Brownsville’s Steamboat Enterprize and Pittsburgh’s Supply of General Jackson’s Army
by Alfred A. Maass

Many legends surround the history of transport on America’s inland rivers, ranging from the remarkable canoe treks of the early explorers to Mark Twain’s Life on the Mississippi. The significance of the river highway in the settlement and economic development of the West has enhanced the romantic flavor of river history and perpetuated these stories.

One of these legends has as its subject Captain Henry M. Shreve. Captain Shreve commanded the steamboat Enterprize on the first successful round trip of a steamboat between Pittsburgh and New Orleans in 1814-15. Shreve, captain of a distinguished series of river steamers, and described as inventor of a system for removing obstructions from river bottoms, became a hero to people in the Mississippi River basin for his work as superintendent of the Western Rivers Improvement — in fact, the town of Shreveport, La., was named in his honor.

Shreve’s early voyage to New Orleans and back was as epoch-making in its setting as was Fulton’s earlier voyage in the Clermont up and down the Hudson. That the Enterprize was involved in the Battle of New Orleans in early 1815 has only enhanced her fame. But the details of this event have given rise to a legend which, since it glorifies Captain Shreve, plays down the remarkable performance of a prototype river steamboat, the Enterprize.

Before setting the account straight, allow me to quote the version of these events appearing in 1848, written 30-odd years after their occurrence. A St. Louis politician at the time, Samuel Treat, wrote a biography of Shreve for the Democratic Review1 in which he stated:

Alfred Maass earned a Ph.D. in biochemistry in 1950 and worked in pharmaceutical research until his retirement in 1982. Since then, he and his wife have worked on their Butternut Tree Farm in northeastern Pennsylvania, winning several awards in conservation and forestry for outstanding tree farm management. He adds, “As an intellectual challenge in retirement, I have researched the construction of early western steamboats and I’ve reported on my research at local history conferences.”
“Captain Henry M. Shreve Clearing the Great Raft from Red River, 1833-38,” by Lloyd Hawthorne (1970; original oil painting in color). Shreve was captain of the Enterprize, but earned greater fame and respect for clearing western rivers of blockages (called “rafts”).
The site of Daniel French's shop in Brownsville, (below) where the Enterprize was built, was commemorated with a wall painting in 1976 by local artist Dale Guesman. The building, a replacement of the original on Water Street, is adjacent to the Brownsville Wharf. This depiction shows at least one inaccuracy: the paddle wheel should not be overhung, but rather recessed into the boat's body. The drawing of the Enterprize, (right) originally published in 1873, also shows an incorrect paddle wheel.
She [the Enterprize] was then loaded with ordnance and military stores for General Jackson’s army; and... was placed under his [Captain Shreve’s] charge. About two months previous, three keelboats had been also loaded at Pittsburgh with small arms for the same army, but permitted to trade by the way — a strange contract, which endangered the safety of New Orleans, then threatened by General Pakenham’s expedition. On the 1st of December, 1814, Capt. Shreve left Pittsburgh, in command of the small steamer. He felt a double anxiety in the success of his enterprise. Not only was it his first in a steam vessel, but... it was of vast moment that Gen. Jackson should receive his military supplies, without delay; and in fourteen days they were safely landed in his camp. ... He was ordered to proceed as rapidly as possible up the Mississippi and tow down the long delayed keel-boats. He was absent six and one-half days, during which time his little steamer had run 654 miles; and then returned to New-Orleans with the small arms and ammunition so much needed. ... On [January] 3rd, he received notice that the Commander-in-Chief desired him... to bear supplies to Fort St. Philip. ... The British were encamped several miles below the city, and had erected heavy batteries so as to command the river entirely.

That evening, the steamer was run down to the Scud just above the British batteries. The side most exposed had been completely covered with cotton bales, fastened securely to the vessel with iron hooks. By midnight, as is usual there, a dense fog covered the river, and screened all objects from view. Taking advantage of that circumstance, Capt. Shreve put his steamer in motion, under ‘a slow head of steam,’ with muffled wheel; the strictest silence having first been enjoined on the crew. As anticipated by him, he passed wholly unobserved by the sentries on the shore, at a signal from whom his vessel would have been shattered into fragments. Reaching the Fort in safety, he discharged his freight, and on the next night re-passed the batteries, undiscovered. ... This daring exploit excited the greatest admiration in Gen. Jackson’s camp and received his marked commendation.

