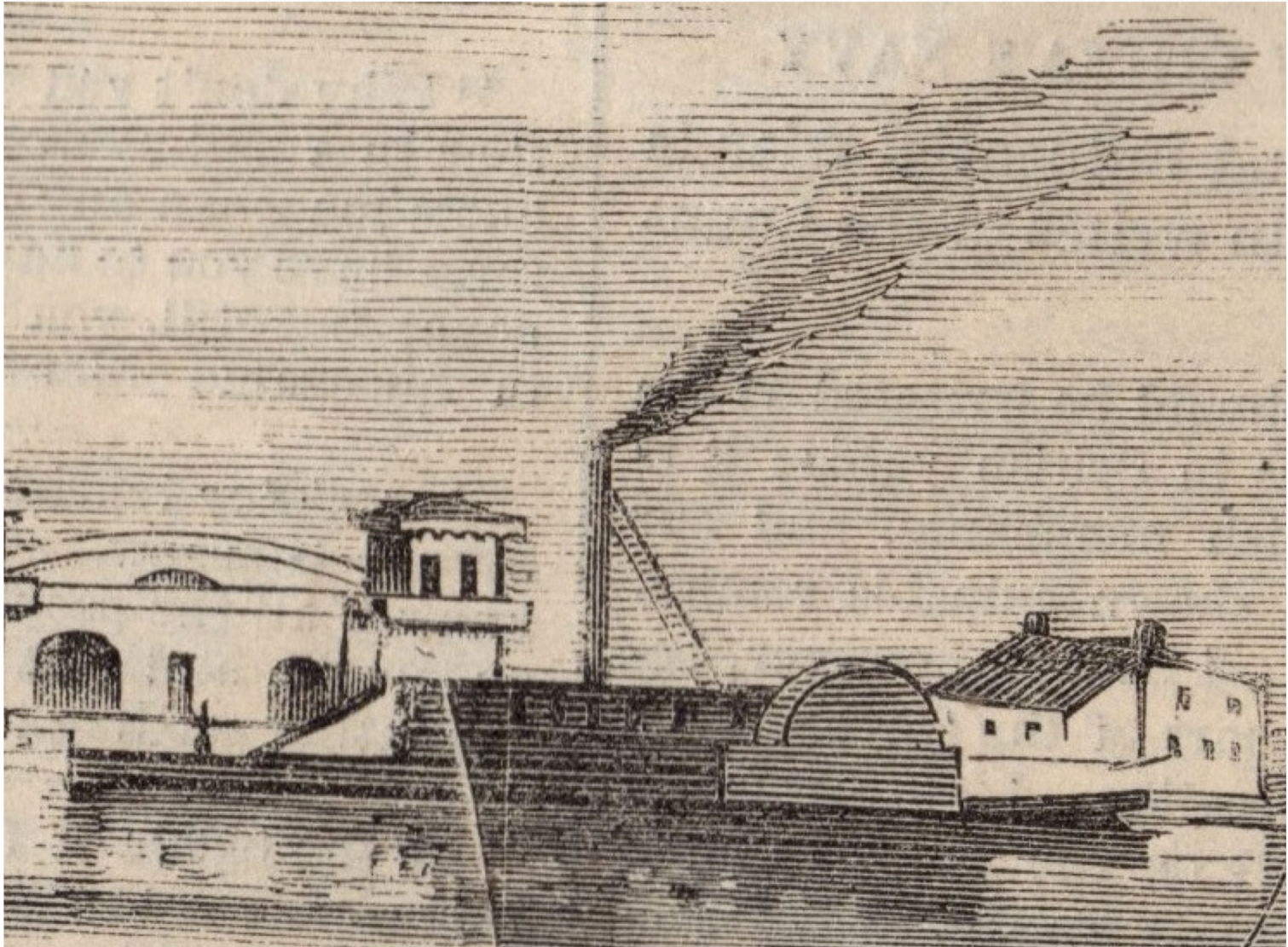


THE LAST MOMENTS OF THE GUNBOAT DIANA,
AND HER ALMOST FINAL RESTING PLACE

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Clayton, California

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The Diana

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Pilot house not illustrated.

**THE LAST MOMENTS OF THE GUNBOAT DIANA,
AND HER ALMOST FINAL RESTING PLACE**

Students of the American Civil War in Louisiana know the story of the Diana: how in 1863, the gunboat was recaptured by Confederate Colonel Grey and his 28th Louisiana Infantry and subsequently became the anchor of the Confederate forces both at the conflict at Bisland, and finally at Irish Bend. Eighteen days after her recapture, the Diana would meet a fiery end on April 14. While some of the Diana's actions are described in the Official Record,¹ the story of the Diana has tended toward conflicting speculation surrounding her last moments while covering Confederate General Taylor's retreating army. The present article is an attempt to clarify the events surrounding her extinction, and may also be thought of as an addendum to Morris Raphael's groundbreaking work, *A Gunboat Named Diana*.²

At the Battle of Bisland on April 13, after being pierced by a 30-pounder Parrott shell, the disabled gunboat retreated to make repairs with barely enough time to replace the dead and injured crewmen.³ Another artilleryman, Captain Oliver J. Semmes of the First Regular Battery Confederate Light Artillery (Semmes', Barnes'), had assumed command from the ailing Capt. Nettles, earlier that morning.⁴ Thus was assembled the Diana's final crew. Eighty men volunteered prior to the battle at Bisland, which probably included a few survivors of the first crew who claimed their gunboat prize but a few days before.⁵

¹"The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, pp. 390-93. "eHistory at OSU | Online Books | The Official Records of the Civil War." N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Feb. 2010.
<<http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/sources/recordView.cfm?page=390&dir=021>>

²Raphael, Morris. *A Gunboat Named Diana*. Detroit: Harlo Press, 1993. Print. A sincere thank you to Mr. Raphael for his support and well-wishes, in person, and in a series of letters over several years to the writer.

³OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 390.

⁴OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 390.

⁵Ochiltree, Thomas P. "A Famous Fighter." *The Daily Examiner* [San Francisco] 7 Oct. 1888: 12. Print.

Four months earlier, perhaps a seeming lifetime to the combatants, the Diana had been under Federal control, engaged in actions near the fortified remnants of Cornay's Bridge.⁶ Cornay's Bridge was located at or near today's Rizzo (Zenor) Bridge (both due east of the bend in the Teche that today is bisected by the Calumet cut-through).⁷

After a frantic night's repairs, the Diana traveled down the Teche toward Franklin, passing the docks of the town for the first and last time. The leaders, Captain Semmes, Major Ed McGowan, and a Lieutenant Dubecq, would have been closely watching the waterway, knowing that they would ultimately have to retreat back the way they came. They must have noticed how the Teche narrowed as they approached the town's docks, and more so, just past, getting downright tight as they passed a then small cemetery, a bit inland, on their left. In 1870, the Bayou Teche, from the Atchafalaya River to Franklin, was thinnest at Franklin.⁸

⁶"The Battle in Bayou Teche." *Harper's Weekly--A Journal of Civilization* [New York] 14 Feb. 1863: 101, 103. Print.

⁷This is the writer's judgment after an examination of some maps of the battle (Raphael 124-25, 129), Google Earth images, and two visits to the site. "'Calumet Plantation' [which contained Cornay's Bridge] was the name given by Daniel Thompson to a group of adjoining sugar plantations along Bayou Teche that he began assembling about 1866. The residence now known as 'Calumet' was the 'O. and N. Cornay Plantation' which he purchased in 1871." The Calumet Plantation House is located on Highway 182, "about four miles north of Patterson, LA," at "N 29° 42.668 W 091° 20.646, 15R E 660179 N 3287924;" about 700-800 yards east of the Rizzo (Zenor) Bridge. See: scrambler390. "Calumet Plantation House--Patterson, LA--U.S. National Register of Historic Places on Waymarking.com." *Waymarking.com*. Groundspeak, Inc., BruceS, 13 Dec 2009. Web. 15 July 2010. <www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WM7WH3_Calumet_Plantation_House_Patterson_LA>. Whether Cornay's Bridge was east or west of today's Rizzo, or on the same spot, an examination of U.S. Army Corps of Engineers records in New Orleans might prove useful. To judge by an image in *Harper's Weekly*, one might think Cornay's Bridge had been west of Rizzo Bridge. The artist may have employed artistic license, but it shows the conflict at the remnants of Cornay's Bridge as near the bend (east of the bend) in the Teche that today leads to the Calumet cut-through bisection. See: "The Battle in Bayou Teche." *Harper's Weekly--A Journal of Civilization* [New York] 14 Feb. 1863: 101. Print.

⁸Wilby, Routh Trowbridge. *Clearing Bayou Teche After the Civil War: The Kingsbury Project*. Lafayette: Center For Louisiana Studies, University Of Southwestern Louisiana, 1991. Print.

Almost still true today, it was probably not otherwise on that spring day in 1863. They headed for the curve leading into Irish Bend. Rounding, the Diana began firing her long-barreled 30-pounder Parrott cannon, alerting allies and enemies of her arrival.⁹ Using all available guns and continuing to fire round after round toward the Federal masses, Capt. Semmes took the Diana to a place on the Confederate right flank.¹⁰ "Flying lampposts" appeared in the sky over the Federal troops.¹¹ Future accounts would provide testimony to their destructive, deadly effects.¹²

In the last moments of the Battle of Irish Bend, the Diana found herself alone in the Teche, holding the Confederate right flank, allowing the last Confederates to exit the field. Federal General Banks' tardy pincer movement now began to close rapidly on Franklin: General Grover from above, General Weitzel below. With Captain Semmes and Lieutenant Dubecq injured, it would have fallen to McGowan to select an escape path between the Federal forces. Semmes was injured, but McGowan had been the ostensible leader all along, as the record would later show.

On the personal staff of General Taylor, was a Major Thomas Ochiltree.

OCHILTREE, Thomas Peck, a Representative from Texas; born in Nacogdoches, Nacogdoches County, Tex., October 26, 1837; attended the public schools; volunteered in 1854 as a private in Capt. John G. Walker's company of Texas Rangers in the campaign against the Apache and Comanche Indians in 1854 and 1855; admitted to the bar by special act of the Texas Legislature in 1857; clerk of the State house of representatives 1856-1859; secretary of the State Democratic convention in 1859;

⁹Taylor, Richard. *Destruction and reconstruction: Personal experiences of the late war (Collector's library of the Civil War)*. 1879. Reprint. New York: Time-Life Books, 1983. Print.

¹⁰OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 392.

¹¹"Civil War Living History." *1st U.S. Infantry Recreated*. N.p., n.d. Web. 12 Apr. 2010. <<http://www.1stusinfantry.org/articles/CWliving.html>>. "Lampposts: Civil War soldiers described artillery shells in flight as flying lampposts because to the naked eye they looked like elongated blurs."

¹²Raphael 155.

editor of the *Jeffersonian* in 1860 and 1861; delegate to the Democratic National Conventions at Charleston, S.C., and Baltimore, Md., in 1860; during the Civil War enlisted in the Confederate Army in the First Texas Regiment and was promoted successively to lieutenant, captain, and major; editor of the *Houston Daily Telegraph* 1866 and 1867; appointed commissioner of immigration for Texas in Europe 1870-1873; appointed United States marshal for the eastern district of Texas by President Grant January 8, 1874; elected as an Independent to the Forty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1883-March 3, 1885); moved to New York City and retired; died at Hot Springs, Bath County, Va., on November 25, 1902; interment in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.; reinterment in Mount Hope Cemetery, Westchester County, N.Y., November 8, 1903.¹³

He wrote an article, recounted by Raphael,¹⁴ that appeared in the Oct. 7, 1888 *San Francisco Examiner*, page 12. Ochiltree stated: "The boat was absolutely riddled with shot and shell. The boiler had been smashed, and the escaping steam mingled with the smoke of battle. But above all was heard the voice of Ed McGowan calling upon his men to continue the fight." At first reading, one may be pardoned for asking whether this was at Bisland, or Irish Bend? It must be Irish Bend, for he hears the **final** explosion of the *Diana* (known to have occurred at Irish Bend) an hour later, he states. So, per Ochiltree, there were eighty volunteers sent to the *Diana* at Bisland. Later, forty would be killed, and the remainder captured.

After holding out as long as they could, the *Diana* backed out slowly, keeping its bow forward, facing the onslaught of enemy troops, its 30-pound Parrot firing. The stern of the *Diana* was always vulnerable, open, and indefensible by any of the gunboat's five guns. From the writer's past research:

Confederate Navy Research Center, Mobile, Alabama (as viewed by the author, 4 November 2002. Online. Internet. www.csnavy.org). Under "O.R.N. List of C.S. Ships and Descriptions by State or Area of

¹³ "Biographies--O." *H. Doc. 108-222 - Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-2005*. N.p., n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2010. <www.gpoaccess.gov/serialset/cdocuments/hd108-222/o.pdf>.

¹⁴ Raphael 132.

