie Stephens' machinery would make a great contribution to the study of marine steam engineering, not only because no other sidewheel machinery has been found, but also because of the important developments during this period.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

Unlike ocean-going vessels, the bulk of a western steamboat was built above the hull, and consisted of three decks: main, boiler, and hurricane, topped by a texas (ill. 10). The main deck was supported by numerous deck beams lying transversely across the hull bulkheads and extending from the hull (ill. 4, p. 28). Guards, the extension of the main deck beyond the lines of the hull, were adapted originally to protect the paddlewheels from damage and to provide support for the outer ends of the paddlewheel shafts. The guards were widest at the paddlewheels, slightly tapered at the stern, and narrowest at the bow. The planking of the main deck continued to the edge of the guards. Guards added greatly to the deck space of a vessel, providing additional room for freight and fuel and served as passageways between different parts of the boat. The main deck was given over entirely to the boilers, machinery, and the bulk of the freight, which often included livestock. Little, if any, deck space was given to those unfortunate souls known as deck
Ill. 10. Interior arrangement of a western steamboat. (From Bates, "Hip-Bones Connected to the Wishbone," p. 12.)
passengers, who were obliged to find a resting place "on or about the piles of boxes, barrels, bales, and other freight which crowded the cargo room and guards" (fig. 7). The deck crew fared little better than the deck passengers.
The boiler deck was supported by heavy stanchions, called stationaries by rivermen, with longitudinal streamers above them (ill. 11). The center streamer was called the ridgepole. The deck planking was nailed to light transverse beams called carlines. The boiler deck was usually the width of the main deck, but its outer margin was used for a promenade. The passenger cabin rested on the boiler deck and consisted of a long center hall with small staterooms on either side. The passengers reached this hall by means of a double winding staircase leading up from the main deck near the bow. The cabin plan in ill. 12 is from the steamboat Robert E. Lee, a larger and grander boat than the Mittie Stephens, but having the standardized layout of a passenger packet nonetheless. The staterooms had doors opening upon the main cabin and upon the promenade. The stateroom ceilings formed the underside of the hurricane roof, while the central hall, or grand saloon as it was called, had a higher ceiling extending above the hurricane roof and formed the skylight and underside of the texas deck, also called the skylight roof. The grand saloon was lavishly furnished and decorated with plush carpets, paintings, mirrors, draperies, crystal chandeliers, and the gilded and painted fretwork that gave rise to the term steamboat Gothic. "No self-respecting steamboat owner who desired to cut a figure on the river and hoped to share the first-class passenger business dared
Ill. 11. Boiler deck construction. (Drawing by Lexie Palmore, adapted from Bates, Western Rivers Steamboat Cyclopaedia, p. 49.)
Ill. 12. Plan of the Robert E. Lee passenger cabin. (Courtesy of Leonard V. Huber.)

present the public with anything less."\textsuperscript{86} The grand saloon was where abundant meals were served, where "romance bloomed, and the gamblers swindled the gullible farm boys going home with the year's cash in pockets and pokes."\textsuperscript{87}

The hurricane roof was studded with stovepipes from coal stoves used to heat the main cabin. Boat's yawls, if not hanging by a davit over the stern or paddlewheel house, were stowed on the roof.\textsuperscript{88} The roof was also home to the large bell used for signaling, to announce arrivals and departures, fog warnings, and fire alarms.\textsuperscript{89}

The texas deck, which was added to steamboats at the
time Texas was added to the Union, provided accommodations for the boat's officer and for a number of passengers as well. On some vessels, after the Civil War, part of the texas was set aside for blacks and was popularly known as the freedmen's bureau. In the forties, the texas on most vessels was a short, boxlike aft extension of a tall pilothouse rising from the hurricane deck. In the fifties, the texas was widened and lengthened until it was about one-third the length of the boat from the chimneys aft. The pilothouse was situated atop the texas roof where it afforded the pilot an excellent lookout in all directions.

Steamboat construction costs varied widely and were determined by the size of the vessel, the quality of its machinery, and manner of furnishing and finishing the superstructure of the vessel. "A plain boat fitted with used machinery could be constructed for as little as $60 per ton. By comparison, a boat devoted primarily to passenger traffic and furnished in the finest steamboat Gothic could cost as much as $250 per ton." Was the Mittie Stephens a plain, unassuming workhorse, a splendid example of rococco art with a pilothouse resembling an elephant howdah, or something in between?

A good photograph of the Mittie Stephens would provide clear and indisputable detail of her construction above the main deck. Two photographs of her are known to exist, but,
unfortunately, cannot be located. The best available depiction of the **Mittie Stephens** is an 1864 lithograph that graced the cover of the "Mittie Stephens March" (fig. 8). It illustrated a steamboat of graceful lines lavishly decorated with gingerbread railings, spandrels, and arches. Even the skylight roof was edged with a railing that enclosed the texas. The oriental appearance of her pilothouse, an open dome formed by lacy arches and topped by elaborate finials, is found on the finest steamboats, especially those built during the antebellum period. The artist added fine touches of artistic detail: the horse-and-rider weathervane topping the jackstaff, the star and what may be a crescent moon enhancing the chimney spreader bars, and the feathered finish to the top of the towering chimney stacks. The sunflower design on the wheelhouses added, no doubt, a burst of color to the sparkling white exterior. Quite a few boats built by Alex Temple are noted for their paddlebox artistry: "The wheelhouse of the **Northern Light** glowed with a colorful Aurora Borealis, and...the **Die Vernon** and **Rob Roy** had sunbursts, a most appropriate decoration for boats from a region of glorious river sunsets." 

There is no cause to suspect that the actual **Mittie Stephens** was decorated with a different motif on her wheelhouse than shown in the lithograph. One can question, of course, the accuracy and attention to detail given by the
Fig. 8. Lithograph of the Mittie Stephens. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Music Division.)
artist. However, it is probably safe to state that while an artist might distort proportions and esoteric details, he or she would pay careful attention to the basic artistic features. It would be interesting to see the results of a comparative study of steamboat paintings with actual photographs.

Her appraisers' report offers further evidence that the Mittie Stephens was a fine craft, describing her as "well built, fine cabin arrangements, well furnished, and we appraise her at Forty five thousand Dollars $45000.00." If this appraisal is accurate, the Mittie Stephens cost at least 200 dollars per ton, since she was already ten months old, almost 20 percent of her expected five-year lifespan,\(^94\) when she was appraised. It can be argued, though, that since the appraisers' fee was one percent of their estimate,\(^95\) they had an incentive to inflate the actual value of a vessel. Whatever her actual costs, it will be shown in the following chapters that the Mittie Stephens was considered a beautiful, swift, and finely-built craft by many who saw her.
CHAPTER IV

YEARS OF SERVICE

The Mittie Stephens began her maiden voyage on Sunday, May 22, 1863, an event recorded by a Madison newspaper that erroneously called her the Mannie Stephens: 96

In our notice of boats built and those under way at the Ship Yard and Dry Dock, we omitted to mention the splendid sidewheel steamer Mannie Stephens. She was built by Temple & Co., of this city, for Jos. L. Stephens & Co., of Booneville, Mo. The Mannie is a strong, strunch (sic) steamer and is one of the best that has been built here for some time; she is intended for the Missouri River, where, we have no doubt, she will receive the patronage she deserves. She left the ship yard last Sunday, for St. Louis. 97

Before reaching St. Louis, the Mittie Stephens was admeasured and enrolled at Louisville, Kentucky, her first home port. 98

An advertisement appearing in the May 22, 1863, Louisville Daily Journal announced that the Mittie Stephens would leave for St. Louis and the Missouri River on Monday, the 25th. 99

The same advertisement ran for two days, but on Tuesday, May 26, the Mittie Stephens was still at the Louisville wharf. On that day, the advertisement was changed to reflect a Tuesday departure. Apparently waiting for passengers and freight, the Mittie Stephens remained in Louisville, and the advertisement was changed daily to reflect a departure for each day. She eventually left Louisville on Saturday,
May 30.100

After leaving Louisville, she probably stayed on the lower Missouri River, travelling from St. Louis to Kansas City, a distance of 390 miles across the width of Missouri.101 Navigation above Kansas City was treacherous—not until after 1865 did steamboats travel regularly above this point, and they were usually specialized craft.102 The owners of the Mittie Stephens must have been optimistic about an early end to the war, because commercial steamboating was virtually eliminated on the Missouri River during the Civil War. Most of the steamboats that were not idled were commandeered by the Union for use as troopships, hospital ships, and gunboats.103 The Mittie Stephens was built for finer things, but whatever her intended role, she did not ply the Missouri for long.104 The fortunes of war dictated that her destiny lay elsewhere.

On July 4, 1863, with the help of Rear Admiral David D. Porter, Vicksburg, Mississippi, capitulated to General Ulysses Grant.105 Five days later, Port Hudson, Louisiana, the last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River, surrendered to General Nathaniel Banks.106 Thus, the Union gained control of the Mississippi and commercial traffic resumed between the North and New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico. As Abraham Lincoln wrote, "the Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."107
The exact date on which the Mittie Stephens left for the lower Mississippi is not known, but in a decidedly accurate account of her sinking, the New Orleans Times wrote in 1869 that she was brought to that city in 1863 and put upon the "coast trade." It is not clear what the reporter meant by coast trade, since it is highly improbable that the Mittie Stephens could handle the rough, salty waters of the Gulf. Most likely, she plied the lower Mississippi from New Orleans to Baton Rouge or Bayou Sara. On January 21, 1864, she was issued a military pass allowing her to travel from New Orleans to Port Hudson (fig. 9). A newspaper advertisement, placed Wednesday, March 6, announced that the Mittie Stephens would be leaving from New Orleans for Bayou Sara, Port Hudson, Baton Rouge, and all intermediate landings on Mondays at 11 a.m. and Thursdays at 5 p.m. Despite her military pass and her regular schedule, the Mittie Stephens never made her Thursday departure.

SEIZURE

On that very day, March 7, Captain Goddin was served the following notice of seizure issued by the United States Marshall's Office, Eastern District of Louisiana:

Please take notice, that by virtue of an Order of Seizure, from the United States District Attorney,...I hereby seize in your hands, the right, title, interest and Estate in and to the following property, viz: The Steamboat "Mittie Stephens."

Specifically, the United States, under an act approved
Fig. 9. Military pass issued to the crew of the *Mittie Stephens*. (Courtesy of Vivian H. Hackney.)
July 13, 1861, was charging that the *Mittie Stephens* was used by her captain and owners to transport 306 barrels of molasses on or about February 1 and 17, 1864, from a "place called the Barrows plantation about four miles below Port Hudson on the West Bank of the Mississippi River and within the Military lines of the enemy to New Orleans, a place within the Military lines of the Forces of the United States."112

Such charges were filed frequently as illicit trade was carried out across military lines in contravention of Federal, as well as Confederate, laws. "Probably no one could have suppressed contraband trade completely, so widespread and multifarious were the illegal transactions continually taking place, often with the help of corrupt treasure agents or army officials."113

Captain Goddin, in concert with two associates, denied all charges in a sworn statement filed April 21, 1864:

To the Hon the Judge of the Dist. Court of the U. States for the Eastern District of Louisiana.

The answer and claim of A.C. Goddin, I.S. Woodward & James McCullen of (blank space) to the libel of information herein filed against the Steamboat *Mittie Stephens* her tackle, etc., alleges:
1. That they are the sole and true owners of said steamboat, her tackle, etc., seized herein, and that they deny the allegations of said libel, all & singular.
2. That they deny specifically that said steamboat at the dates set forth in said libel, or at any
date, was engaged in transporting goods or in attempting to transport goods from any place or plantation within the military lines of the enemy to N. Orleans; and that they also deny that said Steamer at the times set forth in said libel or any time has been engaged in transporting goods & persons to & from insurrectionary districts:—All as charged falsely in said libel.

3. That they aver that all goods that may have been transported from Barrow's plantation or elsewhere on board said Steamboat, were so transported lawfully, & with the knowledge & consent of the military & civil authorities of the U.S., especially of the agents of the Treasury Department of the U.S.: And they aver that said plantation is not in the lines of the enemy as charged in said libel.

And the said claimants deny the said Steamer Mittie Stephens, her tackle, etc., (word is illegible) forfeited to the U.S.: and they pray that the same be restored to these claimants & the said libel be dismissed with costs: and for each other & and further decree in the premise as may be lawful & proper.

(Signed by the claimant's attorney, A.C. Goddin, and notarized by a deputy clerk.)

As will be shown, the court agreed with the claimants. The most damaging testimony to the plaintiff came from the very treasury agent ordered to seize the molasses.

Six weeks before filing the above claimants defense, the owners and other interested parties filed a motion for bond, with security based on their combined worth over and above their liabilities, in an attempt to get the Mittie Stephens returned to their possession. United States District Attorney Rufus Waples rejected the motion because the securities put up for bond were insufficient. The claimants did not file a second motion for bond. There is
nothing further in the record until December 7, 1864, when it was agreed by all parties involved that "all the testimony in the case of the U.S. vs. 306 barrels of Molasses may be used in the case of the U.S. vs. Mittie Stephens, No. 7836, as though taken in the latter."  

In the case of the "United States versus 306 Barels of Molasses marked ☀, No. 7824," the plaintiff alleged that the molasses, owned by Mr. C.N. Brodfish of New Orleans, was bought from a plantation in an insurrectionary district. The barrels were seized by Benjamin J. Flanders, Supervising Special Agent, Treasury Department, through E.J. Kellog, one of his aids.  

The most revealing details of the case came from testimony given by two government witnesses during cross-examination by the attorneys for both sides. Unfortunately, the questions posed by the lawyers were not recorded, but their content usually can be inferred from the testimony. As will be seen, these witnesses made statements that often were detrimental to the Government's case:

Testimony taken in presence of Dist. Atty. D.P. Hillingham (?):

Wm. C. Gray, sworn for Libellant says I am D(ut)y Collector of the Port of New Orleans & also in charge of the Internal Trade. I cannot designate the marks of the 306 blls. molasses. They have been ordered to be seized by the Supervising Special Agent, Treas. Dept. & are now stored in the Commercial Press under law seizure. I don't know where this molasses came from. Don't know the name of the planter who made this molasses.  

Cross Ex.

This order from the Supervising Special Agent was a
verbal order. I don't think he gave me any reason for the seizure. I recognize my signature to doc't. A now shown me. I am the only person to sign such except for Mr. Denison himself, who never signs any. I have no doubt of the accuracy of the signature of the Governments and on the back of doc't. A, but am not acquainted with that signature. (libellant objects to the introduction of doc't. A as irrelevent & incompetent.) Transfers of this sort as that on the back of doc't. A are recognized by the Government. The merchants of this city can't of course go into the country & buy produce. They have to authorize their agents to purchase for them. A very large quantities of permits like this have been granted to purchase produce in the Parish of Point Coupee & West Baton Rouge. A large quantity of produce has been brought down to these parishes. I think this is the only seizure of produce that has been made on shipments from those parishes. I recognize the names of White & Kemp on the back of this permit A as persons being in the employ of the Government as aides but I don't recognize the mere endorsement on the back of the permit as sufficient to warrant me to deliver the goods to the Consignee. I have known permits to be borrowed from other parties under which goods have been shipped that were not covered by the permit. I have no doubt that I would have delivered the goods under permit A having known Mr. Taylor for a while & believing him to be incapable to commit any fraud.

EX by Libellant

Mr. Brodfish obtained no permit to ship these molasses except by that endorsement by Mr. Taylor. A permit obtained by Mr. Taylor does not authorize Mr. Brodfish to purchase & deal in his own name. It must be the person who obtains the permit. Any person obtaining one has to take a certain oath proscribed by the Secretary of the Treasury & give bond. Mr. Brodfish the claimant did not give any bond or take any oath in this matter. These regulations were made by the Treasurer to establish the loyalty of the parties. Mr. Taylor did not state to me when he got the permit that Mr. Brodfish would use it. I do not know Mr. Brodfish in this matter & he had no authority from our Department to purchase the molasses in question.

Cross-Ex. by Claimant

I would not have delivered the goods to Mr. Brodfish at all, notwithstanding Mr. Taylors
endorsement on the permit. I think Mr. Brodfish must have taken the Oath to obtain permits to purchase produce, as I have several large deposits for him to purchase cotton.

Re Ex by Libellant
A party applying for a permit is bound to take the oath every time he gets one.