This story, repeated in subsequent biographies of Shreve, has been accepted as a true account of this historic mission.

Why should this account be questioned? Why not let Captain Shreve’s reputation stand as one of the heroes of the battle of New Orleans?

**Building a Boat**

The fictional aspects of Treat’s account become apparent when we examine what is known of the movements of the Enterprize and other early steamboats on the western rivers. Further, research into General Andrew Jackson’s supply problems during the battle for New Orleans and into the methods by which Army officials in Pittsburgh attempted to solve them, lead to a different and verifiable history, which is equally as fascinating as Treat’s version. The western river steamboat, a unique technological achievement, a system beautifully adapted to its environment, should be carefully documented and need not have its history distorted by false herics.

The movement of excess produce downriver from Pittsburgh and the surrounding countryside was contributing significantly to the prosperity of the area. The loaded arks, barges and flatboats, having made the monthlong voyage to New Orleans, were abandoned, being utilized for the timber in them. Keelboats, especially constructed for the upriver voyage, were sailed when the wind was in the right quarter, or were rowed, poled and towed by human strength upriver, frequently requiring three months in passage. It was readily apparent that if this upstream commerce could be speeded by the utilization of steampower, that great opportunities existed, for the transport of eastern goods across the mountains was equally difficult and costly.

Steamboats were new on western waters. Fulton’s “Pittsburgh” boat, built there in 1811 and called the New Orleans after its destination, was the first steamboat to descend the rivers. Followed downriver by the Vesuvius in 1814, neither boat, built with deep draughts, could readily pass the barrier of the falls of the Ohio at Louisville and thus could not reach Pittsburgh. This important breakthrough was reserved for the Enterprize, and it would set a precedent for future boat construction.

The Enterprize, as identified by Treat, was indeed a small steamboat, for she was intended to trade between Pittsburgh and Louisville. Compared to the 371-ton New Orleans or the 340-ton Vesuvius, whose carrying capacity was approximately one-half of their tonnage, the Enterprize had a carrying capacity of only about 30 tons. Built at Brownsville, Pa., during the fall and winter of 1813 by a group of Quaker entrepreneurs, she began her maiden voyage to Louisville in June 1814. Her enrollment record is missing, but based upon an eyewitness account, she was probably 60 to 80 feet in length by 15 feet in breadth, possibly with an 9-foot depth of hull. Her draught, fully loaded, was less than 2 1/2 feet. The boat was constructed under the supervision of Daniel French and Israel Gregg, following the design patented by French in 1809.

The Enterprize, a recessed stern-wheel boat with an oscillating cylinder (19 1/2-inch diameter with a 3-foot stroke, operated under 60 pounds steam pressure per square inch on her piston, making 24 strokes per minute), was capable of driving downstream at 10 miles per hour or upstream at 3-4 miles per hour. She was unique in many respects: Fulton’s boats were all side wheelers. The stern wheel was a marked advantage for a boat in the western rivers, filled as they were with snags and sawyers that frequently destroyed the unprotected side paddle-wheels. Moreover, while the Fulton engines had a complicated power train and heavy beam to convert the piston stroke of the vertically mounted low-pressure cylinder to the side paddle wheels, French’s oscillating cylinder, mounted almost horizontally, was directly connected through the piston rod to the crank of the stern paddle wheel. This highly efficient power train, along with the use of high pressure steam, provided a significantly different engine and steamboat than the Fulton boats.

The engine, as constructed by Daniel French, employing a very simple and ingenious valve gear, was declared to have one-tenth the total parts and less than one-half the moving parts of the Fulton engines. In addition, the high-pressure cylinder was lower in weight and simpler and less costly to construct than the massive Fulton low-pressure cylinders. With the working of the engine improving the fit of the cylinder, with its ease of opera-
tion and repair, French’s engine was peculiarly suited for use in the
western country, and an immense improvement over Ful-
ton’s boats. This was proved by the Enterprize’s routine trips
from Pittsburgh to Louisville, carrying passengers and freight,
during the summer of 1814.