Operations," the following was found: "C. S. S. Diana. Acquisition.--Captured from the Federals in Atchafalaya River, March 23, 1863. Description.--Steamer; wood. Battery.--Five guns. Disposition.--Burned in Bayou Teche, April 12 [should read April 14], 1863." Another source, "The Diana Affair," (The New York Herald [New York, New York] 10 April 1863, p. 1; original in author's possession) reports the following: ". . . one thirty-pounder Parrott rifle, two thirty-two pounders of thirty-three hundred weight, smooth bore, and two twelve-pounder boat howitzers" Another piece of information (from, "Letters of the Civil War . . . A COMPILATION OF LETTERS, STORIES, DIARIES FROM THE SOLDIERS, SAILORS, NURSES, POLITICIANS, MINISTERS, JOURNALISTS and CITIZENS DURING the WAR OF THE REBELLION . . . FROM THE NEWSPAPERS OF MASSACHUSETTS." Online. Internet. As viewed by the author on 6 March 2003. <http://www.letterscivilwar.com/3-30-63b.html>, "MARCH 30, 1863 . . . FROM GEN. BANKS'S DEPARTMENT . . . Full Particulars of the Capture of the Federal Gunboat Diana . . . From Our Special Correspondent with the Expedition . . . Headquarters Weitzel's Division, Unable to read this line, Monday, March 30, 1863. Midnight . . . THE SURPRISE AND ATTACK ON THE DIANA"), states the following:

The rebels have seized a valuable prize, for the Diana had a fine armament, consisting of five guns, all mounted on her bow, one 30 pounder rifled pivot, two 32 pounders smooth-bore, and two 12 pounders, one rifled, and one smooth-bore. She had on board a large supply of ammunition.

From the source that Raphael utilized (A. J. Duganne, Camps and Prisons. Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf. By A.J.H. Duganne. [2nd ed.; New York: J.P. Roberts, 1865], p. 195. Online. Internet. As viewed by the author on 3 April 2003 at "Making of America Books," <http://www.hti.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/pagevieweridx?sid=9088c28b885844f67aae53f8152799b1&idno=adg8849.0001.001&c=moa&cc=moa&seq=201&view=text>):

I doubt if this fact be recorded in official reports, but it is certain that our stout little gun-boat, with her two thirty-two pound broadside

guns, her Parrot and her Dahlgreen brass-pieces, and her crew of ninety, officers and men, steamed up, one pleasant morning, to the widow Cochrane's sugar-house, on the Atchafalaya, with two capacious barges towed behind her, and a document in somebody's hands, which purported to be a bill-of-sale for all the widow's sugar.

Finally, there is mention of the gun placements in "Letters of the Civil War . . . A COMPILATION OF LETTERS, STORIES, DIARIES FROM THE SOLDIERS, SAILORS, NURSES, POLITICIANS, MINISTERS, JOURNALISTS and CITIZENS DURING the WAR OF THE REBELLION . . . FROM THE NEWSPAPERS OF MASSACHUSETTS." Online. Internet. <http://www.letterscivilwar.com/3-30-63b.html> As viewed by the author on 6 March 2003: "MARCH 30, 1863 . . . FROM GEN. BANKS'S DEPARTMENT . . . Full Particulars of the Capture of the Federal Gunboat Diana . . . From Our Special Correspondent with the Expedition. . . Headquarters Weitzel's Division, Unable to read this line, Monday, March 30, 1863. Midnight.":

Capt. Peterson continued to fight them bow on, all his guns being on the bow of the Diana, . . .

¹⁵

Based on all of the information above, the writer believes that the Diana had five guns (all mounted on her bow, and contained within a casemate¹⁶): one 30-pounder Parrott rifle on a pivot (probably mounted front and center), two smooth-bore 32-pounders (33 cwt.), mounted broadside (one on each side), and two 12-pounder bronze/brass Dahlgren boat howitzers (one rifled, one smooth-bore--each perhaps situated between the Parrott and a 32-pounder).

In reverse, just clearing the curve they had traversed hours earlier, they scuttled the boat, midstream (as the

¹⁵ Beach, Ph.D., Horace. *Dr. David Beach, Eclectic Physician--with additions and corrections to, "Stephen Beach, Ohio Pioneer"* Clayton, California: Horace J. Beach, Ph.D., 2005. 530. Print.

¹⁶ "General Banks's Campaign in Louisiana." *Harper's Weekly--A Journal of Civilization* [New York] 9 May 1863: 292, 299. Print. The Diana's only known image on p. 292 exhibits a casemate covering all of its guns.

bow is seen in a sketch¹⁷ facing forward in the mud flats in 1870, it indicates that something may have forced the hull to the bank sometime after the battle). The crew would not have taken the boat all the way back to the docks of Franklin to fire her (and risk the fire spreading into the town). One can discern the leadership's logic: they had an excellent situation in which to scuttle and fire their boat. They backed to almost the narrowest part of the Teche (130', in 1870),¹⁸ and far enough from the town to lower the risk of a town fire (posing no danger to anyone in the graveyard, and providing a clear path of escape, running along the town line). They could also block the channel with their 165 foot vessel (to be described).

The navigator had to select just the spot that might partially obscure his vessel from the oncoming Yankee troops working their way up Irish Bend Road and yet be far enough from Franklin's docks, avoiding the risks of setting fire to the town and falling into the hands of Banks' troops from Bisland approaching from the rear.

Because the ship was 165 feet in length, the captain could have wedged the bow and stern, diagonally between each shore, blocking the channel. The soldiers could have easily then jumped ship from the bow to the shore, so low it was in the water (by the boat's design).

Throughout the 1870 Bayou Teche survey, hull sketches show bow and stern orientations distinctively (but not necessarily to scale). With 165 feet of length, the Diana's hull should have been shown long enough to straddle the Teche, unless, the explosion was such that only part of the hull was left (" . . . a portion of her machinery visible—her shaft & flanges, cylinders & old iron").¹⁹ Another likely explanation is that the length of the hull was largely invisible below the water, and therefore roughly estimated and not represented to a proper scale in the survey sketch. Again, that the vessel was shown not

¹⁷ Wilby 44.

¹⁸ From the Atchafalaya River, all the way to Porter's Bridge, the narrowest portion in 1870 was 120' at the town docks, down to 110' (due to a noted obstruction). Diana was at 130' (in 1870), just north of this narrowest session.

¹⁹ Wilby 6.

completely blocking the waterway means that if it did succeed in a blockage, the hull was able later to be shoved out of the way (perhaps when the cannons were removed by Banks, but in any case, before the 1870 survey)--assuming the Diana's final explosion did not undo the blocking attempt, which is a possibility.

Turning around would not have been an option after backing to a certain point. The Diana was 239 tons: 165' long, 26' 4" wide, and 5' 9" deep.²⁰ The Teche at the point of Diana's final moments, as already explained, was not more than about a 130 feet wide. Once in the bottleneck of the Teche (today still a very narrow point around the cemetery, before an increased width heading into the bend), the Diana was committed.

As mentioned, one gets confused by Ochiltree's account of happenings at Bisland and Irish Bend (especially his calling it all the battle of Camp Bisland, which one associates with the first conflict the day before the one at Irish Bend, about ten miles away). Ochiltree must have conflated the two fronts of conflict over two days into one--and it is the writer's contention that the article from the aforementioned *Daily Examiner* can be divided into a first section dealing with the battle at Bisland, and a second describing the last moments at Irish Bend. The section before the subtitle, "A Wild Defense," must be the telling of events at Bisland (the day before the conflict at Irish Bend). One can determine this because the contemporary account by General Taylor himself was that Semmes took over for the ill Captain Nettles just before the battle of Bisland began,²¹ and a careful reading of Ochiltree's report after "A Wild Defense," makes it clear that he is describing the last hours of the Diana and her crew at Irish Bend (but for the mention of a "fleet"). One can draw this conclusion because of the timing of the explosive demise of the Diana as detailed by Ochiltree. It must have been that as the Confederates began to retire from the front, retreating to the rear to make their way up Iberia Street to the Cut-off road, the Diana too backed up slowly, so that by the time of Ochiltree's description, the gunboat found herself at her last location, covering the last remnants of Taylor's men. As discussed above, what

²⁰ Raphael 41.

²¹ OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, pp. 389-90.

anchors the Diana's actions in time as described by Ochiltree are the second sentences of the second and last paragraphs:

[. . .]the Battle of Camp Bisland, one of the fiercest fights of the war and one of the bloodiest struggles which I ever witnessed or in which I ever participated.[. . .] The river was so narrow that there was only room for the passage of one boat at a time.[. . .] Our army was in a kind of cul-de-sac formed by a turn in the river, and if the fleet of Federal craft had ever passed our solitary Gunboat, it would have been all up with us. They could have got a position on our flank and raked us fore and aft.

That passage had to be held at all hazards. Where was the man to whom the command of the Gunboat could be intrusted [sic], and who would hold the fort until, as General Taylor expressed it, "hell froze over?" As soon as I realized the situation I told General Taylor that I had the man. I knew that Ed McGowan would never give up the position as long as there was the faintest possibility holding it. I went to him and he and Oliver Semmes agreed jump into the breach, and, with eighty volunteers who were called for to enter on this hazardous enterprise, they took charge of the boat. It was easy enough to get on board, for the banks of the river were perfectly level and the water flowed almost on a level with the banks. An ordinary planking was thrown from the shore to the deck of the boat. I chose Semmes as nominal leader for the reason that he was a son of Alabama [C.S.S. Alabama] Semmes and presumably knew something about ships. I found out very shortly afterwards that he didn't, because one of the very first things he did when he got on board was to take a piece of chalk and mark "starboard" on one side and "larboard" on the other, so that he would make no mistake in issuing his orders.

A WILD DEFENSE.

The battle began. And a bloodier one was probably never waged. Hour after hour the Federal fleet poured hot shot into this single boat. McGowan was everywhere urging on his men and calling upon them again and again for renewed efforts. After the

struggle had continued for some time I was dispatched by Gen. Taylor with a message to McGowan and Semmes. I hurried down to the boat and got across the planking and landed on board. I shall never forget the sight. Out of the eighty men forty lay dead and dying about the decks. The decks literally ran with blood. It was at least two inches thick all over, and when I came away my boots were marked with blood as they might have been with mud after plotting for an hour along a New Jersey road. The boat was absolutely riddled with shell and shot. The boiler had been smashed, and the escaping steam mingled with the smoke of battle. But above all was heard the voice of Ed McGowan calling upon his men to continue the fight. I went up to him and told him that General Taylor was of the opinion that if he could hold the passage half an hour longer he believed everything would turn out all right. It seemed then as though we were winning the battle. He said that things were in pretty bad shape, but he would try. I said my further instructions to him were that when he found that he could no longer hold the position he was to blow up the boat, sinking it in midstream if possible, so as to obstruct the passage. He said he would do so, and I left him.

The Battle continued with varying fortunes and an hour afterwards there was a low rumble as of thunder, and we knew that the battle on the boat was ended. The dead and dying had been previously removed from the deck, a slow match had been lighted and the old boat had been blown to pieces. It keeled over, the waters rushed in and it sank in the middle of the channel, so that the Federal fleet was unable to pass. We were finally defeated, and among the prisoners taken were Ed McGowan and his companions. The gallant Commander, Oliver Semmes, was among the wounded, but his wound was not serious and he afterwards recovered.²²

So, Ochiltree, recounting events many years later, did conflate the two battles: Bisland and Irish Bend. Such an error would not have been that unusual, as some have also thought of the two-day, two-front battle as one large

²² Ochiltree 12.

conflict.²³ The battle described (but for the reported ending) could have been simply of the conflict at Bisland (it was certainly bloody enough²⁴ and would have easily matched Ochiltree's account) . . . but, the article indicates the Diana's final boiler explosion came but minutes before its sinking. It is clear from official accounts that nightfall separated the previous boiler damage (allowing for repairs to occur and the Diana's subsequent appearance on the Confederate right flank at Irish Bend).²⁵ So the article's conflation was either due to a passing of twenty-five years between the event and its telling, Ochiltree's selective memory, or an unfortunate editor's splice.

As read above, it was Ochiltree who suggested Ed McGowan should enter the Diana. The "Ubiquitous" McGowan, the once politician in Philadelphia, Justice of the Peace in the 1850s in San Francisco, and escapee from a Vigilance Committee run amok, had been one of the organizers of the Arizona Battalion.²⁶ These were "experienced and desperate" men, of who it could be said they had an intimate knowledge and experience of killing.²⁷ As described, Semmes volunteered along with McGowan, and was assigned command. As already mentioned, Ochiltree soon learned that though Semmes was a graduate of West Point and a "model soldier," he was lacking in naval knowledge.²⁸ As events would unfold, history will note that ultimately this would matter little. Realizing the bayou could be blocked, they indeed determined to hold fast "until hell froze over." To recap: evidently starting with eighty volunteers, at least forty were killed onboard, leaving the deck thick and deep in blood. The boiler reportedly damaged, Ochiltree comments that he was easily able to enter the vessel from the shore

²³ Raphael, Morris. *The Battle in the Bayou Country (American Civil War)*. 1994. Reprint. Detroit: Harlo Press, 1975. 86. Print.