Cross Ex by Claimant
Mr. Taylor applied to me for the delivery of these molasses upon payment of dues. I referred him to Mr. Flanders. (Objected to by U.S.)
/s/ W.P. Gray

Mr. Gray is in error about buyers not being allowed into the country to buy produce. The Treasury Department regulated the conditions whereby persons living within Confederate lines would be allowed to bring in their produce to areas under Union control. These regulations provided that 1) persons living within insurrectionary districts could bring their produce through the lines and turn it over to treasury agents who sold such produce, and 2) providing that he took the December 8, 1863, loyalty oath, the owner or his agent received 25 percent of the proceeds, and the treasury agent received one percent as his fee. The rest, less taxes, was deposited in the Federal treasury subject to the claim of the owner at the end of the war and upon proof of loyal conduct since he took the oath.120 Mr. Gray, being a treasury agent, no doubt benefitted financially from this regulation. Of course, this regulation would have encouraged illicit trade, but does not apply in this case, since the plantation from which the molasses was purchased was not within enemy lines, as will be shown.
Mr. Gray's testimony is better understood in light of the following information. George S. Denison was related to Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury. Denison retained a position of considerable authority even after Benjamin J. Flanders was given control of Treasury Department affairs in New Orleans, as Mr. Gray makes apparent. Mr. Denison was also a bribetaker. "Businessmen often experienced great difficulty in getting commercial permits of various types to which they were entitled. But when Denison was presented with a cash 'gift', all obstacles melted away."  

Mr. Gray was as dishonest as his boss. A Dr. Crawcour had a silver plate that was sequestered by General Ben Butler, commander in charge of the New Orleans district before being relieved by General Banks. The doctor was able to recover his plate only after paying a bribe to William Gray. "He had to have at least $200, said Gray, because he would have to split with Denison."  

Perhaps our Mr. Brodfish was using Mr. Taylor's permit instead of his own because they were so difficult to obtain.

The testimony of the next witness is even more damaging to the government's case, revealing that the molasses was brought on board the Mittie Stephens within Federal lines, and that the agent who seized the molasses asked Captain Goddin to cooperate by not mentioning anything about the planned seizure.
Edgar White, sworn for the U.S., says I am a Revenue aid, Internal Revenue, & have been since 22 June last. Am still in the Department. These 306 blls. molasses were seized at 2 different times. The first lot in January 64 and the 2nd lot in Feby 64. The marker on the molasses is □ & came from R.H. Barrow's plantation. I derive my information from Mr. Kellogg. Objected to by Claimant as heresy evidence. I seized the molasses. That is to say, the first lot of 117 barrels. I don't know where Mr. Barrow resides. I received all my information on the subject from Mr. Kellogg. I brought this molasses down on the Mittie Stephens & delivered it to Mr. Gray. I noticed the mark on the molasses when I brought it down, it was marked □. Mr. Barrow lives 4 miles from Port Hudson on the left hand side going up. Mr. Barrow's plantation is within federal lines. These molasses were taken within federal lines. I don't know how this molasses came into Brodfish's possession but I know he had it in his possession & think he came down on the boat with it. I believe it was seized as abandoned property. I obtained this information from E.G. Kellogg.

Cross Ex

Mr. Kellogg is an officer under Mr. Flanders. Don't know what office he holds. Believe he resides in N. Orleans. He gave me this information on the Mittie Stephens going up. He came to me & said he was going up to see about some molasses on a plantation 4 miles below port Hudson & that the molasses was marked □. Said to be property to have belonged to R.H. Barrow, now in the Confederacy. That said molasses had been stored away in cisterns, that if any should come aboard this boat I should seize it, as abandoned property. Mr. Flanders never authorized me to seize this molasses, Mr. Gray did. I am a Revenue aid, got my appointment from G.S. Denison. I don't know who sent Mr. Kellogg up to look after the molasses. His business is to look after abandoned property. He did not tell me what he would get if he would be able to seize this molasses. He never told me that I would be able to make something if I would seize the same. I don't know where Mr. Kellogg lives. Don't know where he is now. After I had seized the molasses I brought it in & reported it to Mr. Gray. I seized 117 blls in the first lot. The second lot 126--I brought down and reported to Mr. Gray--besides 63 blls. that had been taken on board the
vessel and then seized them. I was on the Mittie Stephens 2nd Feby. 1864. The molasses came on board after the receipt was given. Permit marked A was handed to me at the place where the molasses was taken in by Mr. Brodfish. I then signed the receipt on the back of doc't. A after the molasses had come on board. The permit had been handed to me before and seeing that it was all right, counted the blls. & saw they were all right & the molasses were then rolled on the boat. For the 63 blls. I signed the receipt after they had come on board. I did not tell Mr. Brodfish that I would seize the molasses. I told the Captain to say nothing about it & afterwards told Mr. Brodfish he would find out, if it was all right, after he arrived in the City. This was on the first trip with the 117 blls--the 2nd I did not see Mr. Brodfish. The 117 blls. might have been on another permit. I did not see Mr. Brodfish on the second trip with the 126 and 63 blls. I can't remember that any other molasses was taken on in the voyage down belonging to Mr. Brodfish. But she took in molasses along the River for other parties. Objected to as irrelevant. I did not seize any of the molasses shipped by other parties not having been informed that it was abandoned property.

/s/ Edgar White

From this and other testimony, it became clear that the issue was not contraband from insurgent territory as charged, but whether a particular property was abandoned. In fact, as later testimony revealed, the plantation from which the molasses was purchased did not belong to Mr. Barrow, an alleged Confederate, but to a New Orleans bank. The defense seemed to make an issue of the reasons for the seizure when it questioned the integrity of the treasury agents.

Regardless of the legalities of ownership and permits in this case, it was shown that the molasses was brought on
board the Mittie Stephens only after the permits were approved by the treasury agents. Clearly, Captain Goddin should not have been held liable for the cargo after it was approved by the agents on board his vessel. It is also peculiar that the Mittie Stephens was not seized until a month after the molasses was confiscated. One can only wonder if perhaps Mr. Gray was trying to blackmail Captain Goddin.

The verdict in the case of "The United States Versus 306 Barrels of Molasses Marked ☐" was resolved in favor of the claimants on September 1, 1864. Therefore, on December 17, 1864, a decision on the seizure of the Mittie Stephens was made: "...the claimants offered Documents A, B, C, and D now filed, and after hearing arguments of council for the reasons orally assigned by the court, it is ordered, adjudged and decreed that the libel be dismissed, that the Steamer Mittie Stephens, her tackle and etc., be restored to the claimants..." Document A was the permit used by Mr. Brodfish, document C was the military pass (fig. 10), and documents B and D may have been the witnesses' testimony.

That the Mittie Stephens was seized on trumped-up charges by corrupt treasury agents may never be proved, yet the facts suggest that the actions of her captain were not only within the bounds of the law, but that the treasury agents involved in the case were well aware of this before
Fig. 10. Back of the military pass.
the boat was seized. It is not unusual that the courts took nine months to resolve the case, given the chaos in the bureaucratic structure caused by the war, and by the particular problems in reestablishing the Federal Government in New Orleans. In addition, the government in New Orleans, headed by General Nathaniel Banks, was, undoubtedly, in no hurry to return the steamboat to her rightful owners. Preparations for the ill-fated Red River Campaign were in full swing; Banks would need all the steamboats he could get.

THE RED RIVER CAMPAIGN

The Federal Government needed a secure foothold in Texas, and after considering, and even attempting, other lines of strategy, Major-General Henry W. Halleck, Chief of Staff of the United States forces, urged a movement up the Red River. Halleck wrote Banks in the fall of 1863:

If it is necessary that the flag be restored to some one point in Texas, that can be best and most safely effected by a combined military and naval movement up the Red river to Alexandria, Natchitoches, or Shreveport, and the Military occupation of northern Texas.... In the first place, by adopting the line of the Red river, you retain your connexion with your own base, and separate still more the two parts of the rebel confederacy. Moreover, you cut northern Louisiana and southern Arkansas entirely off from supplies and re-enforcements from Texas.

It was also believed that once a secure foothold was achieved, the German-American anti-slave citizens of Texas would have been an added source of strength to the Union. Besides the military advantage of occupying Texas, there were
political considerations that encouraged efforts to secure Texas, since French troops occupied Mexico City in June, 1863. If Napoleon III established an empire in Mexico, as was his intent, there was a great fear in Washington that the United States would be pressured to return Texas to the imperial flag of Mexico.  

Finally, there were compelling economic reasons for conducting the Red river campaign. Occupying Texas would end the trade between Mexico and Texas and deprive the Confederacy of a major source of income. More importantly to many concerned in the decision-making process, the vast quantities of cotton that were reported to be in the Red River country were needed to relieve the cotton shortage in the Northeast. The capture of New Orleans made available an insignificant amount of cotton, and by July, 1863, only about 25 percent of the manufacturing mills were in operation. Steamboats would be needed in great numbers to transport this cotton as well as troops, munitions and commissary supplies.

The Red River campaign began on March 12, and ended on May 20, 1864. The Mittie Stephens may have accompanied Porter's flotilla, carrying some of the 10,000 troops under Brigadier-General Andrew J. Smith from the mouth of the Red River to Alexandria. She was definitely in Alexandria by the 25th of March. The following telegram, from Assistant Adjutant-General Richard B. Irwin in New Orleans to
Brigadier-General C.P. Stone, Chief of Staff in Alexandria, confirms that the **Mittie Stephens** was a swift vessel:

**HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,**
New Orleans, March 25, 1864

Brig. Gen. C. P. STONE,
Chief of Staff, Alexandria:

GENERAL: I think it quite important that there should be a fast boat at Port Hudson to carry dispatches between that point and Alexandria. Colonel Holabird suggests the Mittie Stevens (sic) now with you.

RICHARD B. IRWIN,
Assistant Adjutant-General

The next dispatch concerning the **Mittie Stephens** was sent on April 1:

**HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,**
New Orleans, April 1, 1864

Brig. Gen. C. P. STONE,
Chief of Staff, Alexandria:

GENERAL: Colonel Irwin being unwell, I am directed by him to acknowledge receipt of your note of 30th March....Captains Hawes and Mahler have been informed of the importance of immediately forwarding all available light-draft steam-boats, and both have assured me that they are doing all that they can in this matter. Captain Mahler reports that the steam-boats Shreveport and James Battle will leave for Alexandria...that the Sallie Robinson and the Mittie Stevens are coaling preparatory for immediate departure to the Red River....I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
A. DUEIR IRVING,
Acting Assistant Adjutant-General

From this we learn that the **Mittie Stephens** was back in New Orleans. The demand for light-draft steamboats stems, no doubt, from the need for boats light enough to navigate the shallow waters above Alexandria. Many of Porter's gunboats and transports were having difficulty and had to be left
behind at Alexandria. Banks had informed Porter that he needed all of his fleet to ensure the success of the mission. The *Mittie Stephens* doubtless sailed to Grand Ecore, about four miles above Natchitoches, with Porter,135 as she was with him in Alexandria on April 9 when the photograph in fig. 11 was taken. The *Mittie Stephens* is listed on the back of the original photograph as one of the boats pictured.

While Porter was having problems with his flotilla, General Banks was marching overland to Shreveport when he engaged the Confederates in a fierce battle that lasted two days, April 8 and 9. Banks was defeated and suffered serious losses of troops and all of his stores. The *Mittie Stephens* appears to have been the first boat dispatched with emergency supplies:

ALEXANDRIA, LA., April 12, 1864

Col S. B. HOLABIRD,
Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Gulf:

**COLONEL:** We have met with a serious reverse at the front, and the army has retreated to Grand Encore, having lost a train of 165 wagons loaded with commissary stores and forage. I understand that we have lost 3,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 18 pieces of artillery...I have received urgent orders from General Stone to send up the *Mittie Stevens* with commissary stores. The river is falling rapidly, so that the boats drawing more than 5 feet 6 inches are unable to cross, and by tomorrow night, boats drawing over 5 feet will not be able to cross. The river is falling 4 inches per day steadily. I most urgently request that all boats not drawing over 4 feet loaded may be seized at once and sent up here loaded light, and at the same time well coaled....

Very respectfully,

D. N. WELCH,
Assistant Quartermaster136
Fig. 11. Admiral Porter's flotilla in the Red River Campaign. (Courtesy of the United States Naval Photographic Center.)
The _Mittie Stephens_ was eventually trapped with the rest of Porter's fleet at the falls above Alexandria. The entire flotilla would have been destroyed or fallen into Confederate hands were it not for an ingenious dam constructed by Lieutenant Colonel J. Bailey. Baily's dam, finished by May 10, took ten days of herculean effort, but managed to raise the river sufficiently to allow navigation.\textsuperscript{137}

On May 9, Admiral Porter issued the following dispatch detailing the order in which the gunboats and transports were to proceed down the river. The transports were to take the middle of the convoy, while the gunboats would cover the front and back:

MISSISSIPPI SQUADRON, FLAG-SHIP CRICKET, Off Alexandria, La., May 9, 1864

Maj. Gen. N. P. BANKS,
Commanding Department of the Gulf:

...The transports Starlight, Lioness, Red Chief, Belle Creole, Rob Roy, Bella Donna, Mittie Stevens, Arizona, Gillum, Silver Wave, Adriatic, Diadem, and Liberty will take the middle of the convoy. If attacked ahead, they will drop back and let the stern gun-boats pass on the batteries.

DAVID D. PORTER
Rear-Admiral\textsuperscript{138}

But before the boats left Alexandria, there was one more mission for the _Mittie Stephens_:

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, ALEXANDRIA, LA., MAY 10, 1864

SIR: I have the honor to request that you will send down a working party to the boat _Mittie Stevens_ to land the three guns already on her at such point as you may designate.

The captain of the _Mittie Stevens_ has orders
to move on the arrival of the working party, in obedience to the directions of the officer in charge of them. The officer in charge of the pontoon bridge also has orders to open the bridge for her to pass down and return.

I hope by daylight you have the remaining 8-inch guns waiting at the bayou, and would take the liberty of requesting that the guns be landed and the boat returned to her present position by daylight, if possible, to receive the remaining four guns.

Would you also be kind enough to have a fresh party with the necessary tackle at the bayou at daylight in order to put the remaining guns on board the Stevens?

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM S. BEEBE,
1st Lieutenant, Ordnance Department, U.S. Army.
Admiral Porter,
Commanding Mississippi Squadron

By mid-May, the Union flotilla had retreated to the mouth of the Red River. Lieutenant-Commander John A. Mitchell recorded in his log that when he brought the ironclad U.S.S. Carondelet to the safety of the mouth on May 15, he found the Mittie Stephens already there, along with three gunboats, two tinclads, and one other steamer.

The Red River Campaign was over, but this did not end the military career of the Mittie Stephens. On February 15, 1865, Lieutenant Abraham N. Gould of the tinclad U.S.S. Forest Rose dispersed a number of Confederates who had fired on the Mittie Stephens while she was attempting to load cotton at Cole's Creek, Mississippi.

Steamboats were the workhorses of the Civil War. Over 400 passenger steamers from the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were employed by the Federal Government to transport troops
and supplies. Many others were used by the Confederate forces, yet no scholarly work has been produced on the role of steamboats in the Civil War. When I researched the seizure of the Mittie Stephens, it soon became apparent that many steamboats were seized by the United States Prize Commission. It would be interesting to discover which, if any, of the boats in Porter's fleet were seized and under what conditions.

PEACETIME TRADE

The end of the Civil War saw a revival of the packet era brought about by a renewed interest in travel, a resumption of westward migration, and an increase in commercial trading. Steamboats left New Orleans loaded with supplies, building materials, farm implements, and other necessities for the devastated towns and farms along the Mississippi and Red rivers. Downstream cargo included cotton, cottonseed, corn, livestock, hides, pelts, poultry, and other agricultural products for the New Orleans market. "This was a freight-minded period and operators based their calculations on splendor, comfort, and a payload rather than speed." The Mittie Stephens was one of the boats crowding the New Orleans levee. She resumed her lower Mississippi trade by July, 1865, regularly plying the New Orleans-Bayou Sara run (fig. 12). She was also making trips up the Red River, and, on February 2, 1865, as the following newspaper
Fig. 12. Bill of Lading issued by the Mittie Stephens. (Courtesy of the Joseph Merrick Jones Steamboat Collection, Tulane University, New Orleans.)
clipping reveals, was docked in Jefferson, "the center from which most of the trade, travel, and lawlessness of eastern Texas radiate."

Last night three men pounced upon J. S. Turner when he was returning to the steamer Mittie Stephens moored near Jefferson. He carved them up with a knife pretty badly and prevented them from robbing him of $500 which he had in his pockets.

In spite of crime, Jefferson served as the market center for a 200-mile area, covering 20 counties in Texas, a portion of Arkansas, and the Indian Territory. Wagons lined up for four or five miles waiting to unload their produce onto the steamboats docked at her wharves. This lucrative market attracted the Mittie Stephens, and she became a regular New Orleans-Jefferson packet as early as January 17, 1866.

The Mittie Stephens, "though not a very new boat, was a favorite in the Red River trade," and retained her popularity as a first-class passenger packet throughout the remainder of her career. Her advertisements boasted that the "splendid, large and swift side-wheel passenger packet MITTIE STEPHENS...stands A1 with all insurance offices, and is not surpassed by any boat in her accomodations for passengers" (fig. 13). The editor of the River News column in the Jefferson Semi-Weekly Jimplecute adds credence to this claim: "The popular packet, Mittie Stephens, came in yesterday with a good freight and fair passenger list. She leaves Saturday evening for the city. She is a good passenger boat, and if
1866

1864

Regular Steamer Packet.