The War of 1812

W
hile steamboat commerce on the rivers was undergoing its birth and infancy, the War of 1812 was dis-
rupting trade and industry in the East and bringing the
federal government almost to a state of chaos.
During the fall and winter of 1813, and on into the spring of
1814, General Jackson campaigned against Creek Indians stirred
up by the British. His battles in the South exacerbated the al-
ready formidable problem of supply of the American forces
fighting the British along the Canadian border from the Atlantic
Ocean to the Great Lakes. With British ships firmly in control of
the high seas from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico, the Ohio and
Mississippi rivers offered the only feasible route to supply Jack-
son’s southern army.

As urgent as the supply of arms became, there was no easy
solution. There were no steamboats at Pittsburgh to speed the
transport of munitions. The Vesuvius made its maiden voyage to
New Orleans in the Spring of 1814, and in attempting to return to
Louisville that summer, she became stuck on a sandbar 300 miles
below the mouth of the Ohio River. She finally floated free on a
rise of the river in December and returned to New Orleans.
The Aetna, under construction at Pittsburgh, would not be
launched until the Spring of 1815. The only steamboat afloat at
the time was the Enterprize which was trading at Charleston, Va.
(now Wellsburg, W.V.) some 75 miles below Pittsburgh.

There was, moreover, no assurance that a steamboat could
make better time downstream than the conventional keelboat. A
steamboat had the advantage of navigability since, moving faster
than the current, her rudder provided greater control than that
available to the keelboat. But what was gained in maneuverabili-
ty was lost in maintenance. The steamboat had to stop for the
crew to cut and load firewood, losing valuable travel time. The
absence of fixed fueling stops at this early stage of steamboating
left the crew highly dependent upon finding a good fuel source,
ash or dry mulberry, or trying to steam with green wood.

Indeed, the Enterprize, having a high-pressure engine, con-
sumed much more wood than the conventional low-pressure
engine used on the Fulton boats. Moreover, to replace the
water lost by not condensing the steam required her boiler to be
filled with muddy river water. Thus she was forced to stop and
frequently clean her boiler or struggle along with reduced steam
pressure. The significance of these unknowns was yet to be
appreciated at that time.

In response to General Jackson’s pleas, Secretary of War
Monroe strove to support the southern defenses; he restored the
credit of the government by sending $100,000 in treasury notes
to Governor Blount of Tennessee, and on November 2, ordered
5,000 stand of arms with ammunition from Pittsburgh to be sent
to General Jackson.
In response to Jackson’s appeal and amid the rumors of a British attack upon New Orleans slowly trickling upriver, two individuals in Pittsburgh acted with commendable competence and dispatch to send supplies to Jackson downriver. One was William Barclay Foster, a prosperous and influential merchant, who was commissioned as deputy commissary general for purchasing; the other was Capt. Abram R. Woolley, first commanding officer of the newly established Allegheny Arsenal in the Lawrenceville section of Pittsburgh.

From Fort Fayette, Capt. Woolley wrote to Jackson in November 1814, “I have caused to be delivered to the Q. Master Dept. 5000 stand of arms with accoutrements, flints, etc and 300,000 musket cartridges to be forwarded with the least possible delay to Baton Rouge, which place I presume they will reach in 20 or 23 days from this date...”

The arms ordered by Secretary Monroe left Pittsburgh in three barges or keelboats (these terms tending to be used interchangeably), on November 11, 14 and 15, commanded respectively by captains Ansel Lewis, Thomas Marples and Jacob Smith. The entire shipment was the responsibility of Captain Marples. Marples’s boat was delayed at the mouth of the Scioto River until November 25 to receive arms and munitions from the federal deposit at Franklintown, Ohio. However, by Captain Woolley’s estimate, these too large gutter boats should have reached Baton Rouge before the middle of December.

Reinforcements had also been requested. The Tennessee militia mustered at Nashville and Knoxville in mid-November. By November 20, transport was obtained and with Major General Carroll in command, the second division was on its way downriver on flatboats. Carroll arrived in Natchez on December 14 and reported that a keelboat, commanded by Captain Ansel Lewis and freighted with 1,400 stand of arms and ammunition, had been intercepted by them. Carroll armed his men with these muskets but complained that the accoutrements, flints, etc., were missing, possibly in one of the other keelboats still coming downriver. With these muskets, the Tennessee troops reached New Orleans in time to help in its defense against the initial British attack on December 23.