²⁴ Taylor 131-32.

²⁵ OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 392.

²⁶ Wheat, Carl. "Ned, The Ubiquitous--Soldier of Fortune par Excellence--Being the Further Narrative of Edward McGowan." *California Historical Society Quarterly* VI.1 (1927): 3-36. Print.

²⁷ Ochiltree 12.

²⁸ Ochiltree 12.

with a simple plank--such was how low in the water the Diana sat. Also, Ochiltree's account agrees with General Taylor's, that McGowan and Semmes joined prior to the battle at Bisland. As read in the Ochiltree article, while the Confederate position at Bisland might also be described as "in a kind of cul-de-sac, formed by a turn in the river . . . ,"²⁹ Irish Bend would even more so have fit that simile. He also describes the narrowness of the bayou, a characteristic seen just north of Franklin, even today. The gunboat was continually hit with projectiles and hot shot for hours on end (but not from a "fleet").³⁰ He states that given the wounded Semmes, McGowan stepped-up and took command, now doubling his efforts to rally his men and keep up their spirits. Told to hold for but half an hour more, by General Taylor via Ochiltree, an hour would pass before the final explosion was heard. Ochiltree writes that the boiler had been smashed, and steam was escaping--but prior to that, the Diana had enough steam to back from the line of battle, into the drastically narrowing channel, just below the upper town line (almost below the present-day Franklin Cemetery--to be discussed). The dead and wounded were removed, and then the boat was fired and scuttled.³¹ Ochiltree reports a "rumble as of thunder" in the distance signaled the end of the Diana--sunk in the middle of the Teche, creating a blockage. He reports that the boat "keeled over, the waters rushed in and it sank in the middle of the channel, so that the Federal fleet was unable to pass." By 1870, it is known that the remnants of the hull (so, not completely "blown to atoms"³²) no longer

²⁹ Ochiltree 12.

³⁰ "Rogers' battery was also brought up to reply to the rebel artillery and to the gunboat Diana, whose guns now swept the field. She had come up the Teche that morning." From p. 112: Sprague, Homer. "History of the 13th Infantry Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers during the great rebellion." *Quinnipiac University, Hamden, Connecticut*. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Feb. 2010. <<http://www.quinnipiac.edu/other/ABL/etext/13thct/chp3.html>>.

³¹ "This contest was ended by the approach of Weitzel's artillery from Franklin, when the rebels set the Diana on fire, and it soon blew up with a deafening explosion." From p. 118: Sprague, Homer. "History of the 13th Infantry Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers during the great rebellion." *Quinnipiac University, Hamden, Connecticut*. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Feb. 2010. <<http://www.quinnipiac.edu/other/ABL/etext/13thct/chp3.html>>.

³² Beecher, Harris H. "Record of the 114th regiment, N. Y ... - Google Books." *Google Books*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. 152.

blocked the channel, but was a mere obstruction on the east bank (as discussed, perhaps moved out of the way by Federal General Banks when the cannons were removed, or later).³³

At the end, with the dead and wounded removed, there were as many as perhaps forty men, though only Semmes, Dubecq, McGowan, and two dozen others, can be documented as having been captured as a result of the destruction of the Diana--to be explained.

The boat was finally dead in the water--its lifeblood having abandoned ship, and the ghosts in the machine fled.

The key to finding the hull's almost final resting place today (2010), is Routh Trowbridge Wilby's, *Clearing Bayou Teche After the Civil War: The Kingsbury Project*.³⁴ Wilby's book contains an 1870 survey of the Teche, including obstructions. The Diana's hull is shown located on the east bank, just below the "Upper Line Town of Franklin," substantially above the "McHugh's Saw Mill" on the opposite west bank. Through an informative correspondence in the spring of 2009, with Margie Luke, Archivist and Historian for St. Mary Landmarks Society, and Grevemberg House Museum in Franklin,³⁵ the writer was able to locate the hull's once and almost final resting spot. The lower parameter, the McHugh's Saw Mill, is described by Ms. Luke:

McHugh's mill was a fairly large tract of land along the bayou. It had several owners so is called various names. While the foot of Blakesley Street is part of the mill, it actually began a little east of that street (behind St. John School) and ran west

<<http://books.google.com/books?id=k8HlonpY5CcC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Record+of+the+114th+Regiment&cd=1#v=onepage&q=&f=false>>.

³³Banks' intent to save the Diana's guns and send them to Brashear is found in OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, pp. 728, 730. "eHistory at OSU | Online Books | The Official Records of the Civil War." N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Feb. 2010.

<<http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/sources/recordView.cfm?Content=021/0728>>.
<<http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/sources/recordView.cfm?page=730&dir=021>>.

³⁴Wilby 44.

³⁵She is also on the Board of Governors for the Acadian Memorial in St. Martinville, Louisiana.

to Bayouview Drive. From the bayou, it came up about two short blocks. On a modern day map, it was behind St. John School and the Methodist Church. MapQuest [<http://www.mapquest.com/>] aerial view shows Donna Street (extension of A St) with a loop at the end. The tree line at the end of that loop, running toward the bayou, is the old line. Opposite line is Blakesley Street. Bayou is the back and the front line is the street with the loop at the end.³⁶

Further:

The McHugh mill was actually owned by Isaac Trowbridge who formed a partnership to operate the mill with Michael McHugh. McHugh actually ran the mill, hence the name. The partnership also owned a steam boat (stern paddle-wheeler) named "Alice." The best description is given in the following record:

Reference/source:

St. Mary Parish Clerk of Court, Conveyance Book Y, page 352, # 17049

Isaac Trowbridge to William Kyle & Company & Thomas C. Lawless
January 5, 1889

"Lot of ground in Franklin . . . known as sawmill lot . . . bounded East by Bayou Teche; South by Ernest Smith; West partly by Catholic Convent, partly by Methodist Church and Rectory and partly by children of Minos Gordey and North by lane running from Main Street to Bayou Teche . . . together with all buildings and improvements (sawmill, planer mill, machinery, office and small dwelling house)."³⁷

Not finding records that could establish the upper town line in 1870, the writer contacted Marc Wellman, Louisiana Section, State Library of Louisiana. On 25 September 2008, by e-mail, in response to the writer's inquiry he sent the following:

Act No. 132 *passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the*

³⁶ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 27 Apr. 2009.

³⁷ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 13 May 2009.

Second Session of the Third Legislature [begun January, 1874]

AN ACT To extend the limits of the town of Franklin, in the parish of St. Mary, State of Louisiana, and to incorporate the same, and to repeal all acts incorporating the town of Franklin and all acts amendatory and supplemental thereto.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana in General Assembly convened,* That the resident citizens of the United States within the following limits, to wit: All that tract or parcel of land in the parish of St. Mary beginning at a point on the west bank of the Bayou Teche east of B.C. Smith's store, thence to the line between B.C. Smith and T.J. Foster, out said line to T.J. Foster's property, thence in a westward direction for a stake at twenty acres from the beginning point on said Bayou Teche, thence north and northeast at the distance of twenty acres from the Bayou Teche until W.P. Allen's south line between said W.P. Allen's and Mrs. Simeon Smith is reached, thence east on said line to Runk's line, and **thence down the line dividing Runk from the Franklin cemetery to the Bayou Teche**, thence down the Bayou Teche to the point of beginning. That a survey shall be made by the parish surveyor, and the lines established by him under the supervision of the mayor of said town of Franklin, and the same be filed and recorded in the recorder's office of the parish of St. Mary, shall be and they are hereby created and made a corporation and body politic, with perpetual succession, by the name and style of the mayor and council of the town of Franklin

Approved April 22, 1874

Knowing the usual outward-expansive evolution of towns, the 1870 boundary was not likely beyond that of the 1874 boundary, setting the upper parameter (in other words, the Diana's hull must have been located below the 1874 line). The document cited above establishes the boundary of interest in 1874, against the Teche, as Runk's line, and what is interesting is that indeed it does not seem to have changed from 1870. Remembering that Runk's line separated Runk from the cemetery, it can be established by two land sale entries, courtesy of Ms. Luke:

RUNK PROPERTY

Book J, Page 227, Entry #7686
George W. Runk from Albert Heaton
1854

5 arpents described as Lot 3 of Dwight Estate; bounded N by Lot 2 of Dwight Estate, S by J.Y.Sanders, E by Bayou Teche and W by public road.

DWIGHT PROPERTY

Book G, Page 256, #6499

William Dwight from J.Y. Sanders (with map)
1849

Land on west side of Teche . . . 15 arpents bounded above by Trousdale, Rear by J.Y Sanders, East by Bayou Teche and West by public road.³⁸

Ms. Luke assisted the writer with this explanation and interpretation:

Gardenia was Runk's northern line, the line that separated his land from the cemetery in 1874. Runk's southern line was Roseville ([Runk's lot is] today covered by graves from 1890s-1900s) [. . . .] Sanders [Street] was Allen's northern line [and] Myra [Street], his southern line. [. . .] Mrs. Smith's: Myra Street would be the approximate northern line. [. . .] [Describing the line mentioned in the "Act No. 132" document and its modern street correspondences, M. Luke writes:] W. P. Allen's south line "between said W. P. Allen's and Mrs. Simeon Smith is reached, [Myra Street] thence east on said line to Runk's line, [Gardenia Street] and thence down the line dividing Runk from the Franklin cemetery to the bayou Teche." [. . .] The cemetery was outside the city limit in 1874.³⁹

[. . .] the cemetery line in 1860/1870 was not Roseville Street, but what is now called Gardenia. The section between Roseville and Gardenia was not put into use until the late 1890s or early 1900s. Gardenia now does not go all the way to the bayou, at least not in a straight line. I think Allen's property was between Sanders and Myra Streets on both sides of Main Street. I know it was about 70 arpents and his home faced Main between Sanders & Cedar Street.⁴⁰

It is obvious to me Sanders land was on either side of

³⁸ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 27 Apr. 2009.

³⁹ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 4 Oct. 2009.

⁴⁰ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 27 Apr. 2009.

present day Sanders Street and on both sides of Main Street, a large tract. He was selling grave lots before 1850 in what is now part of the city cemetery.⁴¹

Sanders owned the land before it was a cemetery and the depth of land used for burials was not fully from Main Street to the Teche. So the boundary is correct. Runk's property was as I placed it in my abstract of the record with what is now Gardenia as the approximate line. The 1874 city expansion does not change his property description from 1850s records. Runk only owned on one side of Main; Allen, Sanders and others the land opposite Runk on Main.⁴²

If the area of interest (as defined by the lower parameter of the saw mill property, and the upper parameter of the 1874 town line) of the east bank of the Teche were divided into quarters, the Diana's sunken hull would have been located in the upper quarter.

A further upper marker might have been "Colonel Doucet's House," as seen in Wilby,⁴³ but, as Ms. Luke reports:

If the name Doucet is correct, I found no evidence of his owning property on or near the Teche. He may have been renting, but don't have any means to verify the fact or the location.⁴⁴

In summation, the once hull site was probably contained within, or touched some part of, an (.1071 km, 351.377953 ft, 117.125984 yards) area of the east bank of the Teche described by a line between 29° 47' 55, N, 91° 29' 48 W, (29.798611, -91.496667) and 29° 47' 52, N, 91° 29' 50 W (29.797778, -91.497222).⁴⁵ The best vantage point to

⁴¹ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 13 May 2009.

⁴² Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 14 May 2009.

⁴³ Wilby 41.

⁴⁴ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 15 Sep. 2009.

⁴⁵ Google Inc. (2008). Google Earth (Version 5) [Software]. Available from <<http://earth.google.com/>>.

observe the east bank of the Teche, left, center, and right, where the hull once rested, is at the foot of Roseville Street, on the west bank, where it curves to the Boat Launch. Per the 1870 sketch, the hull was once lodged on the east bank of the Teche, stern against a cypress tree (near, in 2008, where a Franklin city water treatment facility has a discharge, and above the Hazelwood subdivision). It is therefore unfortunate that a historical marker near the foot of Willow Street gives erroneous information implying that the hull of the Diana rests, or ever rested, east of the marker. There is also a church bell, dated 1864, incorrectly attributed to the Diana by yet another mistaken plaque located on St. Mary's Episcopal Church, in Franklin.⁴⁶

As it is now known where the hull finally lodged, and where the largest group of the Diana's final crew had been captured, the running escape path of the men can be approximated. It looks as though they were trying to parallel the distant cut-off road as much as possible, heading for the Teche: The men fired the boat, jumped ship, and ran through the narrow corridor dictated by the two closing walls of the approaching Federal forces. At five arpents (in Louisiana, the conversion was 1 arpent = 0.84628-acre⁴⁷), or about 4.2 acres, Runk's property fits nicely as a long and narrow trapezoid between the Teche and W. Main, Gardenia, to the north, and approximately today's

⁴⁶ Five photos of the bell were sent to the writer 2 May 2006 courtesy of Clarkson A. Brown, Jr. The bell's inscriptions indicate that the bell was cast by G. W. Coffin & Co., at The Buckeye Bell Foundry, in Cincinnati. A date of "1864" is seen. This inscribed date alone, barring some type of unusual post-dating, rules out the possibility that it came from the Diana. Patrick Hreachmack, a maritime expert, and maker of superb miniature ships and boats, was shown the photos by the writer. He stated that it did not look like the kind of bell that a boat would have used. He and the writer also noticed that the "4" in "1864" looks like it has been altered. Unfortunately, all records of the Buckeye Bell Foundry, in Cincinnati, were lost in a 1937 Ohio River flood. See: "Index - Vanduzen." *GCNA - The Guild of Carillonners in North America*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2010. <<http://www.gcna.org/data/IXfoundryVanduzen.html>>. The writer's sincere thanks goes to Patrick Hreachmack for his consultation and correspondence, and his taking time to look over a final draft of this article.