LEWIS'S.

LEAVES MONDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, THURSDAYS, OR AS ARRANGED.

FOR JEFFERSON, PERRY, MCGILL, LEADBETTER, J. H. MCCOLL, AND ALL.

W. E. CLARK, Master.

J. H. McCOLL, Clerk.

(Rep. of) W. A. LEADBETTER, Capt., Agent.

(a)

1866

(b)

1867

Regular New Orleans and Jefferson Packet.

MITTIE STEPHENS.

Reserved for the Splendid Cowans' Side.

W. M. TUCKER, Agent.

N. Y. T. Hardy, Clerk.

(c)

1868

NEW ORLEANS AND JEFFERSON

Packet.

The splendid Cowans' Side, passenger packets.

CHAS. A. WEXLER, Agent.

(d)

1869

(e)

*See Note 154 for explanation of date of packetmark.

Fig. 13. Advertisements and packetmark for the Mittie Stephens. (a) and (b) from Huber, Advertisements of Lower Mississippi River Steamboats 1812-1920; (c) from Home Advocate (Jefferson), April 19, 1876; (d) from Semi-Weekly Jimplecute, March 27, 1868; (e) from Klein, United States Waterway Packetmarks.
you think she don't feed well, ask Si McClure, and then look at her jolly fat Captain. Thanks to her officers for late Western papers."152 The Shreveport South-Western River News column informed its readers of the Mittie Stephens' leaving regularly with a good freight and a cabin full of passengers.153

Delivery of newspapers from one city to another was a customary courtesy performed by steamboats, as was delivery of mail, and most steamboats, including the Mittie Stephens, had their own packetmarks to stamp on the envelopes (fig. 13).154

These packetmarks were not made by the U.S. Postal Department, but were furnished by the boat itself. Much of the mail carried by packets was bootlegged outside the U.S. postal system, because steamboats could deliver mail to a destination on or near its route much more quickly than the U.S. mail. A patron or friend of a packet could hand a letter for a destination downstream to the clerk of the boat and ask him as a favor to deliver it for him. As a form of advertising, and to show through whose courtesy the letter was forwarded, the clerk of the boat would hand stamp the name of the boat on the envelope. This was strictly illegal, but Uncle Sam was unable to end the practice.155

On Friday, February 2, the Mittie Stephens departed Jefferson for the last time, arriving the next day in Shreveport with 69 bales of cotton, a full complement of cabin passengers, and copies of the Jefferson Jimplecute. In Shreveport she picked up more cargo, a dozen more passengers, and left once more for New Orleans.156
CHAPTER V

THE FINAL VOYAGE

The Mittie Stephens left New Orleans on February 5, 1869, chartered by John K. Reeves of that city. She was carrying a cargo of corn and a full consignment of government stores, including 274 bales of hay stacked four deep upon the guards, about 8 or 10 kegs of gunpowder, and a payroll of $100,000 in gold and paper currency for the Federal troops stationed in Jefferson. The delivery of hay to an agricultural region might seem unusual; it may be that the Federal post had to order all its commissary stores, including livestock feed, from a central quartermaster depot in New Orleans.

The full passenger list included (Confederate) Colonel W.A. Broadwell, one of the largest cotton buyers in New Orleans and former Chief of the Cotton Bureau. William F. Cobb was returning to Jefferson after visiting his parents in Tennessee, and his bags were packed with beautiful gifts for each member of his family (fig. 14). J.W. Lively, a small schoolboy returning home to Jefferson with his family, was later to recall that "her long, beautiful cabin was full of people, over a hundred, old men, young ones, ladies, children, and lots of babies and nurses." Her
captain, Homer Kellogg, "was as polite and smiling as a dancing master." 166

Fig. 14. William F. Cobb, passenger. Pictured extreme left. (Courtesy of Rodney D. Cobb and Herschell N. Cobb.)

Piloting the Mittie Stephens were Pete Sutherland and William Swain, assisted by steersmen Joseph West and Joe Lodwick. 167 Mr. Lodwick was the product of a long line of
riverboatmen, and although just a "cub," was probably very familiar with the Red River. The first clerk was C. Hayes, and the other clerks were M. Hetherton and George Klein. All totalled, there were sixty-five officers and crew, including cooks, chambermaids, cabin boys, stewards, engineers, strikers, a barber, barkeeper, watchman, carpenter, mate, texas-tender, and deck crew—more than enough to keep the cabin passengers happy and the boat running smoothly (see list of passengers and crew in Appendix IV). This crew was far in excess of what would be expected on a boat the size of the Mittie Stephens, according to Hunter, who calculated a range from 7 to 19 crewmen per hundred tons.

The Mittie Stephens did not stop at any of the smaller landings along the Red River, as she had all the cargo and passengers she could carry. She arrived in Shreveport on Thursday, February 11, five days and eleven hours after leaving New Orleans, with her guards flat in the water. Some of the passengers disembarked in Shreveport, including the Lively family.

To this day we don't know why we done it. But all at once we decided there to leave the Mittie Stephens. When she touched the bank we walked off and stood and watched the boat back out and turn in for Jefferson, whistling and blowing like a mad bull, headed for the "Marries" and the Big Lake that were her last.

But others were not so fortunate. Boarding were
Amelia "Meal" Jordan Lyon, her son Frank, and her new husband, T. Lytt Lyon. Amelia was born into one of the most prominent families in Shreveport; her husband was a "Christian gentleman whose estimable qualities and tender devotion to her rendered him almost worthy of his peerless wife."\footnote{173} Also boarding was Philip Ash, a businessman recently arrived in Shreveport from San Francisco. First Clerk Hayes left the ship due to illness and was replaced by George R. Remer, one of the oldest clerks on the river.\footnote{174} Remer was on his way home after mining a small fortune in gold in California when he was asked to replace Hayes.\footnote{175}

The Mittie Stephens left Shreveport at 4:00 p.m., only a few hours after she arrived.\footnote{176} Because she departed so late in the afternoon, she had to navigate at night the series of bayous and lakes that led into Caddo Lake (ill. 13), but navigation between Shreveport and Jefferson was of the "first order" for even the largest class of boats with a full load.\footnote{177} The next stop was seven hours away. Dinner was served at an "early hour" and the passengers, "after occupying themselves in the manner usual to those who have been several days on board of a boat, had retired. As early as 9 o'clock, the saloons had begun to grow thin, at 10 they were deserted with the exception of perhaps here and there a party at poker....\footnote{178}
At about 11:00 p.m., the *Mittie Stephens* pulled into Mooringsport, where the steamer *Dixie* was moored with her fires out; her captain, Thorton Jacobs, deeming it imprudent to run her at night.\(^{179}\) The *Mittie Stephens* stopped only long enough to pick up James G. Christian, one of the oldest and most respected citizens in Caddo Parish, who had waited two days for a boat to Jefferson.\(^{180}\) Mr. Christian invited his young grandson to join him on the trip, but the weather turned cold while they waited, and the boy was sent home to fetch a heavier coat. When he returned, the *Mittie Stephens* had already left.\(^{181}\)

With fire baskets (fig. 15) lit on the port and starboard bow,\(^{182}\) the *Mittie Stephens* headed for the main channel (ill. 14), where she pushed through the high water "with but little trouble to her pilots."\(^{183}\) It was around midnight, the time for changing watchmen, when Mr. Lodwick smelled something burning and, at the same time, noticed smoke rising from the forward port side. According to Lodwick, this occurred about two and a half miles below Swanson's Landing, near Jeter's Place.\(^{184}\) The Board of Supervising Inspectors later determined that a breeze which had been blowing diagonally across the bow had carried sparks from the fire baskets in the direction of the hay. The hay was in very bad condition and imperfectly protected by covering "either in the bales or upon the boat."\(^{185}\)
Fig. 15. Iron fire basket. (Courtesy of the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans.)

The alarm was given immediately, the boat was turned to shore, and all hands were put to work trying to extinguish the flames. Phillip Hill, the carpenter, had enough presence of mind to throw the gunpowder overboard. The boat grounded in three feet of water forward, and from eight to ten feet aft. The fire had engulfed the entire bow within five minutes, cutting off all egress in that direction. The wheels were kept turning to force the boat to shore; those who tried to escape over the sides were caught under them and drowned. So many people scrambled into the yawl that it became overloaded and all drowned.
ILL. 14. Map of Caddo Lake showing main channel. (Courtesy of Ervan Garrison.)
Here the scene beggars description. Nearly one hundred frantic, terror-stricken people, men, women, and children, were collected on the after guard, with the flames hissing and cracking before them and a watery grave behind them. Every moveable thing was thrown overboard, and many men jumped overboard and found watery graves fighting for something to float on. Here fathers could be seen hunting for their children, wives for their children, wives for their husbands, all children for their parents, amid the shrieks and cries of the excited crowd.

William Cobb was awakened from his slumber by the commotion and ran out of his room to see the water churning with struggling, grasping, and drowning people.

(He) surely exercised great patience and fortitude as the fire was crowding him—flames leaping closer and closer—but he knew he must wait until all struggling had ceased in the teeming waters below. He used his left hand to protect his face as much as possible but was so badly burned about the face and neck that healing took a long time. His poor left hand was burned to a crisp and he was maimed forever. ...By waiting until his Father told him to go...he was saved. That his travelling bags, filled with gifts for his family, lay at the bottom of Caddo Lake, was of small consequence. ...As he sprang into the water and pulled for the shore he found a poor passenger clinging to a tree. (Cobb) pulled him to safety and the poor stranded "tree sitter" was ever after grateful...

Amelia Lyon and her young son both perished, but there are two different versions surrounding their deaths. The South-Western reports that the Lyons were the last to awake, and only after the flames had reached them. They rushed to the stern where T. Lytt tried to get Amelia and Frank to jump overboard, to no avail. Overcome by smoke, Amelia fainted with her child clinging to her. "Mr. Lyon staid with them
until the flames scorched him and compelled him to leap overboard after all chance of saving his wife and child were gone." Mr. Lyon was rescued eventually and was found in an "insensible state." However, Mr. Cobb recalls a different version. Mrs. Lyon dashed from her room with her son, and without her husband. As no help was forthcoming, she jumped overboard, "clutching her little son to her breast, her long, dark, beautiful hair floating on the water only a few seconds before she disappeared."  

Acting First Clerk George Remer strapped his bag of gold around his waist, jumped overboard and drowned, possibly from the weight of the gold. William Swain and Joe Lodwick stayed at their posts until driven away by the flames. They were the last ones to leave the hurricane roof when they jumped overboard and swam ashore.

Sixty-four men, women and children, passengers and crew alike, lost their lives in the fiery inferno (see Appendix IV).

Of the other persons lost we had no personal acquaintance, but how the eye dims and the cheek blanches as we glance over the long list. Here we find father, mother, and three children in one place, four of the same name in another, etc., all of whom found their last resting place at the mid-hour of the night, by the light of the burning wreck, Great God, how inscrutable are thy ways!

The only survivors were those who managed to swim ashore
or who were rescued by the crew of the *Dixie*. Since the fires on the *Dixie* were out, Captain Thornton, who witnessed the fire from his mooring, sent out a rescue crew in a skiff that took one-half hour to reach the *Mittie Stephens*. Captain Thornton followed in the *Dixie* as soon as he could raise steam. The forty-seven survivors were brought to Jefferson in a "destitute" state by the *Dixie*. The steamboat returned to the scene of the disaster the next day to search for missing bodies and to recover the $100,000 payroll. Still missing were the bodies of James Christian, Colonel Broadwell, and Philip Ash, among others. A charred body, at first believed to be that of Amelia Lyon, was found on the main deck aft. It was brought to Shreveport on the *Dixie* the following Monday and buried on Tuesday. ¹⁹⁴

The search for the missing bodies continued on Sunday, February 15, when the *Era No. 9* passed by on her way to Jefferson. ¹⁹⁵ On board was Mrs. W.A. Marchman, who cancelled a trip on the ill-fated *Mittie Stephens* when her child took sick. "They were dragging the bodies out of the lake," she wrote in her memoirs, "a sight that I will never forget." ¹⁹⁶

A heavy storm on Friday, March 2, stirred up the lake and caused the bodies of ten more victims of the *Mittie Stephens* to rise to the surface. Among them were the bodies of Colonel Broadwell, Philip Ash, and Amelia Lyon; the others remained unidentified.
The bodies were in a good state of preservation and easily recognized. The watch in Mr. Ash's pocket stopped at 5 minutes past one and that in Col. Broadwell's 25 minutes past 2 o'clock. On one of Mrs. Lyon's fingers were found her 2 wedding rings with her name on them, which clearly proves her identity. Those bodies had been underwater for 2 weeks and 2 days. The bodies of Broadwell and Ash were brought to this city on the Era No. 2 last Sunday. This makes 42 or 43 bodies recovered, and as the wind blew very hard on Saturday night, it is probable more were found yesterday or the day before. The bodies found Saturday were from a half to three quarters of a mile from the scene of the disaster. 197

That the body of Amelia was found in the lake suggests her death occurred in the manner witnessed by William Cobb. Where then, was her devoted husband during the fire and why was he untruthful as to his whereabouts? And who was buried originally in Amelia's grave (fig. 16a)? Also unknown is whether or not the seven unidentified bodies uncovered in the storm, and the one misidentified as Mrs. Lyons, were included in the passenger list shown in Appendix IV. The body of Mr. Christian was never recovered and his headstone marks an empty grave (fig. 16b). 198 The bodies of most of the victims may be buried in a mass grave near the site of the sinking (see Chapter VII).

A duplicate order of the government consignment destroyed in the fire was delivered to Jefferson by the steamboat Leo two weeks later, 199 but some items on the Mittie Stephens were recovered. In addition to the safe, one boiler and the bell were reportedly raised. According to
Fig. 16. Gravestones for two victims. (a) Amelia Jordan Lyon, (photo courtesy of Juanita Cawthon, Shreveport); (b) James Christian, (photo Mittie Stephens Foundation).
Rupert Peyton, the boiler was installed in a gin mill near Vivian, Louisiana, where it remained for several years before being discarded. During the "scrap metal drive" of World War II, the "old boiler was cut up and so the 'bones' of the Mittie Stephens went to war again for the Red, White, and Blue." The bell was placed in the belfry of the old Presbyterian Church of Vivian. When the church was torn down, the bell was moved to the plantation of H.H. "Mack" Huckaby. In April, 1971, it was presented by Suzy Reid, the daughter of Mr. Huckaby, to the Jefferson Historical Museum, where it remains on display to this day (fig. 17). The bell was cast by William Kaye of Louisville, an appropriate origin for the bell of the Mittie Stephens.

The tragedy of the Mittie Stephens touched the lives of many individuals. Shreveport poet Julia Cresswell expressed her grief in impassioned verse (reprinted in Appendix V), and Drury Lacy, editor and publisher of the Caddo Gazette, vented his ire in the following editorial:

The passions of the American people for rapid transit, reckless of life and limb, has ever been the subject of wonder and satire in older and more quiet countries. And who could compute the number of precious lives that have been offered up to the shrine of this Moloch of haste?

And without wishing to cast unnecessary censure upon the captain of the Mittie Stephens, it is certainly true that the disaster was the American system worked out to its terrible accomplishment. It was stated that the Dixie was tied up when Captain Jacobs saw the flames six miles off and with most commendable promptness dispatched his skiff to the scene. Why was the
Fig. 17. Bell recovered from the Mittie Stephens. (Courtesy Lexie Palmore.)

Dixie tied up? Presuming she was in no way disabled there can be but one reasonable answer and that is her captain deemed it unsafe to run her. And yet, he saw the Mittie Stephens, loaded with one of the most combustible of materials and a quantity of powder in the hold, running with a fire basket at her larboard and starboard bow in an open lake against the wind. Is it surprising that the flames from the fire basket reached the hay?
Editor Lacy was not alone in believing the fate that befell the *Mittie Stephens* could have been avoided. The Board of Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels charged that the "presence of hay on board without suitable covering or protection, insufficient watch, want of discipline, and the carrying of torch baskets, lighted..." were the causes of the disaster. Inadequate covering of flammable cargo was in violation of the Steamboat Act of July 25, 1866, Section 5, which states, "cotton, hemp, hay, straw, or other easily ignitable commodity, shall not be carried on any steamers carrying passengers...unless the same shall be protected by a complete and suitable covering of canvas or other proper material, to prevent ignition from sparks, under a penalty of one hundred dollars for each offense..." It has not been determined if any party was charged with violation of the stipulations of this statute, or if a fine was levied or paid.

The old-timers on the rivers would say the *Mittie Stephens* was doomed from the day she was christened. Boats with names beginning with the letter "M," the thirteenth letter of the alphabet, were considered unlucky and fated to end in tragedy. Because the *Mittie Stephens* was doomed, other steamboat disasters would follow.