The credit of the government was equally as bad in the North as in the South. Foster, by the end of September, had advanced $15,000 of his own money to purchase supplies when contractors refused to sell to the government on credit. In his biography of the William B. Foster family, described his father’s response to Monroe’s request: “When an urgent call came for supplies and munitions for Andrew Jackson’s army at New Orleans, and there was no money with which to purchase them, Foster himself purchased the munitions (and) loaded them on the steamboat Enterprize.”

Foster and Woolley, indeed, did their best. It is not known whether Foster requisitioned the Enterprize, but when she reached her home port of Brownsville on December 10, after steaming upstream from Steubenville, the command was given to Shreve, a native of Brownsville and an experienced keelboat captain. Although this was Shreve’s first command of a steamboat, his frequent trips down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers as keelboat captain had given him an extensive and current knowledge of the character of the rivers and of their obstructions to navigation, especially at times of low water.

The Enterprize returned to Pittsburgh by December 15, 1814, and was loaded with a cargo of “cannon-balls, gun-carriages, smith’s tools, boxes of harness, &c.,” and left Pittsburgh December 21. Her normal 30-ton burden was undoubtedly increased by utilizing her passenger space for additional freight storage. Even so, her carrying capacity was considerably less than that of the barges and keels, 80 to 100 tons, being sent simultaneously from Pittsburgh.

Keelboats starting from Pittsburgh generally required 10 days to reach the falls at Louisville, and 15 days to reach the mouth of the Ohio, “depending upon the condition of the river and the character of the weather which prevailed.” The Enterprize crossed the falls of the Ohio December 28, eight days from Pittsburgh, or in about the same time she required on her maiden voyage to Louisville earlier in the year. Considering the difficulties of traveling the river in December, with low water, floating ice and the shortness of daylight for her travel, she made a quick trip. Upon reaching the mouth of the Ohio she was finally free of floating ice and by then was far enough south for a significant increase in daylight travel. The Enterprize reached New Orleans on January 9, 1815, the day after the battle of New Orleans.

Despite the glorious victory of January 8, Jackson was more and more frustrated at the lack of arms to equip his forces, for it was still not clear what the British would undertake next. Jackson wrote Governor Holmes of Mississippi for help, angrily complaining that the keelboats supposedly coming downriver to supply him with arms had not arrived; this was finally accompanied by the threat: “Having the man who had been entrusted with the transportation of them arrested, and sent to me in confinement.”

With the arrival of the Enterprize on January 9, Jackson had another option open to him which he immediately seized. An officer on board the Enterprize wrote from Natchez on January 20, 1815: “When we arrived at New Orleans we were immediately pressed by General Jackson and are now in search of some boats loaded with U. States Arms.” Since the upstream time for a steamboat from New Orleans to Natchez at that time was seven to eight days, (although the Enterprize would later make the trip in four days) the Enterprize’s presence in Natchez on January 20 places her departure from New Orleans about January 14.

The Enterprize went upriver to Natchez, looking for the missing keelboats, but the needed guns and ammunition arrived only after the battle was won — in fact, Jackson sourly commented to Secretary Monroe in February “the supply of arms, will arrive when the danger is passed.”

According to Treat, Shreve was also ordered by General Jackson to take supplies to Fort St. Philip, below the British lines to New Orleans. However, since Fort St. Philip was unchallenged on January 3, there was no need to send the Enterprize with supplies. When supplies were sent to Fort St. Philip on January 15, the Enterprize was on its way to Natchez searching for the long delayed keelboats.
Important Trip

Why did this exaggeration of the historical facts gain such currency when the truth is much more elegant? In 1848, Shreve, who had continued a distinguished career as a steamboat captain, was famous all along the Mississippi and Ohio river systems for using snag boats to free the river channels of snags and sawyers, thus protecting the great steamboats then enjoying the peak of their popularity as a transport system. Between 1833 and 1837, Shreve cleared a 200 mile raft of dead wood from the Red River in Arkansas. In spite of his past accomplishments and his reputation as a steamboat captain and inventor, Shreve, a Democrat, was fired as superintendent of the Western Rivers Improvement. With a change to a Whig administration, he applied to the federal government for compensation for his invention of the snag boat. Treat, when he wrote his laudatory and somewhat fanciful biography, was helping a friend, successfully as it turned out, Shreve’s heirs being awarded $50,000 compensation in 1854.58

In January 1815, the Battle of New Orleans was won — an unnecessary victory as it turned out, for the War of 1812 was over by that time. The role of the Enterprize in supplying General Jackson was certainly not vital to that victory. But from that year onward, the shallow draft, stern-wheel steamboats, powered by increasingly efficient high-pressure engines, fueled first by wood and then by coal and oil, became an increasingly common sight on all the midland rivers: the Monongahela, the Allegheny, the Ohio and its tributaries, the Mississippi and the Missouri.