⁴⁷ "Arpent - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia." *Main Page - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2010. <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arpent>>.

Roseville to the south (using Google Maps Area Calculator Tool⁴⁸). The men made their way west down Runk's northern line, today represented by Gardenia Street (which was the upper town line in 1874), below which, in the future, would be an extension of the cemetery. This is why, even in the 1870 drawing, no cemetery is noted along the Teche. It was farther inland and substantially smaller in scope. Ms. Luke reports on the number of graves observed today from the time period 1821-1861:

To the left of Azalea to Hibiscus/Tulip (there are more unmarked, damaged and abandoned graves in the section to the left of Azalea) = 12

Section bordered by Hibiscus, Begonia, Lily & Camellia (At the end of Gardenia) = 55

Behind the above section (behind the existing mausoleum to bayou [. . .] close to present day boat landing) = 5

There were no large family tombs in this time frame. Most are single or double in ground graves made of brick with granite or marble headstones or top slabs. Also some single and side-by-side double above ground brick graves.

From the burial records of the Catholic and Protestant churches, there were probably double or triple the numbers given above. There are graves which show the age but no markings remain. Some graves in these sections marked only with iron crosses.⁴⁹

The men would have turned a bit to stay on, or skirt just below, Runk's line in order to avoid hitting the hurdles of the existing Franklin Cemetery (north of Runk's). How formidable the obstacles would have been the headstones and vaults, encouraging one to run around them (running from soldiers, one would run around a graveyard, else risk taking a tripping-hard fall). They continued down the line until they were between the Smith place to the south, and

⁴⁸ "Google Maps Area Calculator Tool." *Daft Logic*. N.p., n.d. Web. 29 Apr. 2010. <<http://www.daftlogic.com/projects-google-maps-area-calculator-tool.htm>>.

⁴⁹ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 11 October 2009.

the Allen property to the north, today represented by Myra Street.⁵⁰ As known, they ended up on the north side of the line on Mr. W. P. Allen's land, never making it to the cut-off road over the Bayou Yokely:

Gunboat Diana

Preparations are being made to blow up the wreck of the gunboat, Diana, sunk in the Teche, just above Franklin in 1863. They will soon have the whole mass of timbers out of the way. The Diana was a river steamer fitted up as a gunboat by the Federals, captured by Louisianans and Texans under Col. Henry Gray near Pattersonville in 1863, using small arms and the Valverde Battery in the attack. She was put in command of Capt. Semmes, son of the hero of "Service Afloat," who used her above Franklin in keeping back the flanking force under Gen. Grover which came from Grand Lake by Mrs. Porter's. The Diana was fired by Capt. Semmes when the Federals entered Franklin from below, and the explosion took place where the wreck now lies embedded in a mud flat. Capt. Semmes, after putting fire to the Diana, jumped into the bayou and swam ashore, and was captured by Federal Soldiers while attempting to make his escape across W. P. Allen's field to Bayou Choupique, in the rear of Franklin.⁵¹

At the end, most of the Diana's fleeing crew probably ran a minimum of 425 yards before they were apprehended (drawing a straight line from their approximate disembarkation point on the shore of the west bank [using Gardenia Street as if it traveled straight from the Teche] to the intersection of W. Main and Gardenia Streets).⁵²

In order to escape the onslaught of the Federal army in their front and rear, the group of the recently made

⁵⁰ Luke, Margie. Email to Horace Beach, Ph.D. 27 April 2009: Simeon Smith's [south] line was Adams Street, known to her because that property once belonged to one of her ancestors, she noted.

⁵¹ "Planters Banner Franklin, LA April 26, 1871." Young-Sanders Center, Franklin, LA. 7 May 2009
<<http://www.youngsanders.org/youngsandersgunboatdiana.html>>

⁵² Google Inc. (2008). Google Earth.

sailors appear to have headed west for the Bayou Yokely (paralleling the cut-off road to their south⁵³). The idea was that somehow, after crossing the watery barrier of the Yokely, they would eventually catch-up with their retreating Confederate compatriots. Alas, it was not to be.

Evidently, there was a pre-arranged escape plan utilizing Harding's Lane cut-off that fell through.⁵⁴ That the bridge over the Bayou Yokely (also called Bayou Choupique) had been prematurely ordered burned by Confederate General Sibley did not matter much now. There was no time for the survivors of the *Diana* to have made it back to, and up, Iberia Street to connect to the so-called Harding's Lane cut-off road. Weitzel's artillery, and others of his men, had reached Franklin now, preventing this option. There does exist an oversimplified map sketched by a veteran of the conflict that incorrectly illustrates the cut-off to the east of the then proposed railroad.⁵⁵ Information, and the writer's thoughts, on the cut-off road that follows are based upon an 1893 property map of Irish Bend and the surrounding area.⁵⁶ The cut-off road actually ran for a distance just to the west, and almost parallel to, the proposed railroad that today exists. As late as 1893, at the opposite end from its Iberia Street origin, it still crossed the large Harding Estate against the Teche found in T. 14, S.R. 9E, thus its name. It is the writer's assessment, judging by a comparison of maps, that the present-day Chatsworth Road bridge across the Yokely lies a little over one hundred yards west from the site of the ancient burned bridge. Curiously, the writer has seen (in 2008) what looks like the remnants of an earlier wooden bridge under the modern bridge (unless these were simply the remains of supports used in the construction of the modern bridge): pylons that appear to have burn marks. The old cut-off road left Iberia Street just east of today's Chatsworth Road (that contains the aforementioned modern

⁵³ Raphael. *A Gunboat Named Diana*. 60-61. See map.

⁵⁴ OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, pp. 392-93.

⁵⁵ Raphael. *A Gunboat Named Diana*. 144. See map.

⁵⁶ Based on a photocopied 1893 property map of Irish Bend and the surrounding area: "T.14, S.R.9E." Sent to the writer courtesy of Clarkson Brown, Jr., Apr. 2006.

bridge). The old path snaked a short way across a property named "China Berry," then over the Yokely by way of the old bridge (illustrated in 1893 as if the bridge had been rebuilt sometime after its 1863 firing; it is shown on the 1893 map to have been wedged between properties numbered 1 and 62 [Jean Dartresse]--then diagonally across property 61, entering the Harding Estate) to connect to a road today represented by Yokley (sic) Road (which must cover the old route)--where it finally crossed the railroad again and connected with the "public road" that followed the path of the Teche. An examination of a Google Earth satellite photo over the area, when compared with the 1893 map, indicates that the old bridge spanned the Yokely across its southern-most bend (before the Yokely's ultimate turn southward). If the writer is not mistaken, an examination of Google Earth satellite images also reveals a bit of the old cut-off road as it left the Yokely, across a present-day field, connecting eventually with today's Yokley (sic) Road.

Who were these last men of record on the Diana, two dozen known men under three officers?⁵⁷ Those soldiers, having attached themselves to the Diana but for days, or weeks, would be forever wedded to her fate, and recorded for the

⁵⁷Booth, Andrew B. *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands.* "Booth's Index to Louisiana Confederate Soldiers." Compiled by Jan Craven. "USGenWeb Project: Louisiana Archives - War Between the States Resources." *USGenWeb Archives - census wills deeds genealogy.* N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <<http://usgwarchives.net/la/military/WBTS.htm>>. The nice thing about this initial source is that, along with the Louisianan soldiers, it lists Arizona and Texas soldiers as well (as far as those captured related to Diana's last moments). Names were initially gleaned by a culling of this record--all those associated with "gunboat Diana" were selected. These names were compared against two other sources:

"Search By Soldier Name." *Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System.* National Park Service, n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <<http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/soldiers.cfm>>.

"Herbert's Batt. Rosters." *Herbert's Battalion, Arizona Cavalry.* N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <www.arizonabattalion.com/rosters.htm>.

The writer thinks it probable that the record of some of the men who were on the Diana in her last moments has been lost to history: the wounded and killed (as none the writer could find in the record mentioned the Diana), and those who by history's neglect the record simply mentioned they had been captured at Irish Bend on April 14, 1863.

ages. Most having boarded just before the conflict at Bisland, they served on the boat under Capt. O. J. Semmes of the First Regular Battery Confederate Light Artillery (Semmes', Barnes'). Of the 28th Louisiana Infantry (Col. Gray's) unit who initially captured the gunboat, there was but one man of record at the time of capture: Pvt. James McCarthy. There were men from Herbert's Battalion of Arizona Cavalry led by "Big Ed," "Uncle Ned" McGowan, Major, and Quartermaster,⁵⁸ who just turned fifty the month before--he was officially second in command: Pvt. John Baker, Pvt. Henry Campbell, Pvt. William Cockburn, Pvt. Thomas Farrell, Pvt. Edward Ferguson (Ferguson), Pvt. John (James?) Ham, Pvt. John Hill, Pvt. John Kieff (Keiff, Kief), Pvt. A. H. Layman, Pvt. James McDermot (McDermott), and Pvt. John Sprigg (Shriggs). They had come from the far away Arizona Territory with General Sibley's men. They had scouted extensively throughout the bayous and byways of the area, and would have proven an invaluable asset to the crew's navigational and reconnaissance abilities. Calling them the "Arizona Fire-Eaters," Ochiltree writes:

This was probably one of the most marvelous commands ever got together. It was made up of experienced and desperate men--men who had lived on the frontier for years and to whom six-shooters, bowie-knives and personal encounters were every-day occurrences. There was probably not a man in the entire battalion who had not killed half a dozen men or more, the record of whose death was simply a notch on the handle of the knife or the butt of the pistol with whose assistance the deed had been accomplished.⁵⁹

They undoubtedly did all sorts of service aboard the vessel, accomplishing the tasks that needed doing: repelling enemy boarders, repairing what needed repairing, and probably handing some of the cannons, perhaps the two very mobile Dahlgrens, and the two cumbersome 32-pounders. Rounding out the cavalry contingent was a lone man from

⁵⁸ "E. McGowen. Regiment Name General and Staff Officers, Corps, Division and Brigade Staffs, Non-com. Staffs and Bands, Enlisted Men, Staff Departments, C.S.A. Side Confederate. Company Soldier's. Rank_In Maj. & Q.M. [. . .] Film Number M818 roll 16." From: "Search By Soldier Name." *Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System*. National Park Service, n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <<http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/soldiers.cfm>>.

⁵⁹ Ochiltree 12.

Waller's Regiment of Texas Cavalry, Pvt. Robert Goins (Goens). A Lieutenant J. Dubecq⁶⁰ was third in the chain of command. Then there were two artillery men from separate units: Cyrus Berry, Com. Sergt., from the 2nd Field Battery Texas Light Artillery, and George Price (who was one of two pilots onboard), from the 1st Field Louisiana Battery (St. Mary's Cannoneers). Next was Corpl. D. U. Broussard⁶¹ who was drawn from Company D of the 18th Louisiana Infantry (perhaps promoted to Corpl. upon his assignment to the boat). He would have been a valuable asset in two ways: his Company D was drawn from St. Mary Parish, so it was likely he knew well the area of operations, and men of the 18th had a special relationship with the last members of the crew, men from the Pelican Light Artillery (later, the 5th Louisiana Field Battery),⁶² which had accompanied the 18th

⁶⁰This man does not appear in either the Soldiers and Sailors System, or in Booth. There was a Dubecq's Company Cavalry formed in Avoyelles Parish in 1863 at Marksville, and served as a headquarters guard in the District of West Louisiana. Their leader was a Captain J. Dubecq. See: Bergeron, Arthur W., Jr. *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996. 176. Print. Nothing further could be found on any other Dubecq.

⁶¹"Broussard, Dussard, Pvt. Co. D. 18th Regt. La. Infty. Cons. (Yellow Jacket Battn.). On Register of Prisoners of War, dated April 30th, 1863, Captured at Bayou Teche, La., April 14th, 1863. Prisoner of War Rolls, Paroled at New Iberia, La., June 13th, 1865. Res. St. Martin Par., La. From: "COMPANY D. Hayes Champions (St. Mary Parish): 18th Regiment Louisiana Infantry Officers and Men Listings A - L." *The 18th Louisiana Infantry Regiment*. Joseph Richard, n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <http://members.tripod.com/j_richard/18th_roster_co.d.html#B>.