Steamboatmen, or at least a portion of them, have a superstition that when an accident befalls a steamer, that two others of a similar nature are sure to follow, making the mystic number three.... A few nights ago, the *Mittie Stephens* was burned on Red River, Wednesday the Glencoe caught fire.... What steamer is to fill the fatal complement of the *Fire Fiend?*
Although the *Mittie Stephens* burned long ago, her terrible end continues to fire the imaginations of many. Around Caddo Lake are many people who have seen her remains, and others who have heard her: "Where the Mittie Stephens burned, for a long time, seemed to be a haunted spot and her wailing whistle of distress seemed to linger, like the weeping sorrows of a bereft widow or the pleading screams of a lost spirit."\(^{205}\)

The task at hand is to listen for her whistle and find the final resting place of the steamboat *Mittie Stephens*.\[^{205}\]
CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF CADDRO LAKE AND
PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK

When Richard Collins and Duke DeWare proposed a search for the remains of the Mittie Stephens in the summer of 1982, the prevailing belief in east Texas held that she sank in Caddo Lake, off Swanson's Landing, Texas, and that a professional archaeologist would be able to locate the site with a minimum of difficulty. Research efforts had barely begun when it became obvious that there were quite a few areas of high probability, and that more research would be required. Emphasis was placed on locating maps and eyewitness accounts that were written at the time of the sinking, and on conducting informant interviews in the hope of establishing a precise location for the wreck site.

Many of the people interviewed believe that Caddo Lake was much larger in 1869 than it is today, and that the remains of the Mittie Stephens lie buried under what is now dry land. It became imperative, therefore, to determine the changes in the physical characteristics of the lake during the last 120 years. In addition, the archaeological literature concerning Caddo Lake was reviewed in order to establish if other vessels had wrecked in the vicinity of the search area. It was also necessary to be cognizant of known
submerged terrestrial sites that could be damaged inadvertently during the survey phase. Finally, the field work conducted by Dr. Garrison was reviewed in order to determine which areas needed further investigation.

**PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS**

It was once believed that the New Madrid earthquake of 1811–1812, which caused the formation of Reelfoot Lake in Tennessee, was responsible also for the formation of Caddo Lake. A legend of the Caddo Indians, for whom the lake is named, tells how a stalwart chief was warned by the Great Spirit to take his tribesmen to the highest hills along the shore or see them drowned as a result of a violent earthquake and flood. The chief did not heed the warning and, one day, a party of returning hunters found the village covered by water. Professor Don Brown, of Centenary College in Shreveport, was told by an old Indian, "Here was once a prairie where we hunted buffalo. But that was before the earth had chills and fever, and shook in the night, and our village sank...."206

Geologists credit the Red River raft with forming Caddo Lake and a series of bayous and smaller lakes. The raft was a great log jam of undetermined age caused by the collapsing banks of the Red River. Trees, logs, and other debris lodged in the sediment until the obstruction was over 25 feet deep in places, and from 40 to 130 miles long.207 As the
obstruction progressed upriver from its origin at the mouth of the Red River, its lower end rotted away. The raft obstructed the outlets of tributary streams, damming them and causing lakes to be formed. The obstructed flow of the river drained into these lakes. Caddo Lake was formed in this manner sometime after 1825, as historical accounts fail to make mention of the lake prior to this date. When the Caddo Lake valley was flooded, all the trees were killed; over time, the tops of the dead trees were broken off by the wind, leaving the unsightly stumps that characterize Big Lake, the main part of the lake excluding the bayous.

Between 1833 and 1841, Captain Henry Shreve spent $425,000 in government appropriations to remove the raft. With four snagboats and a crew of 159 laborers, Shreve cleared a path through the raft to Fulton, Arkansas, by the spring of 1838. The painting in fig. 18 heroically portrays Captain Shreve at the helm of this titanic task. The raft began reforming by that fall, and steamboat traffic above Shreveport was interrupted. Sporadic attempts by the government to clear the raft continued until the Civil War, when more pressing matters forced attention to be directed elsewhere. Not until after the period of Reconstruction did the government again consider seriously the removal of the Red River raft. The Army Corps of Engineers destroyed the raft by blasting it with nitroglycerin in 1873 and, as a
Fig. 18. Captain Henry Shreve clearing the Red River raft. (Original oil painting by Lloyd Hawthorn. Courtesy of the Norton Art Gallery, Shreveport.)
result, the water began to drain from Caddo Lake. The map in ill. 15, produced during President Roosevelt's Work Progress Administration in 1935, shows the different stages of the raft in the northwest Louisiana area.

How this affected the sedimentation of the lake bottom has not been determined. It is known that sedimentation in the lakes formed by the raft occurred irregularly and more slowly than in the main river channel. According to geologist Arthur Veatch, the drainage of the lakes caused their main channels to be filled with sediment, but he does not offer any specific rates for Caddo Lake.211

In 1911, the Federal Government dammed Caddo Lake and "raised the water to its original level."212 By comparing a modern map of Caddo Lake (ill. 14, pg. 79) with an 1871 Army Corps of Engineers' map of the lake (ill. 13, pg. 76), it becomes apparent that the lake level today approximates the level before the raft was destroyed. The dam no doubt would cause a greater rate of deposition in the lake by blocking the flow of the current.

The same year the damn was constructed, the world's first offshore oil well—the Ferry Lake No. 1—was drilled in Caddo Lake.213 Eventually, hundreds of off-shore platforms were constructed on Caddo Lake until, as the story goes, you could walk from one end of the lake to the other by following the catwalks that connected the drilling platforms (fig. 19).
Ill. 15. 1935 Jacobs' map of Caddo Lake. (Courtesy of the Shreve Memorial Library, Shreveport.)
Fig. 19. Oil wells dotting Caddo Lake. (Courtesy of the Caddo-Pine Island Historical Museum, Oil City, Louisiana.)

Today, Caddo Lake is an extremely shallow lake, with the deepest water varying from 10 to 15 feet in the main channel. Cypress stumps dot the entire lake bottom with the exception of the marked channels. The remains of oil-drilling platforms are ubiquitous to the lake, with a greater number of platforms and wells collapsed and submerged in the mud than remain visible above the water. The lake itself is choked with lily pads and moss. All these conditions make navigating Caddo Lake outside the marked channels extremely hazardous, and greatly interferes with electronic surveying.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL REVIEW

As far as can be determined, the Mittie Stephens is the only vessel wrecked in the search area. Many residents claim they have seen or had been informed of wrecks at Swanson's Landing and at a few locations on the north shore of the lake. The wreck at Swanson's is believed to be a barge that sank with a load of guns on board, probably during the Civil War; however, this has not been substantiated by the historical record. In fact, it is almost certain that all the vessels reported to have sunk at various locations are actually oil-drilling platforms.

Because the Army Corps of Engineers has been considering raising the water level of Caddo Lake, two major archaeological surveys have been conducted to determine the impact on archaeological resources. Many Caddo Indian sites were reported, but they are all on dry land (ill. 16). No underwater searches were conducted, but it is safe to state that any submerged prehistoric cultural resources would be virtually impossible to locate in the black, silty bottom of Caddo Lake.

PREVIOUS SEARCHES FOR THE MITTIE STEPHENS

During the spring and summer of 1983, Dr. Garrison and his crew spent four weeks searching for the remains of the Mittie Stephens using a magnetometer and a side-scan sonar. After gathering data from a variety of sources, Dr. Garrison
Ill. 16. Recorded prehistoric sites in search area. (Map author.)
pinpointed the following high-probability areas: Swanson's Landing, Texas; and in Louisiana, Jeter's Landing; Jeter's Towhead and Slough; Sproul's Farm; and boat road D, perpendicular to the main channel (ill. 17).

Swanson's Landing, Texas

As stated earlier, a Texas state historical marker claims Swanson's Landing as the site of the *Mittie Stephens* disaster. The Texas Historical Commission, to whom all such marker applications are submitted, issued the marker after reviewing supporting evidence for this location—evidence willingly supplied by many east Texans.

Mr. I.B. "Bogey" Price, Jr., of Atlanta, Texas, swam off Swanson's Landing as a teenager in the 1930s. He recalls the older boys told him that if he swam "out there" (pointing towards the lake), "you can touch the stacks of the *Mittie Stephens*."²¹⁸ Although Mr. Price never did encounter the boat, he did find a mid-19th-century Flemish pistol offshore of the landing (fig. 20).²¹⁹ Mr. Haywood Mosely, of Marshall, Texas, also found a cap-and-ball pistol near a "sunken wooden boat," near where Mr. Price found his.²²⁰

Mr. Hobart Key, Jr., a very prominent, elderly resident of Marshall, wrote in his memoirs an account of the *Mittie Stephens* catching fire about a quarter of a mile below Swanson's,²²¹ but perhaps the most interesting account giving Swanson's as the location of the disaster was written by
III. 17. High probability search areas for the *Mittie Stephens*. (Map Author.)
Alice Lindsey for a 1961 high school essay contest: "For many years the ribs and boilers of the Mittie Stephens were visible in low water. In the summer of 1958, a rusted steam valve control wheel was brought up by Webster Haynor, a commercial fisherman turned self-taught scholar and archaeologist." After a lengthy search, Mr. Haynor's widow was located in Kilgore, Texas. Mrs. Haynor stated that her husband found the object described above prior to 1952, when his fishing nets became entangled in it. He told his wife he brought it up from the Mittie Stephens while he was fishing off Swanson's Landing. He never mentioned whether
he saw other remains of the boat, nor did he explain to his wife how he concluded that the valve wheel came from the Mittie Stephens.223

In October, 1982, J. Barto Arnold, III, of the Texas Antiquities Committee, ran five magnetometer survey tracks parallel to the shoreline off Swansons' Landing near the intersection of boat roads 1 and 5. A large anomaly was produced by a cluster of pipelines leading from oil wells in the lake. He recorded a small anomaly in the 30 to 50 gammas range that was not identified.224

In March and June of 1983, Dr. Garrison and his crew conducted a survey of the area using a magnetometer and side-scan sonar. Dr. Garrison recorded a magnetometer hit of about 160 gammas near the intersection of boat roads 1 and 5, in the vicinity of a large feature recorded by the side-scan sonar (ill. 17a, p. 99). The target proved to be an abandoned commercial fishing net approximately 300 feet long. Numerous widely scattered magnetic anomalies were recorded, but were found to be caused by modern metal debris such as trotline weights, home-made anchors, an angle iron, and even a brake rotor.225 The sunken remains of an oil drilling platform were also discovered. The reports of a sunken boat at Swanson's Landing may be the result of mistaken identifications of the platform.

Since Swanson's Landing was the next stop for the Mittie
Stephens, it is not difficult to understand how an account that reported her two and a half miles below Swanson's Landing when the fire was detected evolved into a belief that she actually sank there.

Jeter's Landing, Louisiana

According to Joe Lodwick, the steersman aboard the Mittie Stephens, the boat was turned immediately to shore after the alarm was given, and "in less than five minutes, the bow of the boat was run ashore near Jeter's Place, about 2-1/2 miles below Swanson's Landing."226 Jeter's Landing is about one and a half miles below Swanson's Landing, but it was felt that Jeter's Landing might be the Jeter's place to which Lodwick referred.

Mr. Wyatt Moore, widely recognized as the "lore master" of Caddo Lake (fig. 21), was the first person to suggest this area. Mr. Moore reported that his uncle told him the Mittie Stephens burned off Jeter's Landing, and would most certainly be buried beneath what is now a densely wooded area.227

A series of strange events further convinced us to conduct a search at Jeter's Landing. Judge Joe McCaslin of Jefferson, Texas, now deceased, claimed his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Calvin Dodd, and her infant son, were survivors of the Mittie Stephens tragedy and that while he did not know where the sinking occurred, he was told that a tree with an "M" carved in it marks the site.228 This
Fig. 21. Mr. Wyatt Moore, "lore master" of Caddo Lake. (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

Information was of little value as there are thousands of trees lining the shores of Caddo Lake, and it would be highly impractical to search for one marked "M."

Shortly after speaking with Judge McCaslin, the crew members were told where they could find the remains of a cemetery where the victims of the Mittie Stephens fire were reportedly buried. While inspecting broken pieces of marble that may have been all that was left of this "cemetery" (fig. 22), we met Mr. Y.B. Bickum, the caretaker of the property where the marble was found. When boating on the lake, Mr.
Bickum struck a metallic-sounding object in an area that his employer said was the location of the "steamboat." Mr. Bickum also told us of a tree nearby that was marked with a "goosefoot." Since no one in the crew knew what a goosefoot was, Mr. Bickum, who is illiterate, drew one for us. What he showed us was, to the literate person, an "M." But if the tree Mr. Bickum led us to was ever carved with an "M," there was no trace of it.

Although the evidence pointing to Jeter's Landing as the site of the sinking was not substantial, the area was surveyed in May, 1983, using the same electronic instruments.
that were used to search Swanson's Landing (ill. 17b, p. 99). Anomalies recorded by the instruments were produced by pipelines and fragmented oil-field debris. A partially preserved wooden skiff, measuring approximately 17 feet long, was found buried beneath three feet of hard, blue-gray clay. The skiff sank near the shoreline and was found lying on top of a whitewall tire, thus precluding any association with the Mittie Stephens (fig. 23). The marble, we discovered later, lined the path to an outdoor privy.

Fig. 23. Small skiff recovered off Jeter's Landing. (Photo courtesy of Ervan Garrison.)
Jeter's Towhead and Slough

Besides having "Jeter" in the names of these locations, the only evidence suggesting this area as a possible site for the remains of the Mittie Stephens came from Mr. Truman Woodell, a resident of Oil City, Louisiana. Mr. Woodell used to fish commercially in Caddo Lake with his father. He recalled that his father warned him against dropping his nets in the vicinity of Jeter's Towhead (ill. 17c, p. 99), as he would snag them on the "old steamboat." This area, also known as Hawley's Arm, was dotted with a relatively dense growth of red cypress, and was choked with lily pads, especially in Jeter's slough. Magnetometer hits at this location were produced by oil-field tools and debris (fig. 24). A 50-gallon drum found in this area was investigated because, at first appearance, it resembled a steamboat smokestack buried in the mud (fig. 25).

Sproul's Farm

While conducting research at the Shreve Memorial Library in Shreveport, Mr. and Mrs. T.J. Shumway of Mooringsport, Louisiana, discovered the 1935 map compiled by R.E. Jacobs (ill. 15, p. 94). Entitled "Routes of Steamboats to Surround Raft in Red River, From Shreveport North to Arkansas Line," it marked the location of many steamboat wrecks and prehistoric sites. One of the wrecks was the Mittie Stephens, as shown in the close-up in ill. 18. In 1935, Mr.
Fig. 24. Oil-field debris recovered off Jeter's Landing. (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

Fig. 25. 50-gallon drum buried off Jeter's Landing. (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)
Fig. 18. Detail of Jacobs' 1935 map.
Jacobs could have interviewed persons who witnessed the sinking, and some of the wrecks and Indian sites he recorded have been confirmed by Mittie Stephens Foundation researchers. Mr. George Sproul, Sr., present owner of the farm, offered further evidence in support of Jacobs' map. In the late 1920s, Mr. Will Simms, one of the previous owners of the farm, told Mr. Sproul that he had witnessed the sinking of the Mittie Stephens. His father, Rueben Simms, helped retrieve the bodies of some of the victims and buried the remains of others. Will described the Mittie Stephens as a "fancy gambling boat with a red piano."233

Dr. Garrison conducted a search of this area in May, 1983 (ill. 17d, p. 99). Two areas of accoustical targets recorded by the side-scan sonar and associated magnetic anomalies were produced by a small trotline and by a submerged cypress tree. This was not surprising, since the strongest magnetic anomaly was only 35 gammas.234 As will be seen, this area was surveyed again on two separate occasions.

Boat Road D

This area was searched originally by accident (ill. 17e, p. 99). Dr. Garrison and his crew thought they were investigating the area shown to be the wrecksite of the Mittie Stephens on Jacobs' 1935 map. By plotting the wreck location recorded by Jacobs on a modern map (ill. 17f, pg. 99), it became obvious that this was off target. An
interesting anomaly recorded by the side-scan sonar was
investigated, even though there was no associated magnetic
anomaly. No wrecksite was found, and cause of the
acoustical hit was never discovered. 235

Dr. Garrison and his crew wrapped up the field session
without locating the wreck. The only alternative left to the
remaining crew members was to re-evaluate the data
accumulated to date and determine what further information
would be required.
CHAPTER VII

CURRENT SEARCH FOR THE MITTIE STEPHENS

My first task as director of the Mittie Stephens Foundation was to produce a map that plotted the approximate areas surveyed by Dr. Garrison (ill. 17, p. 99). By doing this, it was discovered that there was a large area in front of Sproul's farm that was not surveyed. This was also within the area marked as the wreck of the Mittie Stephens on Jacobs' 1935 map. The second task was to interview more residents of the Caddo Lake area in order to pinpoint the location more precisely, and, if possible, to determine the extent of the remains of the wreck.

INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Mrs. Lula Morris (fig. 26) is the granddaughter of Rueben Simms, and the niece of Will Simms, both eyewitnesses to the sinking of the Mittie Stephens, as discussed in Chapter VI. She now resides in the town of Mooringsport, but was raised on what is now known as Sproul's farm. She and her siblings owned part of Sproul's farm (ill. 17g, p. 99) and had inherited the land from her grandfather, who, Mrs. Morris claims, purchased it from a Jeter who also owned the
Fig. 26. Mrs. Lula Morris. (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

adjacent property. The county plat records, on file at the Caddo Parish Courthouse in Shreveport, show the plat belonged to the Simmses as least as early as January, 1918. Plat records before this date are on file in Baton Rouge and could not be checked without ordering an expensive title search. However, Mrs. Morris appears to be a very credible
informant, and there is no reason to suspect that her information in this matter may be erroneous. That the property belonged to a Jeter is encouraging, since it is also about 2-1/2 miles from Swanson's Landing and might be the Jeter's place Mr. Lodwick mentioned in his account.

Mrs. Morris claims to have seen the remains of the paddlewheels of the *Mittie Stephens* as late as the 1920s. As a young girl, she called them ferris wheels, but was aware that they were paddlewheels. When questioned as to what she actually saw, Mrs. Morris accurately described paddlewheels. She stated that one was smaller than the other, which suggests that the boat was not lying flat on the lake bottom. She also recalls seeing people diving on the wreck, although she herself never went out to investigate it. She insisted that the wreck was situated in the old steamboat channel, but, unfortunately, we thought she must be mistaken as the newspaper accounts emphasized that the boat was run ashore. Our skepticism of her account was to be sorely regretted.

Mrs. Morris' grandfather told her that most of the victims were buried in a trench he helped dig, which was located near an old stump. The stump no longer exists, but Mrs. Morris was certain that it used to line up with the chimney of her house, as she hung her laundry on a line strung between the stump and the chimney. In the spring of 1984, project crew member Lexie Palmore, while flying over
Sproul's farm, saw a clearly delineated rectangular anomaly in the area indicated by Mrs. Morris as the victims' gravesite. The anomaly was perpendicular to the shoreline, about 20 feet away from the chimney. According to Mr. Sproul, the house that Mrs. Morris lived in was moved about 20 feet, which explains the discrepancy between what Mrs. Morris remembered and what Lexie Palmore saw.

Mrs. Morris' grandfather and Jim Jeter signed their names to the estate papers of Philip Ash, on file at the Caddo Parish Courthouse. Jim Jeter was listed in these papers as having received $40 for retrieving the body of Mr. Ash, and Rueben Simms witnessed this transaction. That Rueben Simms helped bury the victims on his property, and Jim Jeter retrieved the body of a victim suggests that the Mittie Stephens sank nearby.

Mr. Tom Pardue, of Belcher, Louisiana, was interviewed on many occasions. He knew the location of the remains of two steamboats in an old channel of Black Bayou, north of Caddo Lake. Although neither could have been the Mittie Stephens, the boats were investigated in June, 1984, because they were significant archaeological sites. Instead of finding the hull remains above ground as when Mr. Pardue saw them "many years ago," all that remained visible were a few inches of hog chains 1-1/2 inches in diameter (fig. 27). In fact, the hog chains were covered by a dense growth of
Fig. 27. Visible hog chains from the Back Bayou site.
(Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

vines and were located only with the help of a metal
detector. When the channel dried up, probably as a result of
the removal of the raft, the wrecks were covered by the
resulting sediment. A small test pit was excavated around
one of the hogchains to a depth of six feet, where the
hog chain was fastened to the hull (fig. 28).

That these wrecks were found buried under six feet of
sediment suggests that there may be no visible remains of the
Mittie Stephens above the mudline. Supporting this
assumption was the information obtained from Mr. Frank Hall, Jr., of Shreveport. His grandfather, Frank Ford Jeter, used to dive on the wreck of the Mittie Stephens as a youth in the 1870s. Mr. Hall remembers his grandfather telling him about spoons and other objects he retrieved by digging deeply in the mud.
The lake bottom off Sproul's farm is covered with a layer of fine silty mud that varies in depth from over six feet in the channel to less than a foot near the shore. Under this mud deposit is a deep layer of blue-gray clay that is at least ten feet thick. The clay was probably deposited when the lake started to drain due to the removal of the raft. The remains of the Mittie Stephens are probably buried in the clay layer. The wreck of the Bertrand, which sank in 1865, was found in an old channel of the Missouri River, under 20 to 28 feet of topsoil, clay, cottonwood logs, and other debris. The hull was encased almost completely by a layer of clay of varying consistency that at time was so resistant it had to be peeled away in thin sections with a trowel. Since Caddo Lake is much shallower than the Missouri River, it is assumed that the Mittie Stephens is buried at a much shallower depth.

EXTENT OF THE REMAINS

Since evidence suggests that the Mittie Stephens probably sank off Sproul's farm, and that little of her would remain visible above the bottom of Caddo Lake, attention was focused on determining the extent of the remains of the Stephens. However, much valuable data has been retrieved by archaeologists from burned vessels that were considered total wrecks and not worth salvaging.

The bell, boiler and safe were removed undamaged,
implying that much of the metal on board the boat would have survived destruction, and there is no evidence that the rest of the machinery was removed. For reasons stated in Chapter III, excavation of just the machinery would be worthwhile.

If the remains of the wreck silted over quickly, the machinery would probably be in an excellent state of preservation. When Mrs. Morris saw the paddlewheels partially exposed above the water in the 1920s, the lake was very low, probably no deeper than 6 or 7 feet in the channel, which indicates that some of the remains of the paddlewheels and all of the hull were buried within the mud of Caddo Lake by that time, and would also be well preserved.

The sternwheeler *Sprague* burned in 1973 and was still floating in the late 1970s when Lexie Palmore inspected her remains. When she burned, the *Sprague* was a showboat and museum and Ms. Palmore found intact a roll of admission tickets and advertisement pamphlets, which she believes may have been stored originally on the main deck. All of the cabin was destroyed except that directly above the machinery. The main deck around the engine room was also largely intact. The wreck was picked over by souvenir seekers for years so it is difficult to assess what remained after the fire. The intact tickets and pamphlets suggest that the fire raged erratically through the boat, and, as with the *Mittie Stephens*, probably extinguished itself within a half hour,
leaving undamaged the machinery and surrounding areas. However, the Sprague was a steel-hulled vessel and comparison with the Mittie Stephens may be irrelevant.

Based on this information, it is hypothesized that the remains of the Mittie Stephens can be found in the vicinity of Sproul's farm, buried beneath the bottom of the lake, and are extensive enough to warrant another search.

1983 SEARCH

A magnetometer survey was conducted off Sproul's farm in October of 1983. Bill Crow of ARCO provided and operated a magnetometer and microwave positioning system. His colleague, Hank Rhodes, operated a portable computer, programmed to plot real-time coordinates that enabled the crew to stay on a regularly spaced course. Dale and Billie Nix of Mooringsport kindly loaned us the use of their pontoon barge, which we dubbed the "Aggie Research Vessel" (fig. 29).

The survey covered the spot marked by the Jacobs' 1935 map as the site of the remains of the Mittie Stephens (ill. 17f, p. 99), but did not extend into the old steamboat channel (ill. 19). Any misgivings about surveying short of the channel dissipated when a cluster of anomalies reaching a maximum strength of 460 gammas was recorded. Even more exciting were three metal rods, stuck fast in the mud where the hits were produced (fig. 30). These rods were strikingly similar to the hog chains discovered on the Black Bayou wrecks, and were also 1-1/2 inches in diameter. They
Fig. 29. "Aggie Research Vessel." (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

protruded about six feet above the bottom of the lake, but could not be pulled out of the mud. Therefore, we felt they might be hog chains that were connected to a hull buried beneath the mud.

Attempts to determine the nature of the Caddo Lake rods were unsuccessful in the weeks following the survey. Less than two feet below the silt was a hard-packed clay layer that would not wash away. Since winter and duck hunting season were approaching, it was necessary to wait until the spring of 1984 before the work could continue.

Crew member C.B. Ratchford, Jr., took a sample of the
Fig. 30. Iron rod in Caddo Lake. (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

rods found in the lake and in Black Bayou to the University of Missouri - Columbia to be analyzed. Although the samples differed in composition, they were both basically wrought iron with traces of low-grade steel.243 The crew was convinced during the winter of 1983 that we had finally found the remains of the Mittie Stephens.

At the end of March, attempts were again made to identify the nature of these rods, but were hampered by poor weather, and by difficulties encountered in removing the clay
surrounding them. Finally, it was found that high-pressure water directed by a firehose nozzle would clear away the clay. Five feet below the surface of the lakebed, we came to the end of a rod, and nothing else was there. It was possible that this particular rod had broken off from the wreck, so another rod was excavated. Again, five feet below the surface, we came to the end of the rod, and nothing else was there. The rods were identified as polished rods, which connect an oil-well pump to the sucker rods. At the turn of the century, these rods were made of wrought iron and low-grade steel.\textsuperscript{244}

Bill Crow returned to Caddo Lake in May with another magnetometer, but the hits were minor; none were greater than 50 gammas.\textsuperscript{245} It was apparent that the rods produced the original hits and this was not the location of the wreck.

The project would have ended after this failure had new evidence not been discovered. The 1871 Army Corps of Engineers map (ill. 13, p. 76), was found in the Library of Congress, Cartographic Division, in December, 1984, and marks the location of the Mittie Stephens wreck (ill. 20). Since the actual area is not indicated by a symbol, the wreck could be anywhere in the vicinity of the writing on the map. This, however, represents the most concrete evidence that the Mittie Stephens sank off Sproul's farm.

Evidence indicating that the Mittie Stephens sank
Ill. 20. Detail of 1871 Army Corps of Engineers map.
off Sproul's farm is persuasive: two maps mark this area as the site of the sinking; Sproul's is located approximately two and a half miles from Swanson's Landing; it was owned by a Jeter and may be the Jeter's Place mentioned by steersman Joe Lodwick; and it is the location in which a credible informant claims to have seen the wreck. Most of the victims would have been buried nearby, given the difficulties, health problems and expense involved in transporting the bodies. Therefore, that Mrs. Morris claims there is a mass grave on the property also supports Sproul's farm as the location of the sinking. Mr. Lodwick's testimony can be considered accurate as he was a pilot, and, as anyone who has read Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* is aware, a pilot knows his bearings at all times.

Except for the information given by Mrs. Morris, all the data show that the *Mittie Stephens* sank near shore. Yet surveying the area thoroughly near the shore did not record an anomaly produced by the wreck. Caddo Lake is dotted with cypress trees that give the illusion of a shoreline when viewed from a distance. Those on board the burning vessel may have thought they were seeing the shore, when, in fact, they were viewing a treeline. Therefore, it is a distinct possibility that the *Mittie Stephens* sank in the channel, as Mrs. Morris claims. If the boat grounded in four feet of water forward and ten feet of water aft, there was a
change on the lake depth of six feet over a distance of 170 feet. This depth difference could only have occurred in the main channel of Caddo Lake since the lake itself off Sproul's farm is very shallow outside of the channel, and slopes to a depth of only six feet more than a quarter of a mile from shore. Also, if the boat was not lying flat on her bottom, as suggested, it could only be in the channel.

1984 SEARCH

In June, the Environmental Engineering Department of Texas A&M University agreed to send Dr. Garrison to Caddo Lake to conduct a field survey of the area in front of Sproul's farm from near the shore to the channel markers. Texas A&M University absorbed the costs of this survey. At the end of July, Dr. Garrison arrived with Bob Shaeffer and Harry Young. Shaeffer was to run the computers while Young would pilot the research vessel. Before the first scheduled day of surveying, Young was recalled to College Station on an emergency, and a local Jeffersonian, John Nance, took over piloting duties. On the way to the survey area, the boat hit a stump in the boat road that broke off the entire foot of the outboard engine (fig. 31). Not to be discouraged, once towed back to the base camp, we loaded all the equipment onto an old pontoon barge and tried again to reach the site. We did not get one-quarter of a mile out when the barge started to sink. Somehow we made it back to the base with all
Fig. 31. Casualty of Caddo Lake. (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)

persons and equipment intact. The survey was temporarily called to a halt.

At the end of August, Dr. Garrison and Bob Shaeffer returned with a different boat. The survey area was reached without mishap. All morning was occupied setting up the positioning system, the computer, and the magnetometer. By noon, we were ready to start surveying; but the magnetometer was not. One of its circuits had malfunctioned and had to be returned to the manufacturer for repair. Again, the survey was temporarily halted.

In the middle of September, Dr. Garrison and Bob
Shaeffer returned once more to Caddo Lake. This time the survey was successful and covered a large area (ill. 21). The cluster of anomalies located north of the main channel (ill. 22) was produced by abandoned oil wells, their rotting platforms still visible above the water. Two significant anomalies were recorded. The hits off Channel Marker G-74 produced readings differing by more than 600 gammas in intensity from the normal background; those off Channel Marker G-70 differed up to 400 gammas. In contrast, the Bertrand remains registered a difference of only 80 gammas. 245

An underwater search off Marker G-70 was conducted in the summer of 1985. Visibility in Caddo Lake is poor to nonexistent, making a systematic inspection of the lake bottom difficult. Since we did not expect to find much more than hog chains visible above the silt, it was important that the area be searched thoroughly. To accomplish this, divers were pulled by a towrope attached to the work boat. The boat was tied to the marker with a 200-foot rope. By circling the area around the marker, we were assured of a thorough search covering an area 400 feet in diameter. Part of an oil-well platform was found buried beneath the mud, and next to it, rising about four feet above the bottom of the lake, was a steel pipe about one foot in diameter. The pipe was part of an oil-well casing, and had produced the anomaly off G-70.
MAGNETOMETER SURVEY OF CADDI O LAKE

SEARCH FOR MITTIE STEPHENS
CADDI PARISH, LOUISIANNA

III. 22. Location of magnetometer anomalies. (Map author.)

LEGEND
(in gammas)

X 50 - 100
△ 101 - 200
◇ 201 - 300
○ 301 - 400
□ 401 - 500
※ over 500
As of this writing, plans are underway for an underwater search of the lake near marker G-74 as soon as a minimal amount of funds is raised. Despite many disappointments and dashed hopes, I remain optimistic that the anomalies recorded in this area were produced by the remains of the Mittie Stephens. That she sank off Sproul's farm is supported by the considerable evidence presented in this thesis. This area has been thoroughly surveyed, and the only anomaly not yet identified that could have been produced by the Mittie Stephens is that recorded off channel marker G-74.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence suggests that the **Mittie Stephens** was a finely-built and expensive boat for her size and period. She was built at the Madison Marine Railways and Shipyard at a time when the Federal Government was the biggest contractor of steamboat tonnage. Yet the **Mittie Stephens** appears to have been built in anticipation of a first-class passenger trade rather than on the promise of government contracts. In 1864, while plying the lower Mississippi, the **Mittie Stephens** was seized by Federal Treasury agents on what were shown to be false charges. While in Federal custody, she was impressed into Admiral Porter's flotilla during the Red River Campaign. She was preferred as a fast steamer to carry dispatches and transport emergency supplies. After she was returned to her owners, she was still in the service of the Federal forces when she was fired upon while taking on cotton. With the cessation of hostilities, the owners of the **Mittie Stephens** profited from a resumption of the packet trade, and, in 1866, were attracted to the lucrative shipping center of Jefferson, Texas. The boat made what turned out to be her last voyage on February 5, 1869, leaving New Orleans with a full load of passengers and a military consignment for
the Federal troops stationed in Jefferson. She caught fire on Caddo Lake at midnight, February 11, with a resulting loss of the vessel and more than 60 lives. The owners and crew of the Mittie Stephens were accused of negligence in allowing her cargo of hay to be improperly stored and for carrying lighted fire baskets.

A safe carrying $100,000 in payroll for the Federal troops was retrieved the next day. At an undetermined date, her bell and one of the boilers were removed. It is hypothesized that enough remains of her hull, machinery, and personal stores to warrant the time and expense of searching for the site. Study of her machinery, which from all indications was not salvaged, would add greatly to the literature of mid-19th-century steam engineering. The remains of her hull would be worth studying as only one other sidewheel steamboat has been investigated.246

Locating the remains of the Mittie Stephens would be of great interest not only to historians and archaeologists, but would be of benefit to the general public as well. The residents of east Texas and northwest Louisiana remain fascinated by the saga of the Mittie Stephens. Three Texas Junior Historian projects concerning the Mittie Stephens have won awards. Madison Mosely, a ninth-grade student at Pemberton High School in Marshall, won first place in the 1984 school and regional competition, and placed second in
the state in his grade division. His project is now on permanent display at the Harrison County Historical Museum in Marshall (fig. 32). In 1985, Jefferson High School junior Barbara Edwards won first place statewide for her essay on the Mittie Stephens and went on to national competition. This year, sixth grader Stephanie Jones won first place in her division for her entry in the History Fair at Sam Houston Middle School in Marshall. She won the regional competition and entered her project at the state level. Jefferson Boy Scouts entered a Mittie Stephens float in the annual Pilgrimage Parade. Smoke belched from her stacks, water turned her single wheel, and the Scouts poked their little heads through her portholes (fig. 33).