The voyage, though, was revolutionary in yet another way. Until this year, Fulton’s interests had a monopoly on steamboating on the lower Mississippi, so the arrival of the Enterprize set off a series of legal battles. Most westerners were eager to see the monopoly broken so as to free up steam travel on the river. In 1816, a Louisiana state court ruled the monopoly null, establishing free and open navigation on the Mississippi’s waters.59 A new era had begun.  

Notes

2 An account based upon primary references has been lacking, although the events frequently have been described using Treat’s secondary account. See Frederick Brent Read, Up the Heights of Fame and Fortune and the Routes Taken by the Climbers to Become Men of Mark (Cincinnati, 1875); J. Fair Hardin, “The First Great River Captain: A Sketch of the Career of Henry M. Shreve,” Louisiana Historical Quarterly X (1927): 25-67; Caroline S. Pfaff, “Henry Miller Shreve: A Biography,” Louisiana Historical Quarterly X (1927): 192-248; Florence L. Dorsey, Master of the Mississippi (Boston, 1941); Charles B. Brooks, The Sieg of New Orleans (Seattle, 1961); William J. Petersen, Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi (Iowa City, 1968); Samuel Carter, Blaze of Glory, The Fight for New Orleans 1814-1815 (New York, 1971); John K. Mahon, The War of 1812 (Gainesville, Fla., 1972); and Edith McColl, Conquering the Rivers: Henry Miller Shreve and the Navigation of America’s Inland Waterways (Baton Rouge, La., 1984).

Many other authors have accepted portions of the Shreve legend, including Louis C. Hunter, Steamboats on the Western Rivers (Cambridge, 1949), 551-552. In another analysis, Hunter thoroughly discounts Treat’s account of Shreve’s inventions in steamboat and steam engine design. See Louis C. Hunter, “The Invention of the Western Steamboat,” Journal of Economic History 3 (1943): 201-224.
4 Leland D. Baldwin, The Keelboat Age on Western Waters (Pittsburgh, 1941).
5 Brownsville, Pa., American Telegraph 26 (Aug. 1815).
6 The New Orleans sank near Baton Rouge, La., in July 1814, and was not present during the campaign for New Orleans. Louisiana Gazette 26 (July 1814).
7 Hunter, in his Steamboats on the Western Rivers, 82, cites the Cincinnati Gazette, 23 Sept. 1816, and the Pittsburgh Commonwealth, 14 Feb. 1816.
8 Daniel French correspondence to Jacob Brown, 14 Oct. 1815. Larwill Family Papers, Ohio Historical Society. Cincinnati’s Western Spy, 20 Oct. 1815, also states that the Enterprize could carry approximately half of her tonnage — or about 60 tons.
9 Zadok Cramer, The Navigator, 8th ed. (Pittsburgh, 1814), 42, and Pittsburgh Magazine and Almanack for the Year 1814, 68.
11 Pittsburgh Gazette, 10 June 1814.
16 Baltimore Niles’s Weekly Register 6 (July 9, 1814): 320.
20 The New Orleans and the Vesuvius had cylinders of 34- and 36-inch diameters, many times the weight and bulk of the 19 1/2 inch diameter cylinder used on the Enterprize. See Cincinnati’s Western Spy, 17 Feb. 1816.
21 Pittsburgh Gazette, 2 April 1819.
24 Louisville, Ky., Western Courier, 12 Sept. 1814, and New Orleans’s Louisiana Gazette, 21 Aug. 1814.
25 Starting downstream on 3 Dec. 1814, the Vesuvius reached Natchez on Dec. 13. (Natchez, La.) Mississippi Republican, 14 Dec. 1814. With three days steaming she reached New Orleans on the 16th to be “pressed” by Gen. Jackson’s proclamation of martial law, according to the Mississippi Republican, 21 Dec. 1816. An extract of the general orders of Dec. 16 reads: “No vessels, boats, or other ships will be permitted to leave New Orleans or Bayou St. John without a passport in writing from the General, etc.” It is signed Robert Butler, Adjutant General.
26 Pittsburgh Gazette, 2 April 1819.
30 Benson, ed., From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, 41.
32 Secretary Monroe correspondence to Andrew Jackson, 27 Sep. 1814; Andrew
Jackson correspondence to the president and directors of the Nashville Bank, 11 Oct. 1814; and Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, 26 Oct. 1814 in Bassett, ed., Correspondence, vol. II, 62, 72, and 82-83. Harold D. Moser, ed. et al., Papers of Andrew Jackson (Knoxville, 1991), vol. III, 175, "In response to pleas from Jackson and Willie Blount the Nashville Bank had advanced $50,000 and the Planters' Bank of New Orleans, $10,000 with a promise of additional funds."