⁶²Of when they were on land, and of their compatriots left behind, General Taylor spoke: "The Pelican Battery, Captain Faries, was handled with great skill, and all its officers and men bore themselves like good soldiers and receive my acknowledgments for their brave and effective service." From: OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 395, "eHistory at OSU | Online Books | The Official Records of the Civil War." N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Feb. 2010. <<http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/sources/recordView.cfm?Content=021/0395>>. An original restored "Faries' Battle Flag (Pelican Artillery)"--Second Confederate National Flag, today is housed in the Confederate Memorial Hall, New Orleans, Louisiana. A photograph of the restored flag was sent to the writer, courtesy of Troy Chandler, SCV Camp 1421 (Major Gen. Franklin Gardner Camp). There also exist two newspaper photos of "A few survivors of the famous Pelican Battery," and "[Pelican Battery] Veterans taking their stations at the historic six-pounder . . . March 7, 1907," from an unknown newspaper. They were last viewed by the writer 27 July 2008, on a now extinct website for the Pelican Battery, 5th Louisiana Artillery Living History Reenactment Unit out of

since its inception. Joining him from the 18th, were Privates John (J. L.) Hampton, and Thomas Meyers. There were six known Pelican men on the Diana, making a nice-sized gun crew: Pvt. B. Brand, Pvt. M. (Moise) Deslatres (sic--should read, "Deslattes"),⁶³ Pvt. O. Fortier, Pvt. R. Melancon, Pvt. A. Orse, and Pvt. A. Shexnaydre (sic). Of these men, it is known that one was assigned as a pilot (or co-pilot), and another, an engineer.⁶⁴ Drawn from St. James Parish, some of these men hailed from plantations, were of French and/or Acadian decent, and had fathers who once before had defended their shores in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815.⁶⁵ It is the writer's contention that they

Opelousas, Louisiana.

<http://www.geocities.com/pelican_battery/Reenactment_Unit.html>. A call to Charles Lauret, Chief of Staff of the Battery, from the writer, yielded no source information. He reported that the contributor of the newspaper clippings to the website did not remember the source.

⁶³Beach 530.:

1890 U.S. Federal Census of Louisiana, Special Schedule for "surviving soldiers, sailors, and marines, and widows, etc.," taken June 1890. Now the index on microfiche listed a "Moses Deslath," but when the actual document was viewed on microfilm (Clayton Library, Houston, Texas, July 2002), it yielded a correct spelling. On page "A," St. James Parish, Supervisor's District 1, Enumeration District 160, P.O. Convent, line 4, house number 73, family number 73, was found "Moise Deslattes." At the bottom of the schedule referring to Moise, there was a notation: "Taken prisoner on steamer Diana at Bayou Teche La."

⁶⁴OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 1093:

Total casualties: 2 men killed, 10 men wounded, 2 severely; missing, 5 captured on hospital boat Cornie, sick; wounded, 13; detailed as pilot and engineer on gunboat Diana, captured, 2. Total horses killed, 33; wounded, 11.

⁶⁵The writer came by a copy of a photo of Jean Louis Deslattes' (II) plantation house, and a photocopy of a letter in French describing, obituary style, the death of Jean Louis in 1861 (located in a metal filing cabinet, folder marked "Deslattes," in the St. James Historical Society, in Gramercy, Louisiana). The letter mentions Jean Louis Deslattes' (II) time as a soldier. The writer has since found that Jean Louis Deslattes (II), father of soldier Moise, was himself in the War of 1812--evidently involved at the Battle of New Orleans--DeClouet's Louisiana Militia. The militia was involved in action on the west bank of the Mississippi at the Battle of New Orleans. See: Casey, Powell A. "DeClouet's Regiment of Louisiana Drafted Militia." *Louisiana in the War of 1812*. N.p.: Powell A. Casey, 1963. 15-18. Print. In this book, pages ix-x list Capt. J. B. Dupas' Company (drawn from the New Orleans area, per Casey), with "Deslate, J. L." found on page ix.

remained a singular gun crew, and that they probably manned the Diana's much-described 30-pounder Parrott gun. Of one of these men it was said: "If the gunner of the Diana is alive yet, he can have the satisfaction that he hit someone that day."⁶⁶

Ed McGowan's life should be the stuff of an epic Hollywood movie.⁶⁷ Events of his life prior to his appearance on the Diana on April 13, 1863, must be told, but anything more than a cursory telling, for its sheer complexity, would overwhelm the thesis of this work. He seems to have been a sometimes unwilling magnet for violent happenings--and the case has been made, "more sinned against than sinning," when he was involved in stabbings, shootings, disputed elections, supporting duels, and various political intrigues.⁶⁸ His attraction to, and love of, the politics of human relations made him vulnerable. An author who wrote both prose and poetry, throughout his life he pleaded

Courtesy of Susan Kaufman, Manager, Clayton Library, Center for Genealogical Research, Houston, Texas. The plantation of "J. L. Délate" can be found on an 1858 map of plantations along the Mississippi (on the east bank, a sizeable swath is illustrated from Grand Point to the river): "Chart Of The Lower Mississippi River. Norman, B.M.; Persac, A.; Colton, J.H. 1858." *David Rumsey Historical Map Collection*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <<http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps5501.html>>.

⁶⁶ Raphael. *A Gunboat Named Diana*. 155.

⁶⁷ "Edward (Ned) McGowan (born March 12, 1813, Philadelphia, U.S.A.; died December 8, 1892, San Francisco) was an American lawyer, Pennsylvania assemblyman, Judge of the California Court of Quarter Sessions, poet, Fraser Valley gold seeker, adventurer, assistant sergeant-at-arms in the United States Congress, newspaper publisher and bon vivant instigator of the eponymous McGowan's War in colonial British Columbia." From: "Ned McGowan (lawyer)." *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ned_McGowan_\(lawyer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ned_McGowan_(lawyer))>. See especially: Myers, John Myers. *San Francisco's Reign of Terror--When the Vigilantes turned the city into a police dictatorship*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966. Print. The writer takes the notion of a movie based on the life of McGowan seriously ("Creators Vault." Tell A Vision Ventures, Inc. Web. 20 Jul. 2010. <<http://www.creatorsvault.com>>, CV4170).

⁶⁸ Myers, John Myers. *San Francisco's Reign of Terror--When the Vigilantes turned the city into a police dictatorship*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966. Print. Myers' account is sympathetic to McGowan, and is well reasoned and researched.

a case of having been much maligned and harassed by men of ill will.

"A person of considerable education," Edward "Ed," "Uncle Ned," or "Ned" McGowan entered his life-long passion in 1837: politics.⁶⁹ Of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, born 12 March 1813, "Uncle Ned," to his friends, was elected multiple times as a District Clerk.⁷⁰ Being attracted to the energy of politics, attendant troubles seemed to follow him wherever he went. In 1842, he was "involved in a stabbing affair with an editor."⁷¹ This was one of McGowan's first experiences of how the truth and history of an event can be distorted by various competing forces. He would suffer from such distortions throughout his life. The accusations against him fade, and he is later appointed Superintendent of the State Magazine for the Eastern District.⁷² A couple of years in this position, and he is then elected Superintendent of Police for a district in Philadelphia.⁷³ He leaves Pennsylvania after he finds that opposing forces try to link him with the "notorious Chester County Bank robbery."⁷⁴ Along with thousands of others, McGowan is drawn to the gold of California in 1849, necessitating travel overland Panama.⁷⁵ In San Francisco, McGowan did what he could to make a living, including running a roulette wheel above a house of prostitution,⁷⁶ but being a man of intelligence and wit, he would quickly rise. In San Francisco, he became a Justice of the Peace, and later, an Associate Justice of the Court of Sessions appointed by Governor Bigler.⁷⁷ Accused of being a "ballot

⁶⁹Wheat 5.

⁷⁰Wheat 5.

⁷¹Wheat 5.

⁷²Wheat 5.

⁷³Wheat 5.

⁷⁴Wheat 5.

⁷⁵Myers 30.

⁷⁶"Ned McGowan (lawyer)." *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ned_McGowan_\(lawyer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ned_McGowan_(lawyer))>.

⁷⁷Wheat 5, 7.

box stuffer," he was chosen as a Chairman of the "double-headed" Democratic Convention of 1854 in Sacramento.⁷⁸ Back in San Francisco, McGowan favored the Northern wing of the Democratic Party--the "Law and Order" Party.⁷⁹ Against the Law and Order Party banded a growing group of greedy malcontents who gathered in San Francisco in the early 1850s--reconstituting in 1856.⁸⁰ With their "all-seeing eye" logo, the Vigilance Committee was nothing but a police dictatorship.⁸¹ With a love of politics, and an ability to write what he saw as the truth of the situation, McGowan enters into the maelstrom of San Francisco politics--a city where placing a loaded cannon in front of a polling place was not considered as beyond the pale.⁸² When, in May, 1856, his friend Casey shot James King, a Committee of Vigilance pursued.⁸³ He eluded capture, later writing of this harrowing experience, disguised as Mexican.⁸⁴ He would later be tried and acquitted⁸⁵--but for some, they would never let go of their hatred and willed to sully his name. Back in Sacramento, in 1857, he published writings "for the purpose of unmasking hypocrites," and vigilantes.⁸⁶ In the summer of 1858, McGowan leaves panned-out California for regions north.⁸⁷ He finds himself in British Columbia during the Fraser Canyon Gold Rush.⁸⁸ He becomes involved in an almost comic adventure that would later be called "the Ned McGowan War."⁸⁹ A bloodless war, Judge McGowan faces

⁷⁸ Wheat 7.

⁷⁹ Myers 74-79.

⁸⁰ Myers 112.

⁸¹ Myers 1-4.

⁸² Myers 74.

⁸³ Myers 96-111.

⁸⁴ Myers 138-39.

⁸⁵ Myers 214.

⁸⁶ Wheat 7-8.

⁸⁷ Myers 237.

⁸⁸ Myers 228-44.

⁸⁹ Myers 240.

some members of his old vigilante foe. McGowan was part of the Hill's Bar (a town five miles below Yale, where the ex-vigilantes had control) faction (many ex-San Franciscans and former Law and Order Party members).⁹⁰ The two rival groups fired legal warrants at each other, and jailed each other, with finally Yale ex-vigilantes stoking further the embers by trying to elevate the conflict, accusing McGowan of "launch[ing] an attempt to overthrow the British authority in the new colony and declare the gold fields to be part of the United States."⁹¹ The conflict ends with the Justice from Yale and the Justice from Hill's Bar both being accused of misconduct, and the magistrates dismissed from their posts.⁹² Though McGowan was fined for assault, the incident ends with drinks all around, including for the presiding judge, and British officials.⁹³ McGowan has been described as "a hail fellow, well met."⁹⁴ This ending, and other remembrances of McGowan, support this description. After the events in British Columbia, McGowan connects with his son, and they spend time together in Mexico.⁹⁵ The vigilantes' toxic propaganda preceded father and son, so their stay was brief. As McGowan traveled northward again, he was now on a trail that would ultimately lead him to the deck of the *Diana* on its fateful day--a path that would take him to the Confederate South in the coming conflict (while his brother would remain in the service of the Federal forces in the east).⁹⁶ In 1859, McGowan ventures to Arizona, an area "neglected by both the federal government and by that of New Mexico, to which it was still attached."⁹⁷ A survivor, McGowan ends up in Tucson in 1860 as "one of the chief instigators" of a convention "for the

⁹⁰ Myers 240.

⁹¹ "McGowan's War - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia." *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/McGowan%27s_War>.

⁹² "McGowan's War - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia."

⁹³ Myers 243-44.

⁹⁴ Wheat 33.

⁹⁵ Myers 246.

⁹⁶ Myers 251.

⁹⁷ Wheat 30-31.

purpose of formulating a Constitution for the "State of Arizona."⁹⁸ He then "drew one of the three district judgeships"⁹⁹ By November, McGowan is elected as Arizona's delegate to Congress--but there was war on the horizon, and the question of Arizona would wait.¹⁰⁰ Sent to Washington with little hope for Arizona's recognition, he was redirected to attend the Confederate convention, in Montgomery, Alabama.¹⁰¹ Eventually, McGowan heads to Richmond when the capital is moved.¹⁰² A delegate was then sent to the Southern Congress: Granville H. Ouray.¹⁰³ It is Ouray, Phil Herbert, and McGowan, who will later form the Arizona Battalion of the Confederate Army.¹⁰⁴ McGowan drives cattle for the Confederates from Texas, to Louisiana and Mississippi.¹⁰⁵ He then enters the Confederate service. By one source, he will serve but three days as a sailor before his capture.¹⁰⁶

He was named as a Major, and a Purser.¹⁰⁷ By "Purser," is probably meant the "Arizona Battalion's finance officer."¹⁰⁸ As previously discussed, when Semmes and Dubecq were wounded, Ed took command of the Diana.¹⁰⁹

Many of the Diana's final crew were ultimately captured by a Federal cavalry unit. As to which one it is not recorded. A writer from the 114th New York simply stated

⁹⁸ Wheat 31.