Fig. 32. History Fair project. (Courtesy of the Mittie Stephens Foundation.)
Fig. 33. Mittie Stephens parade entry. (Photo courtesy of the Jefferson Jimplecute.)
Artists from Shreveport, Longview, Marshall, and Tyler have been painting or building models of their perceptions of the Mittie Stephens; some of these works are presented in Appendix VI. The Mittie Stephens has even gone commercial--The Mint Tulip Ice Cream Emporium in Jefferson offers the Mittie Stephens float--it goes down fast! The famous Excelsior Hotel in Jefferson has been known to serve the Mittie Stephens dip.

Many residents have expressed a desire to see a steamboat museum, with the remains of the Mittie Stephens as the focal point, established in the Caddo Lake region. Such a museum would be appreciated not only for contributing to the public's awareness of steamboating, but also because the history of the area is linked to the development of transportation on the western rivers.

However, before a museum can be established, the remains of the Mittie Stephens must be located. Research has shown that she may have sank within a one-mile area off Sproul's farm, on the Louisiana side of Caddo Lake, but the search for her remains has been hampered by the treacherous tree stumps that dot Caddo Lake, the great sedimentation rate of the lakebed, the difficulties of digging through a dense layer of clay, and the ubiquitous abandoned oil wells that litter the lake's bottom. Differentiating between a submerged oil-well platform and a submerged boat under these conditions has made
the search for the Mittie Stephens a slow, laborious, and often frustrating experience.

A determination of whether or not the remains of the Mittie Stephens are in fact located off Sproul's farm would require minimal funding compared to what has already been spent. Unless the next logical step in the research is undertaken, much effort and expense will surely have been wasted. And that would be a shame.
NOTES

1. Eyewitness account in The Home Advocate (Jefferson, Texas) February 12, 1869.


3. Office of the United States Prize Commissioners' Appraisers' Report, original document in the Dewey Somdahl Collection (Louisiana State University, Shreveport) box 14, folder 553.


5. L.V. Huber, comp., Advertisements of Lower Mississippi River Steamboats 1812-1920 (Providence, Rhode Island 1959) 46.


7. Cooner (supra n. 6) 81.

8. Hunter (supra n. 2) 548.

9. Hunter (supra n. 2) 549-551.

10. Hunter (supra n. 2) 105-106.


14. Steamboat enrollments record the city where a boat was built, and not specific yards. With two yards in Madison after 1860, it cannot be determined within the scope of this thesis at which yard a particular boat was built.


19. Madison Courier (supra n. 17).

20. Interview with Madison historian Mr. Frank Bird, conducted by Dr. Ervan Garrison, March 24, 1983.

21. Hunter (supra n. 2) 106.

22. Hunter (supra n. 2) 481.


24. Missouri Democrat, March 21, 1862, in Hunter (supra n. 2) 549.

25. Hunter (supra n. 2) 550.

26. Hunter (supra n. 2) 311.

27. Haites et al. (supra n. 23) 43.


29. Hunter (supra n. 2) 360.

30. Certificate of Enrollment No. 424 (May 25, 1863) file no. 17710, Record Group 41, Records of the Bureau of
Marine Inspection and Navigation, General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. Hereafter referred to as RG 41. The enrollment documents list the names, residences, and share of the owners, dates bought and sold, origin of the boat and current home port, and certain details of construction. As all merchant vessels of the U.S. were required by the Act of 1789 (I Statutes at Large 57), and the Act of May 4, 1864 (13 Statutes at Large 69-72) to enroll their vessels, these documents remain an excellent, and often the only, source of information for a particular vessel.

31. National Historical Co., *A History of Howard and Cooper Counties* (St. Louis 1883) 927-928. Information on Captain Stephens is from this source, unless otherwise noted.


33. *Jefferson City Peoples Tribune* (Jefferson City, Missouri) September 6, 1875.

34. Interview with Mr. Charles Leonard of Buncetown, Missouri, grandnephew of Mittle Leonard, conducted by Charles B. Ratchford, Jr., September 11, 1983.

35. Denton (supra n. 12).


37. Certificate of Enrollment No. 160 (June 15, 1864) file no. 17710, RG 41.


41. Certificate of Enrollment No. 260 (February 9, 1867) file no. 26909, RG 41.


44. Way (supra n. 40) 473.

45. Well before the Mittie Stephens was built, American steamboats were divided into two separate and distinct classes: The eastern steamboat, distinguished primarily by its low-pressure engines, its fine lines and finish, its speed, diamond-shaped walking beam, arched hog frame, and deep draft; and the western steamboat, characterized by a high-pressure engine, shallow keelless hull, a large superstructure rising several decks above the hull, topped by a pilothouse, and tall black smokestacks: Hunter (supra n. 2) 62. Since the Mittie Stephens was built for the western rivers and falls into the category of western steamboats, this thesis covers details of construction of western types only.


47. Hunter (supra n. 2) 63.


49. Certificate of Enrollment No. 424 (supra n. 30).

50. Length, breadth, and depth measurements are not the outside dimensions of a hull. Length was measured from stempiece to sternpost and excluded the false transom (if there was one) that enclosed the rudder wells. The depth was measured in the deadflat (see Glossary, Appendix III) and was taken from the bottom planking to the underside of the deckbeams. Width was measured inside the side planking at the deck: Bates (supra n. 48) 22. The actual width of a sidewheeler was about twice as wide as the hull due to the guards and paddlewheels (see ill. 8, p. 33). Tonnage was computed through a variety of factors, and it refers to a measurement, calculated according to rules that were frequently changed, and does not refer to capacity or weight. For a detailed account of tonnage, see John Lyman, "Register Tonnage and Its Measurement," in The American Neptune, Vol. V, No. 3 (July 1945) 223-234 and Vol. V, No. 4 (October 1945) 311-325.
51. Certificate of Enrollment No. 99 (October 4, 1865), file no. 17710, RG 41.

52. Certificate of Enrollment No. 137 (January 31, 1868) file no. 17710, RG 41.

53. Certificate of Enrollment No. 1 (July 1, 1867) file no. 17710, RG 41.

54. Hunter (supra n. 2) 643.

55. Certificate of Enrollment No. 424 (supra n. 30).

56. Bates (supra n. 48) 5.

57. Hunter (supra n. 2) 89.

58. Hunter (supra n. 2) 79.

59. Hunter (supra n. 2) 86. Comparisons are based on tonnage and hull measurements as recorded on the first enrollment document issued to a vessel.

60. Hunter (supra n. 2) 96.


63. Sweeney (supra n. 62) 645.


65. Hunter (supra n. 2) 97. Russel (supra n. 64) 122, describes this design as "...a series of small hogframes, about 30 feet long, which take the place of the solid bulkhead, a number of posts radiate from the keelson; and over their tops, three 2-inch planks are bent like an arch, and fastened down at their ends to the keelson; the space between being as before filled in [with 2-inch planking]...."
There is nothing peculiar about either of the bulkheads."

66. Appraisers’ Report (supra n. 3).


69. Certificate of Enrollment No. 424 (supra n. 30).

70. Lytle and Holdcamper (supra n. 15) 88. This source has the Grampus lost in 1865, and is probably in error.


72. Appraisers' Report (supra n. 3).

73. Sweeney (supra n. 62) 125.


75. E.G. Garrison, An Archival and Instrumental Survey for the Mittie Stephens; Caddo Lake, Texas and Louisiana (College Station, Texas 1983) 32. Dr. Garrison found a ledger of Captain Fielding L. Woolridge in the Captain Rees Vernon Downs Papers, Memphis-Shelby County Public Library, that lists the piston stroke as 4 ft. He was told it had a 5-ft. stroke by Mr. Franklin W. Smallman, an acknowledged authority of steamboat engines. At the same time the Mittie Stephens was launched, a sidewheeler under construction in Madison, Indiana, was described as 180 feet long, by 32 feet wide, and 4 1/2 feet deep, having two engines with 18-inch cylinders and five-feet stroke: The Evening Courier (Madison, Indiana) May 22, 1863. Based on this information, the correct stroke for the Mittie Stephens is probably five feet.

76. Bates (supra n. 48) 96, offers the following equations with S=stroke and D=Diameter: Shaft diameter, D/2+1"; wheel diameter, 3D+; flange diameter, 3D; arm pocket depth, D; pocket pitman length, 3-3/4S; depth and width of pitman, D+1"; and number of wheel buckets, 2-1/2S+. The pitman is the connecting rod between engines and crank.


79. The only steam engines that have been excavated were from the U.S.S. Cairo, a centerwheel (actually a modified sternwheeler) ironclad gunboat built at Cairo, Illinois, in 1862. See E.C. Bearss, Hardlucky Ironclad: The Sinking and Salvage of the Cairo (Baton Rouge 1966) and T. McGrath and D. Ashley, Historic Structure Report: U.S.S. Cairo, Vicksburg National Military Park, Vicksburg, Mississippi (Denver 1981). Two other steamboats have been excavated, the Black Cloud and the Bertrand, but the engines from both were removed. The only published report on the Black Cloud does not mention the engines, and it is presumed they were removed shortly after the boat sank: Adams (supra n. 67). The engines of the Bertrand were removed during salvage attempts shortly after she sank: Petsche (supra n. 64) 85-86.

80. Hunter (supra n. 2) 93.
81. Hunter (supra n. 2) 422-423.
82. Hunter (supra n. 2) 451.
83. Bates (supra n. 48) 49.
84. Hunter (supra n. 2) 91.
85. Popular steamboat lore holds that the designation "stateroom" has its origins with Henry Shreve and his boat George Washington (1825). This steamboat is recognized as the first boat with a deck to accommodate passengers. The passenger rooms were given the names of states, hence the term stateroom.

86. Hunter (supra n. 2) 396.
88. Bates (supra n. 48) 60.
89. Bates (supra n. 48) 67.
90. Hunter (supra n. 2) 90-91.
91. Haines et al. (supra n. 23) 136.

92. J. W. Lively, a reporter for the Jefferson Jimplecute who was on the Mittie Stephens' last voyage as a young boy wrote an article stating, "we have a nice picture of this old boat (the Mittie Stephens) as she lays anchored to the bank....": J.W. Lively, "The Burning of the Mittie Stephens," Jefferson Jimplecute (Jefferson, Texas) June 16, 1921. Attempts to locate this photograph and the reporter's descendents have been unsuccessful. Mrs. Joella Moore, the niece of Mittie S. Leonard, who provided a picture of her aunt, claims to have a picture of the Mittie Stephens but cannot as yet locate it.

93. R. Ferris (supra n. 39) 141. According to Fred Way, Jr., paddlebox artistry is an American art form almost completely overlooked by modern scholars. Popular roughly between 1850 and 1880 on upper-Mississippi sidewheelers, the subject matter included a wide range of geometrical patterns, portraits, wharf scenes, sunbursts, eagles, and scrolls: S&D Reflector, Vol. 11, No. 2 (June 1974) 47.

94. Hunter (supra n. 2) 101. In Life on the Mississippi, Mark Twain surmised that boats lasted four or five years. Edwin Hill, archivist at the Murphy Library, University of Wisconsin, LaCrosse, analyzed average boat life as listed in the Lytle-Holdcamper List (supra n. 15) and found the average span was 5.27 years from 1851 to 1860 and 7.5 years from 1861 to 1870. Using the library's extensive data file, he found that only 24 percent of the boats studied (out of 8000 boats) had a lifespan of 5 years or less, and that the average lifespan was 12 years. This study, however, was biased to boats built after 1880 when rivers were continually improved, as were the safety records of steamboating in general: E.L. Hill, "Steamboats: A Nineteenth Century Approach to Transportation," in J.S. Wozniak, ed., Historic Lifestyles in the Upper Mississippi Valley (Lanham, Maryland 1983) 59-82. Regardless of lifespan, the appraiser would have assumed an expected span of five years, as this was the prevailing belief at the time.


96. This is not the only time the Mittie Stephens was
erroneously given another name. Her first Certificate of
Enrollment (supra n. 30) calls her the Mattie Stephens.

97. The Evening Courier (supra n. 11). "Strunch" is a
typographical error; "staunch" is the usual adjective.

98. Certificate of Enrollment No. 424 (supra n. 30).

99. Louisville Daily Journal (Louisville, Kentucky) May
22, 1863.

100. Louisville Daily Journal (supra n. 99) May 23,
1863, to May 30, 1863.

101. W.J. Peterson, "Steamboating on the Missouri
River," in Iowa Journal of History, Volume 53, Number 2 (Iowa
City, Iowa, 1955) 101.

102. See correspondence of Alan Bates, Fred Way, Jr.,
and Bert Fenn concerning the construction of the Bertrand and
upper Missouri River steamboats in Petsche (supra n. 64)
91-101.

103. Peterson (supra n. 101) 107.

104. The only evidence to date confirming that the
Mittie Stephens spent some time on the Missouri is from the
recollections of W.A. Sombart, who included the Mittie
Stephens in a list of 114 steamboats that docked at
Booneville, Missouri: Booneville Weekly Advertiser
(Booneville, Missouri) December 19, 1919.

105. W.J. Tenney, The Military and Naval History of the
Rebellion in the United States (New York 1866) 362.

106. Tenney (supra n. 105) 372.

107. Department of the Navy, comp., Civil War Naval


109. Original copy of the issued pass from the private
collection of Mr. Vivian Hackney of Marshall, Texas.

110. Huber (supra n. 5) 46. The newspaper in which
this ad appeared is not indicated. The date the ad was
placed was determined by the publisher's notations at the
bottom of the ad: mh6-tf, meaning the ad was placed March 6
and will run until further notice.

112. Libel of Information (March 7, 1864) docket No. 7836, RG 21. This libel is printed on a standard form that includes the contents of this act, entitled "An act to further provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes." It also provided for forfeiture to the United States of private property seized in insurrectionary states.


114. Claimants defense (April 21, 1864) docket No. 7836, RG 21. According to this document, Stephens and Temple may have sold their shares of the Mittie Stephens before the date shown on the June 15, 1864, enrollment: Certificate of Enrollment No. 160 (supra n. 37). McCullar is shown as a one-quarter owner on this enrollment, but Woodward never appears as an owner on the enrollment records.

115. Bond motion (March 7, 1864) docket no. 7836, RG 21.

116. Marshalls return (March 8, 1864) docket no. 7836, RG 21.

117. Statement, United States District Attorney's Office (December 7, 1864), docket no. 7836, RG 21.


119. Testimony of Witnesses (April 13, 1864) docket no. 7824, RG 21.

120. Johnson (supra n. 113) 59.

121. Johnson (supra n. 113) 53.

122. Johnson (supra n. 113) 53.

123. Testimony of Witnesses (supra n. 119).

124. Testimony of Witnesses (April 27, 1864) docket no. 7824, RG 21.
125. Petition for Appeal (April 6, 1864) docket no. 7824, RG 21.

126. Orders of the Court (December 17, 1864), Minutes of the United States District Court at New Orleans, microfilm roll 14, RG 21.

127. In September, 1863, General Banks attempted, and failed, to effect a landing at the Sabine River. A second attempt to invade Texas was made in October, 1863. It was successful, but accomplished little in the way of military strategy. See R.U. Johnson and C.C. Buel, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York 1884) Vol. III, 598 and Vol. IV, 346; R.H. Williams, "General Banks' Red River Campaign," in Louisiana Historical Quarterly, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January, 1949) 104-105. Hereafter referred to as LHQ.

128. Williams (supra n. 127) 101.


131. Johnson (supra n. 113) 13.

132. For details of the campaign, see Johnson and Buel (supra n. 127) Vol. IV, 345-375; Williams (supra n. 127) 101-144; and Johnson (supra n. 113).


139. United States Office of Naval War Records,
Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the
26, 139. Hereafter referred to as Navy O.R.

that he was at the mouth of the Black River, but this is
obviously an error since the closest stream with the name
Black is Black Bayou, located north of Grand Ecore.

141. Department of the Navy (supra n. 107), Chapter V,
45.

142. Edwards and Cole (supra n. 74) 406.

143. N.P. Norman, "The Red River of the South," in LHQ,
Vol. 25, No. 2 (April 1942) 405.

144. Edwards and Cole (supra n. 74) 407.

145. Bill of Lading, (February 2, 1865) box 8, folder
M, Joseph Merrick Jones Steamboat Collection, Tulane
University, New Orleans.

146. Cooner (supra n. 6) 66. Excerpt from a letter
from Major General J.J. Reynolds, Austin, Texas, to the
Adjunct General, United States Army, Washington, D.C.,
October 22, 1868.

147. Newspaper clipping, dated February 2, 1865, box
18, Joseph Merrick Jones Steamboat Collection, Tulane
University, New Orleans. This clipping was found in the
papers of Donald T. Wright, late editor of the Waterways
Journal, who kept two diaries of such clippings, but did not
record the papers in which they first appeared.