34 Captain Wooley correspondence to General Jackson, 3 Nov. 1814, in Bassett, ed., Correspondence, vol. II, 113n.

35 Maj. Abraham Edwards, Deputy Quartermaster General, to Secretary Monroe, 11 Feb. 1815, National Archives, DNA-RG 107, "Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Unregistered Series, 1789-1861," E-1815, microfilm 222, reel 15; containing a "Report of the Departure of Boats Loaded With Munitions of War, from this place [Pittsburgh] to Baton Rouge and New Orleans and the Names of Persons in charge of the stores."

36 Maj. A. Edwards to Secretary Monroe, 11 Feb. 1815, containing a "True copy of a Receipt signed by Thomas Marples for supplies to be delivered to the Commanding Officer, Baton Rouge," National Archives, DNA-RG 107.

37 National Archives, "Ordinance Transfers from Franklinton to New Orleans." 4 Nov. 1814. See also Samuel Cummings, The Western Pilot (Cincinnati, 1847), 33.


39 The Vesuvius also participated in the campaign for New Orleans and details of her movements may have contributed to Treat's confusion about Shreve's activities. After being "pressed" by Gen. Jackson on Dec. 16 (see ref. 22), Capt. Clements, of the Vesuvius, was ordered on Dec. 19 to steam upstream to pick up Gen. Carrol's troops. Since the Vesuvius returned with the troops by Dec. 20, Capt. Clements must have intercepted them somewhere below Natchez, where Gen. Carroll reported his position on 14 Dec. 1814. Town of Washington, Mississippi Territory, Mississippi Republican, 14 Dec. 1814.

40 The Vesuvius also towed Capt. Lewis's keelboat down to New Orleans. The pertinent references are cited by Moser, et. al., Papers, vol. III, 485 and 503; DLC (62) from Andrew Jackson to Samuel Clements, 19 Dec. 1814; DLC (71) from Wm. Carroll to Andrew Jackson, 20 Dec. 1814; DLC (62) from Andrew Jackson to Wm. Carroll, 21 Dec. 1814; and DLC (15) from Wm. Carroll to Andrew Jackson, 25 Jan. 1815.

By means of hot shot from a land battery on Dec. 27, the British succeeded in blowing up the schooner Caroline which had wreaked havoc on the British lines by its enfilading fire; Town of Washington, Mississippi Territory, Washington Republican, 28 Dec. 1814. The Vesuvius was planned to replace the Caroline by fitting her with cannon and protecting her machinery against British shot with cotton bales suspended over her gunwales. Unfortunately, during the process of loading cannon, the Vesuvius was grounded on a mud bank at the barateau and remained there from Dec. 30 until a rise in the river on 12 March 1815. Thus, except for her brief service on Dec. 19 and 20, the Vesuvius was lost for further service; House Report #551, 1-6, 24th Congress, 1st Session, Serial Set 295.


43 Major A. Lacarriere Latour, Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-1815 (Gainesville, 1964 [facsimile]), 187-197, and appendix, 34. This is the most complete account of the supplyng of Fort St. Phillip, including Maj. Overton's correspondence to Gen. Jackson, 19 Jan. 1815.

44 Capt. Shreve died in St. Louis on 6 March 1851.

45 Samuel Treat, "Note in hand of Samuel Treat" with attached clipping, c. July 1855, Missouri Historical Society, Steamboat Collection, 1811-1926, St. Louis.

46 Natchez Mississippi Republican, 1 March 1815; Steubenville, O., Western Herald, 28 June 1816; Baltimore Nile's Weekly Register 14 (27 June 1818): 312.