⁹⁹ Wheat 31-32.

¹⁰⁰ Wheat 32.

¹⁰¹ Myers 251.

¹⁰² Myers 251.

¹⁰³ Myers 251.

¹⁰⁴ Myers 252.

¹⁰⁵ Wheat 33.

¹⁰⁶ Wheat 33.

¹⁰⁷ Wheat 33.

¹⁰⁸ Myers 253-54.

¹⁰⁹ Myers 254.

"our cavalry."¹¹⁰ So the cavalry unit's number was not named. The cavalry coming down with Grover at Irish Bend would have had a better chance of capturing the escaping crew of the Diana, as they were closer to them.

Grover, in an effort to eliminate the Diana, ordered Nims' Battery to be placed in an ideal position to open up on the gunboat, and also deployed two companies of sharpshooters from the 13th Connecticut to pick off the cannoneers. . . . Unfortunately for Semmes and his crew, they were captured by the cavalry of the 114th New York Volunteers [sic] as the Rebels attempted to make their escape across W. P. Allen's field to Bayou Choupique, in the rear of Franklin."¹¹¹

From the "Record of the 114th Regiment N. Y. S. V.--WHERE IT WENT WHAT IT SAW AND WHAT IT DID," by Dr. Harris H. Beecher:

As the army was approaching the town of Franklin, five miles further on, a large foundry was captured, with all its fixtures uninjured which had been of great use to the rebels in the manufacture of cannon and shot. There appeared to be some difficulty in the occupation of Franklin, judging from the firing of the cavalry. Again was Weitzel's Brigade formed in line of battle in the cane fields, and moved on slowly towards the town.

No opposition being made to their advance, filing out of the fields, they entered the streets of one of the largest and prettiest villages in western Louisiana. As the flags were unfurled, and the bands commenced to play, the foot-sore and weary soldiers were infused with new energy. The laggards were all in their places, stepping off promptly in time to the music, and the whole patriot army presented an imposing spectacle to the astonished citizens of Franklin. Scarcely had they advanced a few squares into the town, before a stunning, deafening crash was heard. The earth quivered with the violence of the concussion, and the air was filled with a sulphurous cloud, and flying sticks and timbers.

¹¹⁰ Beecher 152.

¹¹¹ Raphael. *A Gunboat Named Diana*. 159.

The gunboat Diana was no more. Disabled at the battle of Bisland, she had only succeeded in reaching the docks at Franklin [sic], when the victorious army entered the place. The rebels, accordingly, set fire to her magazine and she was blown to atoms [sic]. Her commander, Captain Semmes, son of the notorious Alabama Semmes, was captured by our cavalry, in endeavoring to escape from the burning vessel.

Marching beyond the town about a mile, the Regiment went into bivouac on a grassy field, having marched fifteen miles that day. There they were joined by Federal General Grover's Division, who had fought the day before, near this place, the battle of Irish Bend, which had caused the precipitate evacuation of Fort Bisland.

Here he gained a decisive victory, but for some unaccountable reason, failed to reap the fruits of victory. Why General Grover, after driving the enemy away in confusion at the battle of Irish Bend, should content himself to quietly encamp, in the middle of the day, near the battle ground, when, by consulting the simplest map, or heeding the advice of his guides, he could have marched unchecked but a couple of miles, and easily occupied a position that would have stopped the retreat of the rebel army, thereby causing its capture--why he did not this, is one of those questions that probably never will be answered; yet the humblest private in the ranks saw the situation and chafed under his restraint.

Within a bend of Bayou Teche he lay the night of the 13th, while across the neck of the peninsula, the rebels retreated upon the only road leading out from the lower Teche, which at this point passed through a swamp upon a dike.

If at that time, a few pieces of artillery had been placed to bear upon this causeway, there would have been no more occasion for future campaigns and battles in Western Louisiana, and the disasters of the Red River Campaign would probably never have occurred. Yet, as the boys chatted by the camp fires that night, they were satisfied with the victories achieved. The rebel army had become demoralized and had lost over

two thousand prisoners. In summing up the glorious results of the past three days, they laid themselves down and enjoyed a grateful and much needed rest.¹¹²

One passage above has caused a bit of confusion: The Diana certainly did surpass the Franklin docks, on her way to assume her position in the Teche on the Confederate right flank. This causes confusion if one misreads and assumes incorrectly that the vessel was blown up at the Franklin docks--no wonder some thought the remnants of the hull were once sitting near the foot of Willow Street.

Of the escaping survivors, some men may have ultimately evaded capture (unlikely), or were just left out of the record--and some of the Diana's incapacitated may have been captured on the hospital ship Cornie, heading up the Teche.¹¹³

So, the majority of the known men under Semmes, McGowan, and Dubecq, were captured on land owned by W. P. Allen. The group of men discussed below were gathered using the three sources mentioned earlier: Booth, "Search By Soldier Name," and "Herbert's Batt. Rosters." This group included some men later paroled at Prophet's Island, below Port Hudson, and some sent to New Orleans to be exchanged: Baker (who was earlier exchanged in March, when he was captured at Vicksburg on 28 December 1862--now paroled at Prophet's Island in July), Berry (paroled July 1863; sent to New Orleans), Brand (paroled May 5; sent to New Orleans), Broussard (apparently paroled the day after his capture, but again on May 5), Campbell (no date of parole), Cockburn (no date of parole), Deslattes (no evidence of parole; sent to New Orleans to be exchanged), Farrell (paroled May 11), Ferguson (paroled May 11), Fortier (paroled May 11), Kieff (paroled May 11), Layman (paroled May 11), Melancon (not paroled until June 5, 1865, at Alexandria, so he was most likely exchanged), McCarthy (paroled May 11), McDermot (paroled May 11), Orse (sent to New Orleans to be exchanged), Price (no day of capture is given for April in the record, but paroled April [sic--should read May] 11 and so he was probably captured with this group), Shexnaydre (sent to New Orleans to be exchanged), and Sprigg (paroled May 11). A handful of men evidently evaded capture for a

¹¹² Beecher 151-53.

¹¹³ OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 393.

few days: On the 16th, Goins was found (paroled with the others on May 11). A few days later, on the 19th, Meyers was taken into custody (paroled May 11). Finally, in an example of unintentional alliteration, Ham, Hampton, and Hill were made prisoners on April 20 (all three paroled May 11). At least one of the above mentioned men tried to rejoin the Confederate Army after he was exchanged,¹¹⁴ and probably others did as well--and maybe even some of those who were paroled, which would yield a death penalty, if caught. As mentioned, while possible, it is not probable that some of the Diana's last crewmen escaped capture with the extent to which the Federal forces finally enveloped the Irish Bend area. Now, for the officers of the boat, Semmes, McGowan, and Dubecq, the fantastic tale would continue for a while longer.

McGowan was held prisoner, with others, in New Orleans. Later, the officers were to be sent (ultimately) on the USS Maple Leaf bound for Fortress Monroe¹¹⁵ . . . but this would not be the end of McGowan. With ninety captured officers, the vessel Catawba was to go to Fort Monroe, but the decision was made to transfer them to the Maple Leaf for a Northern prison.¹¹⁶ McGowan would have none of this, and takes over the ship. McGowan and some of his fellow prisoners effected an escape (from the Maple Leaf, as now known, not the Mayflower, per Ochiltree).¹¹⁷ He led the prisoners to take the ship, and they ran it aground "eight miles from Cape Henry Light," in Virginia.¹¹⁸ They then travel through a part of Virginia occupied by the Federals.¹¹⁹ "Twenty-three were recaptured or shot in the course of the sneak through Union lines to Confederate

¹¹⁴ Moise Deslattes--see: Bearss, Edwin C. ed. *A Louisiana Confederate: Diary of Felix Pierre Poche*. Natchitoches: Louisiana Studies Institute, Northwestern State University, 1972. 171. Print.

¹¹⁵ Wheat 33.

¹¹⁶ Myers 255.

¹¹⁷ Myers 255.

¹¹⁸ Myers 255. Ochiltree wrote "North Carolina."

¹¹⁹ Myers 255.

territory."¹²⁰ McGowan then leads a large group of prisoners on to Richmond, where he achieves hero status.¹²¹

After the war, some of these men went back to their previous professions and trades, while some chose new lines of work. Some picked farming; others, like Semmes, became judges. Ochiltree and Ouray went into politics. Some were involved in still more perilous adventures--Ed McGowan being such an example.

McGowan would face a lean economy in his future, but his close friends, including Ouray (now a Representative of the Arizona Territory in the U.S. Congress), would make sure he would not "starve."¹²² McGowan headed north after the war, to New York City, hoping to assist in rebuilding the Democratic Party.¹²³ After some years, his connection, Ochiltree, arranges a meeting with President Grant (the rebel Ochiltree now working with the Grant administration).¹²⁴ This would be the second president who McGowan would meet (probably Buchanan before).¹²⁵ Grant gave McGowan the encouragement he needed to return, after nineteen years, to San Francisco.¹²⁶ McGowan even makes an acquaintance of one of the leaders of the old Vigilance Committee--evidently each with eyes wide open--perhaps both tired of the past violence of mob rule and civil war.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Myers 255. See also: A roster of soldiers who escaped the Maple Leaf with McGowan on June 13, 1863, can be found in: Witt, Jerry. *Escape from the Maple Leaf*. Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1993. Print. Courtesy A.K. Smiley Public Library Archives, Misti Moore, Redlands, CA. Appendix A, Roster, p. 98: "22. Dubecq, J., 1LT, Gunboat Diana, NOG [New Orleans Group], [Escaped?] Yes; p. 101, 54. McGowan, Edward, carried on Federal rolls as Purser of the gunboat Diana, NOG, Yes; p. 103, 79. Semmes, Oliver, J., CPT, 1st CSA Light Arty Btry, captured with the destruction of the gunboat Diana at Irish Bend, Apr. 1863, NOG, Yes."

¹²¹ Wheat 34.

¹²² Wheat 34.

¹²³ Myers 266.

¹²⁴ Myers 266.

¹²⁵ Myers 250-51.

¹²⁶ Myers 266.

¹²⁷ Myers 267-68.

Never able to recover his past power, McGowan would later go in search of gold in the Dakota Territory, in 1877, but even here in this remote area, the libel and slander of the old Committee would precede him.¹²⁸ People were expecting to see a man of dark and desperate character. He later returns to San Francisco and writes a book and a number of articles.¹²⁹

Almost unbelievable, McGowan eventually ends up as an Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives.¹³⁰ He would also continue to write as he entered old age.¹³¹ In the 1880s, he would win a libel suit against Hubert Howe Bancroft, a historian of California (sued because McGowan felt he had been defamed by the historian, and at least one researcher has pointed out the libelous nature of Bancroft's treatment of McGowan), but never obtain any money from the verdict.¹³² With silver on his mind, he was back in Arizona, Tombstone, in 1881, where it was reported that he was a "'lookout' in a faro game in a boisterous and turbulent mining camp," at which at least one fatal shooting occurred.¹³³ Finally, back in San Francisco, a much different place now, he died in poverty, "a very quiet, gentle old man," on 8 December 1893 in St. Mary's Hospital.¹³⁴ He was buried on December 11, in San Francisco, after an old acquaintance paid for a decent burial,¹³⁵ but . . .

"Ubiquitous" Ed was so, even in death. He was indeed buried in San Francisco, but his body was later moved (as had been so many thousand others when San Francisco

¹²⁸ Myers 269.

¹²⁹ Myers 269-70.

¹³⁰ Myers 273.

¹³¹ Myers 273-74.

¹³² "MCGOWAN, Ned." *ABCBookWorld*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2010. <http://www.abcbookworld.com/view_author.php?id=4993>. See also: Wheat, Carl. "Ned, The Ubiquitous--Soldier of Fortune par Excellence--Being the Further Narrative of Edward McGowan." *California Historical Society Quarterly* VI.1 (1927): 35. Print. See also: Myers 280.

¹³³ Wheat 35.

¹³⁴ Wheat 35-36.

¹³⁵ Wheat 36.

relocated most of its cemeteries in the 20th century to make room for construction). Today, his remains are in Holy Cross Catholic Cemetery, 1500 Mission Road, in Colma, California. His body is one of six family members, including his older brother, John, in an above ground vault in Section E, Row 1, Area 4, Grave 2--southeast of the Receiving Chapel. A simple marker reads "McGowan."¹³⁶

Discounting unsubstantiated reports, "ubiquitous" the remains of the Diana are not. The Diana was dismembered. First, her guns were sent to Brashear City.¹³⁷ Second, the Diana was "entirely removed, and placed on the left bank, going up," in 1871¹³⁸ (perhaps just where the Teche straightens heading up the bend--that is, the west bank, somewhere above her almost final resting place on the opposite bank). Any sighting thereafter was therefore not the Diana. On the same source page as above, Mr. Kingsbury indicates he did not receive any word as to what to do with the "old iron."¹³⁹ The reader is then told further down the page that he "disposed of it to two persons at Franklin to cover expenses."¹⁴⁰ Might they have left something behind? Could some of Diana's material have been seen in 1897, and again in 1907?¹⁴¹ Yet, it is unlikely any boilers, or other iron, would have been uprooted only to be plopped down a short distance south near Willow Street (scene of the mysterious boiler find in 1966¹⁴²).