148. Cooner (supra n. 6) 84.

149. Huber (supra n. 5) 46.

150. The Daily Picayune (New Orleans) February 13,
1869.

151. Semi-Weekly Jimplecute (March 27, 1868).

152. Semi-Weekly Jimplecute (supra n. 151).

153. The River Intelligence column in The South-Western
(Shreveport) reports items of interest to steamboating and
regularly includes the arrivals and departures of boats from
that city as well as the cargo and passengers. The Mittie Stephens appeared regularly in this column during the high-water season, from late October or November until May or June. Rarely did she leave without a good load of freight and passengers.

154. The packetmark in fig. 13 is from E. Klein, United States Waterway Packetmarks (Federalsburg, Maryland 1940) 121. The packetmarks printed in this publication were first traced from packetmarks on the original envelopes. The tracer could not determine whether the date shown on the Mittie Stephens' mark was 1865 or 1869, and decided on the latter, unaware that she had sunk in February, 1869.

155. S&D Reflector, Vol. 21, No. 4 (December, 1984). Woe be to the boats that did not provide this courtesy, as the following editorial shows: The South-Western (Shreveport), January 17, 1886.

The citizens of this locality are entirely dependent on the courtesy of the steamboats for transportation of the mails from this point to New Orleans. The officers of the regular packets being aware that we have no other facility, take great pleasure in accommodating us. It was under this impression that our postmaster approached the captain of the steamer Marcella, an upcountry boat to take the mail to the city last Saturday but instead of the usual courteous answer, he replied that he would not take the mail without being paid for it. Our citizens should take note of this and patronize those who are willing to accomodate us.

156. "River Intelligence," The South-Western (Shreveport) February 3, 1869.

157. Many different sources were used for this chapter. They were written at the time of the disaster, or many years later by eyewitnesses, or are accounts written by local amateur historians who had access to information that is no longer available. Details that appear in only one source will be referenced. All accounts state the same departure date.

158. Rupert Peyton, "Dramatic Saga of the Mittie Stephens," The Shreveport Times, (Shreveport) December, 28, 1958. Mr. Peyton has written many articles over a period of thirty years on the sinking of the Mittie Stephens, and may have interviewed some of the survivors. He had access to an account of the sinking written in the Caddo Gazette.
(Shreveport) February 20, 1869, which is no longer available. All accounts acknowledge the gun powder, but only Mr. Peyton mentions the quantity.

159. Lively (supra n. 92). Since Mr. Lively was on board the last voyage of the Mittie Stephens as far as Shreveport, his account is considered credible.

160. New Orleans Times (supra n. 108). This is the only account that described how the hay was stacked. The number of bales was specified in Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Board of Supervising Inspectors of Steam Vessels (Washington, D.C. 1870). Hereafter referred to as Proceedings.


162. New Orleans Times (supra n. 108). This source is the only one to specify the type of currency.

163. New Orleans Times (supra n. 108).

164. Johnson (supra n. 113).

165. J.K. Bivens, Memoirs (Longview, Texas 1942) 15. Mrs. Bivens was the daughter of William F. Cobb and recorded her father's recollections of the sinking.

166. Lively (supra n. 92).

167. New Orleans Times (supra n. 108).

168. There were two Joe Lodwicks active on the rivers at this time. The elder was Joseph D. Lodwick, Sr., according to a letter written by the daughter of Joseph D. Lodwick, Jr., Mrs. Belle Lodwick Moody, in S&D Reflector, Vol. 20, No. 3 (September, 1983). Frank T. Lodwick, great-great grandson of Joseph Sr., states that his great-great grandfather's name was Joseph F. Lodwick, not Joseph D. Lodwick, Sr.: Personal communications, December 12, 1984, and March 4, 1985. The elder Lodwick was too old and too experienced to be a steersman or cub pilot, and although Joe D. Lodwick (Jr.) was also very experienced, according to Mr. Frank Lodwick, it is assumed that the steersman aboard the Mittie Stephens was the younger Lodwick.

169. Hunter (supra n. 2) 140.
170. Lively (supra n. 92).

171. "River Intelligence," The South-Western (Shreveport) February 17, 1869. A boat is carrying a full load when her guards are flat in the water.

172. Lively (supra n. 92).

173. Peyton (supra n. 158).

174. Peyton (supra n. 158).

175. J. Lenwood Inabnett, personal communication, November 16, 1984. Mr. Inabnett, of Minden, Louisiana, is the great-grandson of George Remer.


177. "River Intelligence" (supra n. 156). The February 10 and 17 columns also report good navigational conditions for the largest boats.

178. New Orleans Times (supra n. 108).

179. None of the accounts state explicitly that the Dixie was tied up at Mooringsport; however, they all agree that she was laid up six miles from the site of the burning. The Caddo Gazette, as quoted in Peyton (supra n. 158), states that Captain Thornton saw the Mittie Stephens go by. The only landing in Caddo Lake that the Mittie Stephens passed was Mooringsport, about six miles away from where the Mittie Stephens sank.


182. Peyton (supra n. 161). According to steamboat pilot Lexie Palmore, fire baskets (also called torch baskets) would interfere with night-time navigation rather than illuminate the pilot's view. She feels that the baskets were lit when the boat stopped at Mooringsport and the fires had not completely died out.

183. New Orleans Times (supra n. 108).
185. Proceedings (supra n. 160) 79.
186. Peyton (supra n. 158).
188. "The Mittie Stephens Burned" (supra n. 176).
189. Bivins (supra n. 165).
191. Bivins (supra n. 165).
192. J. L. Inabnett (supra n. 175).
194. Peyton (supra n. 161).
195. "River Intelligence" (supra n. 171).
199. "River Intelligence," The South-Western (Shreveport) February 24, 1869.
200. "Mittie Stephens Bell Once Again Tolls at Rivertown Museum," in The Jefferson Jimplecute (Jefferson, Texas) April 8, 1971. This story has been published frequently by Rupert Peyton, but the facts as presented have been difficult to verify. The daughter of Mack Huckaby is residing in Shreveport, but cannot add any details as to the date the boiler and bell were raised. She claims her father received the bell when he helped raise the boiler from Caddo Lake, but in her present condition is unable to recollect when this occurred.
201. Peyton (supra n. 161).


204. Texas Republic (Marshall, Texas) March 29, 1869.

205. Lively (supra n. 92).

206. D. Brown, "Caddo Lake," in Ford Times, Vol. 41. No. 10 (October, 1949) 44-45. There is no historical or archaeological evidence that buffalo ever inhabited the Caddo Lake area.


208. J.L. Gibson, Archaeological Survey at Caddo Lake, Louisiana and Texas, Contributions in Anthropology No. 6, Southern Methodist University (Dallas 1969) 9.

209. Caldwell (supra n. 207).


211. Veatch (supra n. 210) 172.


213. Franks and Lambert (supra n. 212) 41.

214. Among the sources consulted were the Lytle-Holcamper list (supra n. 15); Way (supra n. 40); Navigation Casualties 1866-1910, Survey of the Federal Archives in Louisiana (Baton Rouge 1937-1938), a report on file at Louisiana State University, Shreveport; L.J. Campbell et al., Background and Literature Review for Three Proposed Alternatives, Northwest Louisiana Water Supply Study. New World Research, Inc., Report of Investigations No. 93 (June, 1983), submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Vicksburg District. Also consulted was a listing of steamboats wrecked and destroyed in the Red River and its tributaries, compiled from Swain's River Directory. The list is on file at the Jefferson Historical Museum, but a copy of Swain's River Directory has not been located. Also checked was the 1935 map shown in ill. 15, p. 94, which lists
shipwrecks and Indian sites.

215. This may be simply another of the many legends surrounding Caddo Lake. The story was related by almost every long-time resident of the lake that I have interviewed.

216. Gibson (supra n. 208); Campbell et al. (supra n. 214).

217. Map compiled from information presented in Campbell et al. (supra n. 214).

218. Interview with Mr. Price, Jr., conducted by Dr. Ervan Garrison in March, 1983.

219. Letter from Dr. Garrison to Mr. Price, Jr., (April 13, 1983). Research on the pistol was conducted by C.B. Ratchford, Jr., in April, 1983.

220. Telephone interview with Mr. Mosely conducted by Dr. Ervan Garrison in March, 1983.

221. H. Key, Jr., By My Strong Hand (Marshall, Texas 1965) 38.

222. Essay in the private collection of Mr. Vivian Hackney, Marshall, Texas.


225. Garrison (supra n. 75) 84.

226. Eyewitness account of Joe Lodwick as told to The South-Western (supra n. 176).

227. Mr. Moore took members of the project crew to this location in March, 1983. With all due respect to him, Mr. Moore told us originally that he could tell us anything we wished to know about Caddo Lake, except the location of the remains of the Mittie Stephens; he only knew what his uncle had told him. Yet not one month later, when much publicity was generated in the news media, Mr. Moore was quoted in a number of newspapers as saying that the boat was stripped by the residents (including some of his ancestors) of Caddo Lake after the boat sank.
228. Telephone conference with Judge McCaslin conducted by Duke DeWare, January 10, 1983.

229. Interview with Mr. Bickum conducted by Dr. Ervan Garrison in May, 1983.

230. Garrison (supra n. 75) 74.

231. The skiff was conserved by S. Ruby Lang and will become part of a permanent exhibit at the Caddo-Pine Island Historical Museum as soon as their new building is complete.

232. Interview with Mr. Woodell conducted by Dr. Ervan Garrison in May, 1983.

233. Mr. Sproul was interviewed on many occasions, the first time by T.J. Shumway in June, 1983.

234. Garrison (supra n. 75) 55.

235. Garrison (supra n. 75) 81.

236. Many areas were mentioned as the site of the sinking, but were not investigated as they lacked credibility. For example, in a list of Missouri River steamboats, Phillip E. Chapell gives a detailed account of the sinking of the Mittie Stephens at Sibley, Missouri, on August 7, 1884. He is not confusing her with another boat of the same name (none other is known to exist), as he specified that she was named after Mrs. Abiel Leonard, the daughter of J.L. Stephens: P.E. Chapell, "Missouri River Steamboats," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. IX (Topeka 1906) 307.


238. Mrs. Morris was interviewed on many occasions, and she came to Caddo Lake three times in order to point to the location of the wreck, and to the area where the victims are buried.

239. Succession of Philip Ash, file no. 1219, Caddo Parish Courthouse, Shreveport. Discovering Mr. Jeter's signature on these papers solved the mystery of the "lone horseman." According to the story, "a lone horseman passing near the tragic scene forced his mount into the waters again and again, bringing to shore the exhausted survivors": V.H. Hackney, Historical Hallmarks of Harrison County (Marshall,
Texas 1964) 10. Mrs. W.E. Hall, Sr., of DeRidder, Louisiana, informed me that her husband's uncle, Jim Jeter, was the horseman who helped save those people: Personal communication, September, 1984. Over the years, Jim Jeter, who retrieved some of the victim's bodies, became Jim Jeter, the man who saved the passengers.

240. Mr. Pardue is 97 years old and was the overseer on a plantation that occupied the land adjacent to the bayou where the wrecks are located. He cannot remember the exact date that he last saw their remains, but thinks he saw them in the 1930s.

241. Petsche (supra n. 64) 29.

242. Petsche (supra n. 64) 43.

243. Mr. Ratchford has not sent a copy of the report as of this writing, but has verbally communicated the results to me.

244. W.E. Carl, personal communication, June, 1984. Mr. Carl is an employee of Oil City Supply Co., an oilfield supply company, and has spent many years working the Caddo Lake oilfield.

245. Petsche (supra n. 64) 28.

246. Very few steamboats have been excavated extensively. The Bertrand was a sternwheeler of very different construction than the Mittie Stephens. Petsche (supra n. 64). The Black Cloud was the only sidewheeler excavated, but her remains were not thoroughly investigated: Adams (supra n. 67). The ironclad U.S.S. Cairo was built as a warship with a recessed sternwheel: Bearss (supra n. 79); McGrath and Ashley (supra n. 79). The C.S.N. ironclad ram Jackson was built originally as a recessed sternwheeler and was constructed much heavier than the Mittie Stephens. Because of her weight, she drew too much water and had to be converted to twin-screw propeller engines: S.R. Lang, "Research on the Confederate Ironclad Ram, Jackson," in G.P. Watts, ed., Underwater Archaeology: The Challenge Before Us (San Marino, California 1981) 64-68. Proceedings of the Twelfth Conference on Underwater Archaeology.

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Texas Republican, Marshall, Texas, March 29, 1869.

The Daily Picayune, New Orleans, February 13, 1869.

The Evening Courier, Madison, Indiana, May 29, 1869.

The Home Advocate, Jefferson, Texas, February 12, 1869.

"The Mittie Stephens Burned," The South-Western (Shreveport) February 17, 1869.
The Weekly Saline Citizen, Marshall, Missouri, December 5, 1912.


### APPENDIX I

Steamboats Built at Madison, Indiana 1852-1867

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rig</th>
<th>Vessel Name</th>
<th>Tons</th>
<th>Year Built</th>
<th>First Home Port</th>
<th>Disposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Golden Gate</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>L57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>David White</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Wheeling, Va.</td>
<td>L67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>John G. Kline</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>A60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Galena</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Galena, Ill.</td>
<td>L58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Highflyer</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>A58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Edward Walsh</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>A67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Grace Darling</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Rodolph</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>L58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>A.C. Goddin</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Fred Tren</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>L66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>New Bon Accord</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>A76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>William H. Ruscel</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>City of Louisiana</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Des Moines</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Keokuk, Iowa</td>
<td>A66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Hannibal City</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Northern Lights</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Galena, Ill.</td>
<td>L66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>W. A. Adams</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>New Orleans, La.</td>
<td>L61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Forest Queen</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>L63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>John H. Dickey</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>A65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Die Vernon</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(f)</td>
<td>Quincy</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Quincy, Ill.</td>
<td>A69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Carl</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Memphis, Tenn.</td>
<td>L66</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>City of Alton</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Alton, Ill.</td>
<td>A83</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>City of Madison</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>L63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Fanny Pearson</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>New Orleans, La.</td>
<td>A66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Lesli Coombs</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>L72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(f)</td>
<td>Mark R. Cheek</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Memphis, Tenn.</td>
<td>L65</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Mattie Cook</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L67</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>F. E. Bouford</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>New Orleans, La.</td>
<td>L61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Union</td>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>A69</td>
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<tr>
<td>J(f)</td>
<td>Pauline</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>L64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Jeannie Deans</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Empress</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Rob Roy (g)</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>A70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Fanny Ogden</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Mary Crane</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(f)</td>
<td>Rosa Taylor (g)</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Quincy, Ill.</td>
<td>L49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Alone (g)</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Caroline (g)</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
<td>L70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Denver (g)</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Effie Deans</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Emma Brown (g)</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>A69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>J.H. Johnson (g)</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>A76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>J.H. Lacey (g)</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1863</td>
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<td>L67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Lucy Bertram (g)</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Mittie Stephens (g)</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>1863</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Nanny</td>
<td>96</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
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<td>1864</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(f)</td>
<td>President (g)</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Keokuk, Iowa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(f)</td>
<td>Cahokia (g)</td>
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<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Clara Dunning (g)</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>W74</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Edward F. Dix</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<td>L65</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Fannie Brandeis (g)</td>
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<td>1864</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Molly McPike</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>L71</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Thomas Connor (g)</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>A87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Calumet (g)</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Evansville, Ind.</td>
<td>A87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Indiana (g)</td>
<td>1527</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Lady Grace (g)</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Andy Johnson (g)</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>A81</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L72</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Richmond (g)</td>
<td>1645</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
<td>L74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Tom Jasper (g)</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>A88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Era No. 8 (g)</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>New Orleans, La.</td>
<td>A82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Compiled from the Lytle-Holcamer List (supra n. 15). Vessels built prior to 1860 were constructed at the Madison Marine Railways.

2. P = Sidewheel; W = Sternwheel; C = Centerwheel; U = Unknown
(f) = Ferryboat

3. (g) indicates vessel was given an official number by the government.

4. As given on vessel’s first document.

5. L = lost; A = abandoned, dismantled or removed from documentation; C = passed to Confederate forces; W = sold to U.S. War Department
The two-digit number is the year of disposition.
APPENDIX II

The "Mittie Stephens March"

The "Mittie Stephens March" was published in 1864 by Balmer and Weber, a large music publishing company established in St. Louis in 1848. The piece was composed by C. Farringer, an extremely obscure composer, and dedicated to Captain A.C. Goddin. According to Wayne D. Shirley, music specialist at the Library of Congress, it was fairly common in the 1860s for a piece to be named for a local landmark, as it helped to boost sales. It is unlikely that Goddin commissioned the piece; Farringer most probably requested that his march be named after the boat. Since the march would have been good publicity for the boat, one cannot be sure of the origin of the idea.