¹³⁶From Holy Cross Catholic Cemetery records gathered by the writer on his visit in 2009:

Edward McGowan 12-11-93
 John McGowan 6-1-94
 Mary McGowan 1-17-99
 John P. Forrey 7-19-10, left side center niche
 Winifred McGowan 3-4-11, middle niche right side
 Thomas McGowan 8-7-30, right bottom

¹³⁷OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, pp. 728, 730.

¹³⁸Wilby 91.

¹³⁹Wilby 91.

¹⁴⁰Wilby 91.

¹⁴¹Raphael. *A Gunboat Named Diana*. 180-81.

¹⁴²Raphael. *A Gunboat Named Diana*. 180-81.

Rumors of cannons, and the tale of a bell, notwithstanding, maybe someday a genuine artifact from the Diana will surface; then a final resting place in a museum for the bona fide relic, if not the Diana in whole, will be welcomed. For now, historians and archaeologists are left only with treasured words: "Captain Semmes, in command of the Diana, and his crew conducted themselves with the greatest bravery and intrepidity, and deserve the highest encomiums."¹⁴³

¹⁴³ OR, Series 1, Vol. 15, Part 1, p. 395.

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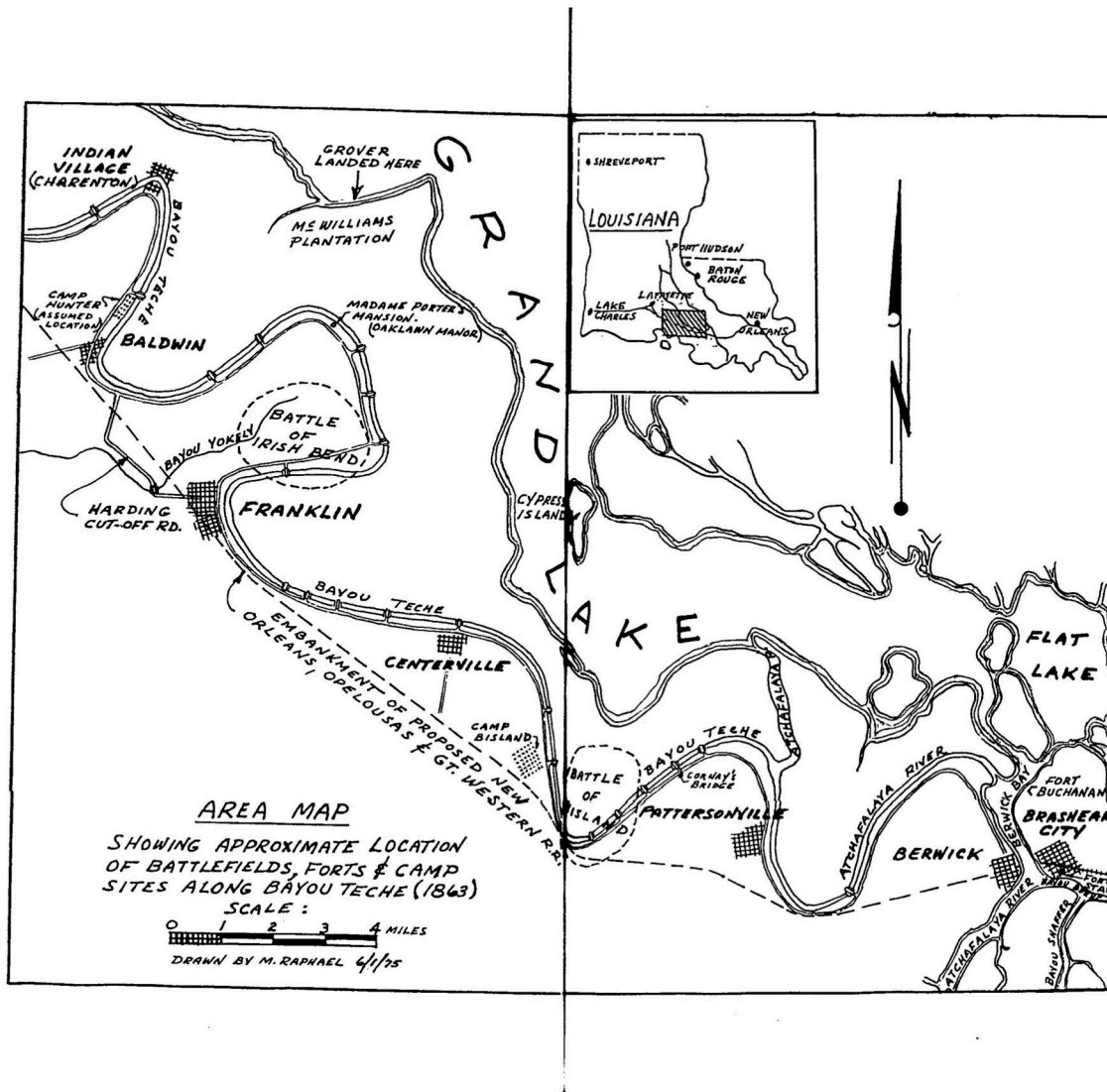
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Area map of conflict, courtesy M. Raphael.

From: "A Gunboat Named Diana,"

pp. 60-61.



**165' of Diana blocking the Teche
and the approximate escape route.**



Front view



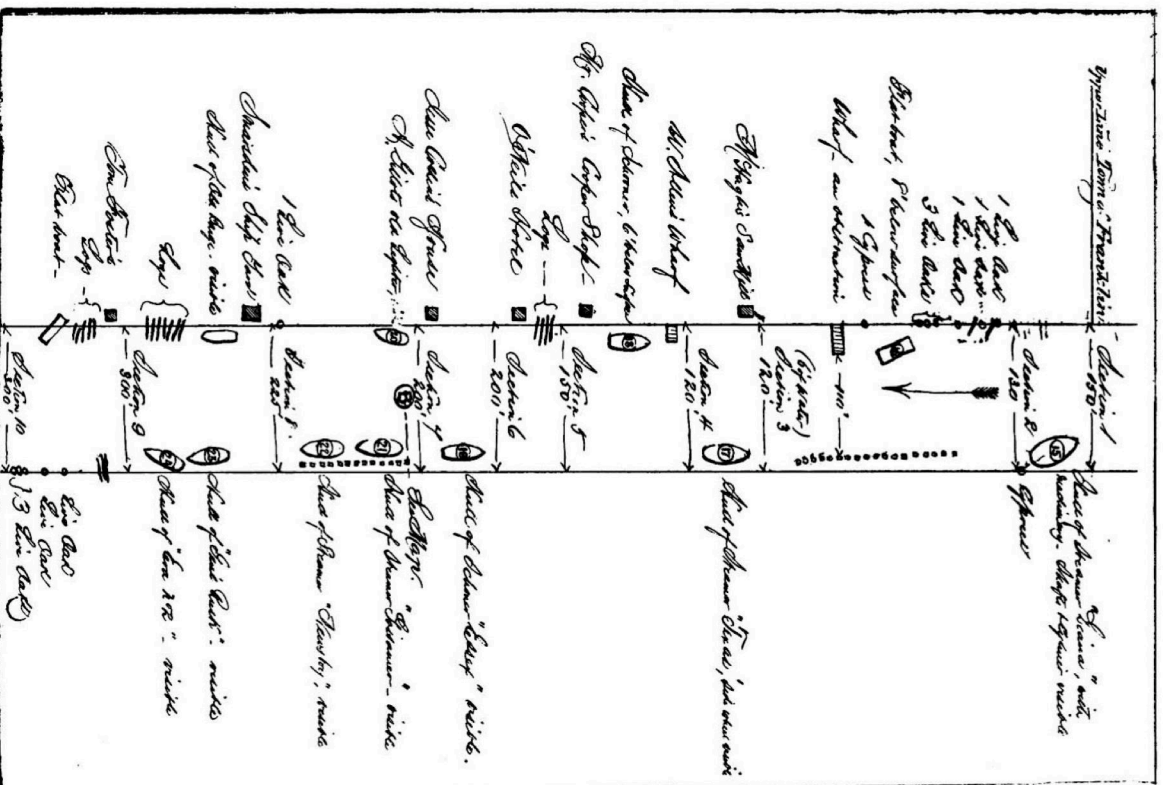
The writer at the grave site.



Side view



**Edward McGowan's
final resting place.**



1870 Teche obstructions--Diana seen.
From: Wilby 44.



**Diana's almost final resting place
--hull would have been here, or just a few
yards above or below.**



**View of Diana's almost final resting place.
Teche view just up from Roseville St.**



**View of Diana's almost final resting place.
Teche view across from Roseville St.**



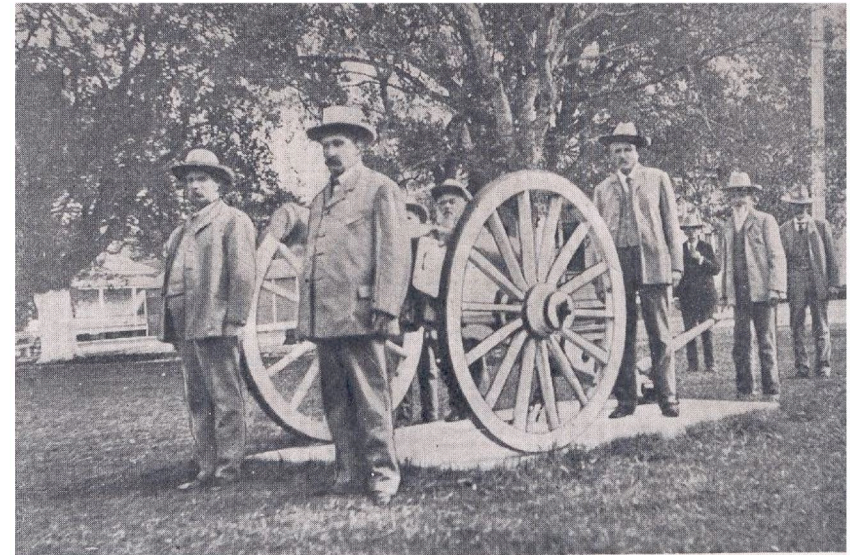
**House of Jean Louis Deslattes II,
father of Moise Deslattes/Pelican Artillery.**



A FEW SURVIVORS OF THE FAMOUS PELICAN BATTERY.

Newspaper image--unknown source.

From extinct website <http://www.geocities.com/pelican_battery/Reenactment_Unit.html>



VETERANS TAKING THEIR STATIONS AT THE HISTORIC SIX-POUNDER.

March 7, 1907

Newspaper image--unknown source.

From extinct website <http://www.geocities.com/pelican_battery/Reenactment_Unit.html>



CAST BY G.W. COFFIN & CO.



Bell photos

Courtesy of Clarkson A. Brown, Jr.



BUCKEYE BELL FOUNDRY



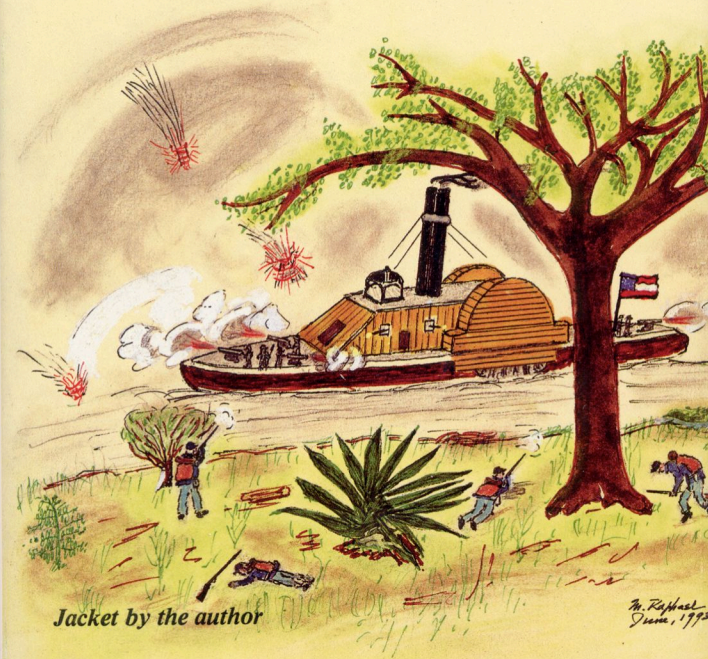
CINCINNATI 1864

"1864"--not the Diana's bell.

A GUNBOAT NAMED DIANA

... and other exciting stories of Civil War battles
which raged in the bayou country of Louisiana.

By Morris Raphael



The Diana

Book cover shown courtesy of Mr. Raphael.



Morris Raphael and the writer in 2008.

ERRATA

The Last Moments of the Gunboat Diana, and Her Almost Final Resting Place. Clayton, California: Horace J. Beach, Ph.D., 2010. 61. Print.

● Since the publication of this work, it has come to the awareness of the writer that another possible *Diana* image has surfaced. A sketch image simply labeled "*Diana*" was found among *The Daniel D. T. Nestell Papers*, Special Collections & Archives Department, Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy. ". . . [S]panning from 1852 to 1911 . . . [Daniel D. T. Nestell] was an Assistant Surgeon in the United States Navy during the Civil War," and was assigned to the *U.S.S. Clifton*. The writer discovered the image in: Frazier, Donald S.. *Thunder Across the Swamp: The Fight for the Lower Mississippi, February 1863-May 1863*. Buffalo Gap, Tex.: State House Press, 2011. Print. Later, the writer determined that the sketch image evidently first appeared in: Gusley, Henry O., and Edward T. Cotham. *The Southern Journey of a Civil War Marine: The Illustrated Note-book of Henry O. Gusley*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. Print. It shows a vessel that to the writer looks to have a deep draught, based on what is seen of the hull rising out of the water.

The writer again consulted Patrick Hreachmack, who has an expertise in the construction of ships, especially Civil War vessels. He assisted the writer by making, and/or agreeing with, many of the following observations. He agrees with the assessment that the hull illustrated is typical of a coastal, sea-going vessel, and not a river steamer. It lacks the low, nearly flat, deck of bayou vessels, such as seen in the *Estrella*, *Calhoun*, and *Kinsman*. It is an image very different than the F. H. Schell image of the *Diana* (*HARPER'S WEEKLY*, 9 May 1863, and described on page 299) seen in the present work. Now, F. H. Schell knew his vessels--one has only to look at his sketch found in "The War in Louisiana [sic]: General Weitzel's Expedition up the Bayou Teche to Destroy the Rebel Ironclad Gunboat P.A. Cotton." The Becker Collection (Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA). Web. 23 June 2012. <<http://idesweb.bc.edu/becker/details?pid=24866&jpg2=24826&label=The+War+in+Louisiana%3A++General+Weitzel%27s+Expedit>

ion+up+the+Bayou+Teche+to+Destroy+the+Rebel+Ironclad+Gunboat+P.A.+Cotton>. It is clear that F. H. Schell knew the Calhoun and Estrela in great detail, and demonstrated this through his sketch and his careful labeling of the vessel names, and other details. Seen in this same sketch is an image of a smoke-obscured *Kinsman*, illustrated with its one smoke stack, low deck, and manned open gun on the bow. Faintly seen is the extension of a hurricane deck. Yes, F. H. Schell knew the *Kinsman* too, and so would not have confused her for the *Diana*, the writer believes—especially if the *Diana* appeared as Dr. Daniel D. T. Nestell's sketch would have it. It was not *Harper's* that claimed Schell's image was the *Diana*, but the artist's own published letter with his elaboration on the *Diana*: "[T]he *Diana*, lately burned by the rebels, to prevent her falling into our hands;" (of course the original sketch was translated by the printer—and the writer recognizes the potential for alteration here—but it is so very different from Nestell's *Diana*). It is worth noting, though the significance is uncertain, that Nestell's *Diana* sketch is one of his few in the collection that is neither dated, nor has any context provided. It is the writer's thought that this is either another *Diana*, or not a *Diana* at all.

The writer's check of the following two authoritative sources, as suggested by Hreachmack, yielded no *Diana* vessel other than the Bisland/Irish Bend *Diana* that could fit the Nestell image (though, as is being argued here, the Bisland/Irish Bend *Diana's* known descriptions do not fit well Nestell's *Diana* image). There were many a "*Diana*" listed:

Way, Frederick. *Way's packet directory, 1848-1994: passenger steamboats of the Mississippi River system since the advent of photography in mid-continent America*. Rev. ed. Athens: Ohio University, 1994. Print.

Lytle, William M., and Forrest Robert Holdcamper. *Merchant steam vessels of the United States, 1790-1868: "The Lytle-Holdcamper list," initially compiled from official merchant marine documents of the United States and other sources*. Staten Island, N.Y.: Steamship Historical Society of America Inc., 1975. Print.

Concerning the Nestell image, the forward object on the bow is not a gun—the feature is drawn too large to be a cannon. Strangely, it looks more like a bowsprit, per Hreachmack. In fact, no guns are seen in the drawing. Also, it is unlikely that the very heavy 30-pounder Parrott, and two

32-pounder 33 cwt guns of the *Diana* could be on this sketched open bow, as no hog chains/braces are seen. From what is known, all five guns of the *Diana* were forward of the amidships side paddlewheels, but were not right at the bow. It is more likely that the broadside 32-pounder 33 cwt guns were situated closer to amidships. Hreachmack states, "The weight of three heavy guns on a light riverboat ex-passenger steamer would not be able to be supported by its bow structure. Note that the *Kinsman* and *Estrella* carried their armament further aft, beginning in the forward midship section."

When the *Diana* was initially captured by the Federals, it was referred to as, "The *Diana*, a riverboat . . ." that was carrying passengers (see: "The New York Times, July 20, 1862 : Front Page : NewspaperARCHIVE.com." *The New York Times, July 20, 1862 : Front Page : NewspaperARCHIVE.com*. N.p., 20 July 1862. Web. 25 June 2012. <<http://newspaperarchive.com/the-new-york-times/1862-07-20/>>.). In this context, a riverboat usually implies a vessel that has a deck that is close to the water. The reader's attention is also invited to these combined first-hand accounts of the *Diana*: ". . . our **stout little gunboat . . . staunch little gunboat** *Diana* . . . our trim *Diana* . . . **light gunboats . . . light-draught . . .**" Especially important are these first-hand reports: "Her cannoneers were driven from **their pieces in the casemates . . . double case-mating . . .**" and, "Forward, the machinery was covered by defenses; **abaft, no part could be protected.**" Finally, a first-hand comment that should remind the reader that the *Diana* of Bisland and Irish Bend fame had a deck that was close to the water line, as would a riverboat steamer: "**It was easy enough to get on board,** for the banks of the river were perfectly level and the water flowed almost on a level with the banks. **An ordinary planking was thrown from the shore to the deck of the boat.**" The above first-hand descriptions of *Diana* best fit with Schell's *Diana* image.

On the matter of an absent pilot house, it is unlikely that the *Diana* had no external pilothouse, per Hreachmack. He states, "To navigate the bayous required as much peripheral vision as possible, nearly always achieved by locating a pilot house on the upper deck. This feature allowed the pilots to spot snags, rapids, low water, and other obstacles earlier and hopefully in time to try to avoid them." That the printed image based on Schell's sketch

(although the original sketch is not known to the writer) shows no pilothouse is remarkable, but perhaps it was dismantled and under repair at the time in the Brasher docks. Again, the writer is not sure what to make of this, but there is a crack in the *Harper's* image going right up to where the pilothouse would be. Could this have somehow caused the pilothouse nonappearance? That the *Kinsman* is similarly shown without a pilot house is equally strange--maybe this was due to Schell's smoke-obscured *Kinsman* image, leaving the printer to guess as to the boat's elements (if Schell's sketch was the basis for the *Kinsman* image in "The Battle in Bayou Teche." *Harper's Weekly--A Journal of Civilization* [New York] 14 Feb. 1863: 101, 103. Print.), or both the *Kinsman* and *Diana* had very unusual internal pilothouses usually seen only on ironclads.

A short note on casemates: Hreachmack states, "Gunboat casemates were essentially thick wood structures, intended to limit most small arms fire. They could easily be penetrated by rifled bullets, and any artillery. The concept was to add some protection to the gun crews, but not add a great deal of additional weight (due to the already massive weight of the artillery carried)."

● From a 1945 Franklin cemetery map, courtesy of Franklin resident Matthew Fore, with Miller and Associates, comes a correction and clarification of Runk's line. In 1945, it is still represented on the map and ran parallel to, and just a few feet north of, the cemetery's present-day Camellia. It travels straight down to Mums (parallel to, perhaps just a few feet south of Mums--if not directly on Mums) and then ends at the Teche. Because of the angle of Camellia and Mums, it makes no difference in where the writer believed the *Diana* once lay, even though he first thought that Runk's line corresponded with modern-day Gardenia. Also, it turns out that the "Runk Estates," as seen on the 1945 map, were north of the line, and therefore outside of the Franklin city limit--but again, this does not change the theorized location of *Diana's* almost final resting place, nor the proposed escape route. It is still surmised that Semmes, McGowen, and the men of the *Diana*, fled the boat, entering the shore just above Roseville Street. They would have run under (south) whatever cemetery was extant at the time, about parallel to, and south of, Runk's line. From the 1874 Franklin town limits description, it is known that Runk's line, to the west,

became the south line of W. P. Allen's place, where many of the *Diana's* men were captured.

Finally, the reader's attention is directed to yet another document that has become known to the writer of late. A passage concerning the *Diana's* demise is here quoted:

"I got to my Company just in time in the evening to face Banks Army of 33,000. Our forces were 7500. We stayed with them 3 days and nights. As the Federal forces had sank our small boats in Grand Lake they landed about 10,000 men and cut off our supplies from New Iberia. We were forced to leave our positions and attend to those and with the aid of the little gun boat Diana we drove them back and our forces retreated to Opelousas. . . . I will here repeat concerning the little gunboat Diana which helped us pass Franklin when the Feds thought they had us cut off. Almost 8 of us were ordered to set fire to 3 or 4 of those beautiful River Steamers that were tied across the Bayou Teche at Franklin. The little Diana dislodged them and kept up a continuous fire. . . . The little Diana, after firing the last shot turned back to Franklin, threw the five guns over board, set her on fire, started her up the bayou toward the bridge and jumped off into the bayou & swam out. One escaped to tell us what happened. The others were taken prisoner. This was the last of the gunboat and her brave little crew. After the surrender of the Confederate States, these guns were recovered. They were worth the trouble."

From: "The Memoirs of John Adam Lorenz." He was in Co. D of the 5th Texas Mounted Volunteers, under the command of Gen. Sibley and Col. Tom Green. The passage is quoted through the courtesy of his great-great-granddaughter Greta Zaiontz, and Roland Stansbury, of the Young-Sanders Center. The original document belongs to Greta's parents, Claude and Lorenz "Laurie" S. Zaiontz, who live in San Antonio, Texas.

What is worth noting in the above passage, though not an eyewitness account of some of the last moments of the *Diana* described, is nonetheless informative. First, notice the multiple mentions of "little" when describing the *Diana*. Second, if the boat was fired after bringing it back towards Franklin following the retreat coverage (literally backing up--based on the remains noted by a teardrop shape with its stern against the east bank and a bow jutting forward and slanting toward the middle of the bayou in the Teche survey, and the narrowness of the bayou near the cemetery preventing a turn around), and then set loose to travel toward the Federals and away from Franklin, then it evidently lodged against the bank of the Teche fairly soon after the firing--the reader is asked also to recall the

theorized escape route. Third, the report of all five guns being thrown overboard is questionable. Perhaps the two relatively lightweight Dahlgrens were tossed, but the two 3300 pound guns and their carriages, and long and heavy 30-pounder Parrott with its iron carriage?—and if the writer is correct, dumped from inside the casemates? It is certainly possible, of course, as Hreachmack states, "By the time of the American Civil War, most naval-style gun carriages had two wheels at the forward business end of the carriage, but only sliders at the breech end. This allowed the carriages to be readily moved provided a number of crew were available, yet with the slides helping to decrease recoil to some degree. Indications are that the rear of the Diana's casemate may have been somewhat open to the after deck. If this was indeed the case, then it may have been possible for the crew to push/roll the five guns out of the casemate, across the deck, and with momentum working for them, push through the light low bulwarks and shove the artillery over the side into the water." Also, as was mentioned in this work, the *Official Record* indicates that it was the intention of General Banks to extract the guns from the *Diana* not long after her destruction. However, the writer could find no confirmation that he was successful, and only the expectation of receiving the guns at headquarters as noted in another *OR* letter (which may imply a knowledge of Banks' possession of them).

- In visiting the Confederate Memorial Museum in New Orleans, Louisiana in June, 2011, through his inquiry, the writer learned that the images of the Pelican Artillery members did not have a newspaper as their source. The photos are from a series of post cards that were sold by the Camp Nicholls Veterans Home that was once located at 1700 Moss Street at Esplanade, in New Orleans.





C.S.S. Diana
1/600 model

Created by Patrick Hreachmack at the request of Mr. Raphael.

The prototype model was sent to him a couple of months before his passing.
The model in the photo was built by Mr. Hreachmack from the Bay Area Yards kit,
especially for the writer.

This model kit is currently available from Bay Area Yards Fine Nautical Miniatures
<http://bayareayards.virtualscratchbuilder.com/>



“Commission Pennant of the CSS *Diana*”

“This small commission pennant—probably one of her original Union flags—was taken from the vessel before she was destroyed.”

Photo taken by Patrick Hreachmack at the National Civil War Naval Museum in Columbus, GA. Photo by permission of the museum.