The only words to the march are found on the second page of music, over the top bar. At first, these words, "her bright smile haunts me still," were thought to be a reference to the daughter of Captain Stephens, or to the seizure of the Mittie Stephens; however, the true meaning of these words was revealed by Mr. Shirley. They are the title of a song by W.T. Wrighton, popular in the 1860s, the melody of which is played in a slightly different version on page two of the march. This was not considered plagiarism in the 1860s, but
helped to show your innocent intent if you identified the original song.

The words to the chorus of "Her Bright Smile Haunts Me Still" can be sung to the music on page two of the "Mittie Stephens March":

For her voice lives on the breeze,
And her spirit comes at will;
In the midnight on the seas,
Her bright smile haunts me still.

The sheet music to "Her Bright Smile Haunts Me Still" follows the music of the "Mittie Stephens March."
Mittie Stephens March

Composed by

C. Farringer

Copyright according to act of Congress A.D. 1868 by C. Farringer, to the Clerk's Office of the U.S. Court, for the Eastern District of 50.
Her bright smile haunts me still

[Sheet music image]
Her bright smile haunts me still.

COMPOSED BY

W.T. WRIGHTON.

Guitar.

Piano.

Author of the "Darkest spot on earth to me is home.

BOSTON.

Published by OLIVER Ditson & Co., 777 Washington, 39
"HER BRIGHT SMILE HAUNTS ME STILL."

BALLAD.

Poetry by de L. Carpenter.  

Music by W. T. Wrighton.

Voice:  

Not too slow, but with expression.

Piano:

'Tis years since last we met,  
And we may meet again I have
struggled to forget, But the struggle was in vain. For her
voice lives on the breeze. And her spirit comes at will. In the
midnight on the sea. Her bright smile haunts me still. For her
voice lives on the breeze. And her spirit comes at will. In the
At the first sweet dawn of light,
When I gaze upon the deep,
Her form still graces my sight.
While the stars their vigil keep:
When I close mine aching eyes,
Sweet dreams my senses fill;
And from sleep when I arise,
Her bright smile haunts me still.

I have smiled 'neath alien skies,
And tears the desert path,
I have seen the storm arise,
Like a giant in his wrath;
Ev'ry danger I have known,
That a reckless life can fill;
Yet her presence is not flown,
Her bright smile haunts me still.

Ev'ry danger I have known,
That a reckless life can fill;
Yet her presence is not flown,
Her bright smile haunts me still.
APPENDIX III

Glossary

ARM A paddlewheel spoke, one end of which is attached to a flange, and the other to the buckets (paddles).

ASH TROUGH A long metal pan under the grates to catch ashes from the firebox. It was coursed with firebrick, and extended to a trapdoor on the guard.

ATHWARTSHIP Across the ship from side to side.

BEAM Breadth of vessel athwartship, measured from inside planking. Also, a horizontal supporting member.

BILGE TURN Part of the hull where the side meets the bottom.

BLOCKING Short wooden blocks used for bracing paddlewheel arms.

BOILER DECK The deck immediately above the boilers. Usually served as the base or floor of the cabin area on packets.

BRACES Timber posts used in connection with the hog chain system to hold the hull in shape.

BREAK The point at which an upper deck ends and from which there is a drop to a deck on a lower level.

BUCKETS Planks extending from the arms of the paddle wheel and forming the paddles.

BULKHEAD An upright partition separating compartments or holds.

BULL RAILS Removable rails used on the main deck between the stationaries to facilitate loading.

BUSTLE Bulges in the stern rake, the result of building the stern in such a way that the forward portion of the balance rudders clears the stern rake with minimal space.

BUTTOCKLINES Contours on body plans in which a vertical plane parallel to the centerline intersects the hull.
CABIN  The enclosed space on the boiler deck or above, especially the center hall of same.

CANT  To turn or angle from the horizontal.

CAPSTAN  Powered drum mounted on vertical axle. Used with lines to move heavy objects or to move the boat itself.

CARLINES  Joists running athwartship supporting boiler and texas decks; cf. deck beams.

CHAIN PLATES  Thick wooden plates bolted to the side and bottom ribs or to a keelson, and to which are connected the hogging chains.

CHINE  The knuckle where the sides of the boat meet the bottom and form an angle.

COAMING  Curbs around the edges of the decks.

COCKED HAT  A triangular wooden component used to brace paddle wheel arms, or as a wooden brace for hull framing.

CRANK  Metal arm connected to the pitman and paddle wheel shaft; that portion of the assembly which changes linear motion to circular motion.

CROSS CHAIN  A system of wrought iron rods used for holding up the guards.

CROWN  A slight lateral curve in the decks athwartship to facilitate drainage of rain water or decks awash; also referred to as the camber.

DAVIT  Crane of wood or metal for raising and lowering the dory or workboat.

DEAD FLAT  Transverse section of the largest area of the vessel, the ends of which sheer upwards in the bow and stern.

DECK BEAMS  Joists running athwartship and to which the main decking is attached; cf. carlines.

DRAFT  That portion of the hull extending into the water; traditionally measured vertically in feet when light (empty vessel) and/or heavy (fully loaded vessel).

FALSE TRANSOM  A vertical surface of the hull aft of the transom and rudders.
FLANGE  The hub on the paddlewheel where the arms were attached.

FORECASTLE  The forward portion of the vessel, including superstructure, main decking and appurtenances.

FREEBOARD  The amount of the hull, measured vertically, extending above the water.

GUARD  A deck outboard of the hull on which cargo was carried. Also used as a walkway. Originally designed to protect the paddlewheel.

HARPING  The upper outline of the hull.

HOG  To curve upward amidships, or downward at stern and stem; used in reference to the conformity of the hull when unbraced.

HOG CHAIN BRACES  Wooden timbers supporting hog chains, projecting at various angles from keelson or other major supporting members of the hull bottom. A part of the trussing system to prevent hogging.

HOG CHAINS  Iron rods, varying in diameter from about 1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches, used in the trussing system to support the bow and stern and, often, the sides of the hull.

KEELSON  A major supporting structural member in the hull bottom parallel to vessel length.

KEVEL  A wooden or iron assembly fastened to the deck with ends projecting beyond the center, and to which lines may be belayed or fastened for tie-down of the vessel.

KNUCKLE CHAIN  A lateral iron rod used to hold up the sides of the hull.

PITMAN  Connecting rod between engine crosshead and the paddlewheel crank.

POCKET  The depression in the paddlewheel flange that receives the wheel arm.

QUARTER  Extreme after part of a vessel's side.

TIMBERHEAD  Wooden or metal posts used for tying lines in the bow.
TRANSOM  The aftermost of the square frames, or the vertical planks at the stern of the hull.

YOKE  Heavy supporting beams in the bow of a vessel.
APPENDIX IV

LIST OF PASSENGERS

The list of passengers, victims and survivors, was compiled from the February 17, 1869, edition of The South-Western and the February 14, 1869, edition of the New Orleans Times. The list of survivors did not specify which of the passengers took deck or cabin fares, as did the list of victims. The various positions of the surviving crew were not always specified.

Persons lost:

1. Philip Ash (CP)
2. Henry Ashley (DP)
3. Sidney Ashley (DP)
4. Varisea Baptiste (Pantryman)
5. John Batteese (Fireman)
6. Mr. Boynkin (CP)
7. Nancy Bradford & Child (DP)
8. W.A. Broadwell (CP)
9. Nat Buchanan (CP)
10. Wm. Buchanan (DC)
11. J.C. Christian (CP)
12. Chas. Crane (Baker)
13. Ann Collins (Chambermaid)
14. Peter Eugene (DC)
15. Robert Franklin (2nd Porter)
16. Andrew Galligahn (DC)
17. Joseph Ganes (DC)
18. James Gardener (Fireman)
19. Henry Hicks (DC)

20. Jim Hill (DC)
21. Peter Fisher (Fireman)
22. G.W. Hughes (1st Cook)
23. Mrs. Jackson & Three Children
24. James Johnson (DP)
25. Mr. & Mrs. Lewis and Three Children
26. Amelia & Frank Lyon (CP)
27. M. McGill (Striker)
28. Wm. Morris (P)
29. Amanda Morris (P)
30. Thomas Mulligan (2nd Engineer)
31. Wm Murphy (DC)
32. Mrs. New (CP)
33. Alex Phillips (DP)
34. James Phillips (DP)
35. Jno. A. Phillips (DP)
36. Martha Phillips (DP)
37. Robt. Phillips (DP)
38. Chas. Redford (Cabin-boy)
Survivors:

1. Wm. Adams (C)
2. Ann Ashley (P)
3. Bulah Ashley (P)
4. Peter Beck (C)
5. Geo. L. Cagle (C)
6. E.G. Chaplain (Barber)
7. W.F. Cobb (P)
8. B.H. Covert (Steward)
9. Tobey Foster (C)
10. W.R. Guyan (Barkeep)
11. T.M. Hetherton (Clerk)
12. Phillip Hill (Carpenter)
13. Geo. William Hughes (C)
14. Ole Bjerke (P)
15. Elizabeth Johnson (P)
16. Mary Johnson (P)
17. S.J. Johnson (P)
18. H. Kellogg (Captain)
19. Geo. Klein (Clerk)
20. Joe Lodwick (Steersman)
21. T.L. Lyon (P)
22. A. McRae (P)
23. A. Pace (P)
24. G.W. Peterson (P)
25. John Poland (Mate)
26. Peter Sutherland (Pilot)
27. J.B. Suezeman (P)
28. Wm. Swain (Pilot)
29. Sam Underwood (Watchman)
30. Joseph West (Steersman)
31. Sam Wilcox (Striker)
32. G.A. Williams (P)
33. John Wilson (Porter)
34. Nat Adley (C)
35. 13 other crew members

P --- Passenger
C --- Crew member
DC--- Deck crew
CP--- Cabin Passenger
DP--- Deck Passenger
APPENDIX V

THE MITTIE STEPHENS IN VERSE

The following poem was published originally in the February 24, 1869, edition of The South-Western (Shreveport). It was written by Julia Pleasants Creswell, who, before and after the Civil War, published books and poems and wrote for many newspapers. She was so touched by the tragedy of the Mittie Stephens that she wrote the following untitled poem:

Oh! how gaily glided that fatal craft
As she steamed from our busy wharf,
With her blue smoke wreaths curling fair abaft
Like the flow of a maiden's scarf.

With the dense crowd packed in the proud salon
Wheeling off from our busy mart--
While her booming engines beat like a turn
And throb of a human heart.

Aye! we watched her speed up the swelling bend,
Whence the royal Red flows down,
Till the gas lamps flashed and seemed to lend
Partial day to a smiling town.

But the steamer held on her lonely way
To the heart of a drear lagoon.
Where the midnight hung with its purple sway,
But not with a friendly moon.

When some demon dark burst the doors of hell
Whence the sweeping flames shot forth,
And the lurid glare of horror fell
On the lake and slumbering earth.

Then the young and the gay, and old and grave
Went down to a common death--
Went down in the red lake's chilly wave,
Swept by the flames fierce breath!
For the angel face of the fairest flower
That bloomed on our river side,
There is busting grief in the bridal bower
And tears that may not be dried.

Alas! Alas! from cot and from hall
Along our winding shore,
We wait in vain for the glad footfall
For feet that come no more.

And ever to me till my dying day
On my shuddering dreams will break
A blazing craft as she ploughed her way
Like a fiend through a lurid lake!

The next poem was written by Mary B. Bryan in April, 1869, for Captain Underwood, in honor of his boat, the Irene. The poem refers to many of the boats then plying the Red River. Each of the capitalized words is a boat or a person associated with the Red River; for example, Able is the Bart Able; Lizzie, the Lizzie Hamilton; Fannie, the Fannie Fern; Cellos, a steamboat captain; and Banks is General Nathaniel Banks. The Mittie is, of course, the Mittie Stephens.

The Steamboats of Red River

We miss thee from our noble stream;
We watch to see thee glide--
Fair as the swan of the poet's theme
Upon the swollen tide;
But though a bright, New Era dawns
On our admiring sight,
Though silver Starlight shines at morn
And noon as well as night,
Although a Monsoon dashes by
When not a cloud is seen.
And many a stately river nymph,
Glides by in snowy sheen,
Yet vainly for thy graceful form,
Irene, we watch the river.
No more, around thy speeding prow
The waters foam and quiver.
Old Red is on a famous spree
And has a weekly Frolic
And, nobly, Able shows himself
No puny melancholic.
He bids the freights and staples come
And quickly fill the quota.
And not stand lingering near the gate,
Where there's a ready Porter.
And strong the steady fingers smite
Each sonorous iron harp
And never wake a bolder note
Than when he strikes a Sharp
And many a lovely Queen of steam
His gallant current kisses;
Mittie and Fannie and the fair
Of fairest rivals Lizzies.
A rebel is he? Yet his pride
Is National of late.
We Sinnott when we call that craft
As swift and sure as fate,
Nor one that bears the Number 2,
Yet whose admirers tell us,
She clearly ranks as No. 1
And sure they would not Cellos.
Such is the goodly company
That animates the scene,
Why hast thou glided from the dance,
Our beautiful Irene?
Dost thou disdain our meagre wharfs,
And slender freightage ranks?
(Ah! "Cotton" raider that thou art,
Like the immortal "Banks")
Or, of LaFourche's U. and S.,
A bit suspicious?
Nay, Uncle Samuel's carrier bird
Is not a vulture vicious,
Though on her wing the initial stamp
Gleams as she rushes past.
She's like the model (I) fowl of State
Only is being fast.
My fair Irene, the silver stars
Through twilight shadows quiver;
Would we could hail thy herald star
On yon rejoicing river!
Oh! bright coquette, canst thou forget
Old Red, thy faithful lover
And in inspired Ouachita
More noble charms discover?
Come back and bid these greeting banks
    Resound thy welcome whistle,
And shine against the dusk as bright
    As an illumined missal.
And yet, where'er thy keel may float,
    Irene, good luck befriended thee,
And fill thy pleasant cabin full.
    And piles of staple send thee,
And luck ahead thy gallant crew,
    And officers together,
And may thy noble captain's heart
    Forever as light as feather;
May he always be Underwood
    And never under weather.
APPENDIX VI

Artistic Representations of the

Mittie Stephens


(b) Colored pencil of the Mittie Stephens on Caddo Lake at night. By Lexie Palmore. Courtesy of Lexie Palmore.

(c) Colored pencil of the Mittie Stephens pulling in at a landing. By Lexie Palmore. Courtesy of author.


(e) Detail of (d) above.

(f) Scale model by James Norman, Shreveport. On display at the Freeman plantation, Jefferson. Courtesy of Duke DeWare.

(g) Stained glass on display at the Dairy Queen, Jefferson, Texas. Glass Overlay East Texas (Longview).

(h) The Mittie Stephens on fire. Watercolor by Max B. Cole. On permanent display at the Harrison County Historical Society, Marshall, Texas. Mr. Cole believed that the Mittie Stephens was a sternwheeler when he painted this in the early 1960s.

(i) Montage of Jefferson, Texas, by Othell Schnelker, Atlanta, Texas. The Mittie Stephens is depicted at center, left. Prints available. Courtesy of the Jefferson Historical Foundation.
APPENDIX VII

THE R. W. NORTON ART GALLERY
A Museum of American and European Art
4747 CRESWELL AVENUE - TELEPHONE [318] 865-4201
SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA 71106-1899

18 January 1985

Miss S. Ruby Lang
Mittie Stephens Foundation
P. O. Box 532
Jefferson, Texas 75657

Dear Miss Lang:

Thank you for your letter of December 13, 1984, regarding the use of a slide and black & white photograph of our Captain Shreve painting in your lectures and for your masters thesis. Unfortunately, the policy of our Board prohibits the release of slides or photographs of works in our collection except for publication purposes.

The best that we can do with regards to your thesis is provide Xerox copies of the painting (like the one enclosed) at 25¢ each. If your thesis is later to be published in book form, you may request a photograph for illustration use at that time.

Yours sincerely,

Jerry M. Bloomer,
Secretary of the Board.

JMB:ms
Encl.
VITA

Shelley Ruby Lang received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology from Brooklyn College of the City University of New York in 1977. While an undergraduate, Ms. Lang participated in the Gravesend Project, an excavation of the first planned community in the United States.

Her first underwater project, excavation of the Defence, a Revolutionary War privateer brig, in Penobscot Bay, Maine, convinced Ms. Lang to pursue and advanced degree specializing in nautical archaeology at Texas A&M University. She returned to the Defence project in 1979. Her past experiences include two seasons searching for the remains of the Angel Gabriel, the oldest known English shipwreck on American shores; special consultant and crew chief on the Ronson ship excavation, an early 18th-century merchant ship uncovered beneath a New York City parking lot; Project coordinator for Texas Antiquities Committee's exhibit "Treasure, People, Ships and Dreams" at Texas A&M University; and a study of the remains of the ironclad ram C.S.N. Jackson at the Confederate Naval Museum in Columbus, Georgia.

She is currently Director of the Mittie Stephens Foundation and is continuing the search for the remains of the Mittie Stephens. She resides in Jefferson, Texas. Her permanent address is 114 College Drive, Edison, New Jersey, 08817.