In the aftermath of the *Titanic* disaster in 1912, both America and Britain held inquiries, in an attempt to find the causes of the accident, and if necessary, to make corrections or revisions to the existing safety laws and regulations. As part of the proceedings, the British Inquiry attempted to determine the order and times at which the lifeboats were lowered, and how many people where in each lifeboat. Unfortunately, very little of the Inquiry testimony mentions specific details of the numbers of passengers by class in each boat, and no list of which individuals were in which lifeboat was made, so the British Assessors were only able to give rough estimates of the numbers.

One of the only other published analyses of lifeboat occupancy rates was completed by Colonel Archibald Gracie. A First Class survivor rescued atop Collapsible B, Gracie’s findings were published in 1913 as part of his book “The Truth About the *Titanic*.” Gracie was able to correspond with a number of other survivors, and was able to obtain additional accounts and information not available at the Inquiries. However, his data is heavily slanted towards First Class passengers and crewmembers, with not a lot of detail regarding the Second and Third Class passengers.

The British Inquiry did not attempt to assign individual survivors to lifeboats, as Gracie did. However, as part of the final report they published, “Report on the Loss of the *Titanic*,” they did give their estimated totals of the survivors in each individual lifeboat. In some instances, these totals agree with Gracie’s totals, but not in all cases. The following table shows their published totals, and the differences between the two sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boat Number</th>
<th>British Inquiry</th>
<th>Gracie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28 (from BI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
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<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the table above, the assessors of the British Inquiry and Colonel Gracie included the survivors from Collapsible A and B in the totals for D and No. 12, respectively. As can be seen, when the estimated number of occupants in each boat are added up, they far surpass the actual number of survivors. According to highly detailed research by researchers Lester Mitcham, Hermann Söldner, and others, the exact number of people rescued by the *Carpathia* was 712, the same number as listed in the final British Inquiry Report, a figure that is nearly universally accepted in the field of *Titanic* research at the current time.

Obviously, both the British Inquiry and Colonel Gracie overestimated the number of people in the individual lifeboats. This article is an attempt to correct some of these overestimates, and determine the actual number of people that were rescued in each lifeboat.

### Lifeboat Launch Sequence

In the final report of the British Inquiry, the Assessors included a chart of the times they estimated each lifeboat left *Titanic*. Subsequent research has shown that their times and sequence of events do not entirely agree with the testimony at both Inquiries, or with eyewitness accounts from sources given outside of the inquiries. The following chart and supporting article clarifies and corrects these errors. The most significant differences between this timeline and the British Inquiry timeline are:

- Lifeboat No. 8 being lowered ahead of No. 6
- The 3 port aft lifeboats being lowered before the starboard aft lifeboats
- Lifeboat No. 10 being lowered after the other aft port lifeboats, and the aft port boats leaving in the opposite order of what the British Inquiry said they did.
- Collapsible C being lowered after No. 2 and No. 4, as the forward Well Deck began to submerge.

Once the order was given to start loading the lifeboats, the officers in general started loading and lowering the lifeboats from forward to stern. First Officer Murdoch, Third Officer Pitman and Fifth Officer Lowe worked on the forward starboard lifeboats, while Second Officer Lightoller tried to load passengers in the forward port boats. In the meantime, Captain Smith and Chief Officer Wilde were busy generally superintending the evacuation and sending for aid for the ship. Despite popular belief, there is substantial evidence that Smith was heavily involved in all aspects of the evacuation and boat loading/lowering, and that Chief Officer Wilde was heavily involved in the loading of the boats as well. Fourth Officer Boxhall was put in charge of sending up distress rockets, and Sixth Officer Moody was still busy uncovering the lifeboats at
the port stern. As the evacuation progressed, the officers moved to the stern to load boats and control the crowds gathering there, in some cases leaving the remaining fore boats to be set up and readied for use later on. The four collapsible boats could not be hooked up to the falls or loaded until the forward davits were clear of Lifeboats No. 1 and No. 2, and were not utilized until the rest of the lifeboats were away from the ship.

### Lifeboat Launch Times Overview

All times approximate to 5 minutes, and refer to the beginning of lowering from the deck (more specific times listed in parenthesis when applicable)

From “Titanic: The Lifeboat Launch Sequence Re-Examined”

By Bill Wormstedt, Tad Fitch and George Behe

At [http://wormstedt.com/Titanic/lifeboats/lifeboats.htm](http://wormstedt.com/Titanic/lifeboats/lifeboats.htm)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Port Lifeboats</th>
<th>Starboard Lifeboats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Murdoch, Lowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Murdoch, Lowe, Pitman (at 12:43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Murdoch, Lowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lightoller, Wilde, Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Murdoch, Lowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Smith, Lightoller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Moody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lowe, Wilde, Lightoller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wilde, Lightoller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Murdoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Murdoch, Moody on A deck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wilde, Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Murdoch, Lightoller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Murdoch, Wilde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:05</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Lightoller, Wilde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Lightoller (floated off)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>A Murdoch, Moody (floated off)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Titantic sinks*

### Lifeboat Occupancy

**Boat 7** - Launched at about 12:40am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch, supported by Fifth Officer Lowe. Lookout George Hogg was put in charge.

Third Officer Pitman, who helped load and lower the boat, estimated 30 to 40 people were in it at that time. Fifth Officer Lowe, who assisted him, estimated 50. Lookout Hogg, who was in charge of the lifeboat once it reached the water, said it lowered with around 42 aboard, but then 6 more were transferred into it from No. 5, giving a total of around 48. Passengers Mr. and Mrs. Dickinson Bishop both gave a count of 28, and passenger J. R. McGough also said 28, plus 5 transferred from No. 5. William Sloper stated No. 7 contained
29, including 3 crew members. Mr. George Harder, an occupant of No. 5, said No. 7 had 29 in it, before 4 or 5 people were transferred out.

The crew, with the exception of Lookout Hogg, gave rough estimates, some fairly high. The passengers were consistent in giving lower and more specific estimates, and Mrs. Bishop mentioned that they counted off just after they reached the water. The actual number of occupants was probably closer to 28, as supported by the passengers’ statements. With the additional 6 transferred in from No. 5 once the boats were afloat, 34 is the best estimate of the number of people picked up in this boat by the Carpathia.

**Boat 5** - Launched at about 12:45am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch, with the assistance of Third Officer Pitman and Fifth Officer Lowe. Fifth Officer Pitman was put in charge of this boat by Murdoch.

Pitman estimated that the lifeboat contained 40 people, including 6 men. Steward Henry Etches said No. 5 had 42; 6 crew, a steward and himself, an officer, 4 male passengers and 1 stewardess, in addition to a number of women. Mr. George Harder said 36 were aboard, including 30 women, the officer & a sailor, 3 other crewmembers, and that 4 or 5 were later transferred to lifeboat No. 7. Mrs. Catherine Crosby claimed the lifeboat had 38 people, 2 officers and the rest first class passengers. William Sloper, an occupant of No. 7, which met up with No. 5, said that the latter contained 35 people. Max Frolicher estimated 36 people were aboard, and Anna Warren’s estimate was 35 or 36. Catherine Crosby also said 36 people were aboard.

The numbers given are all in the 35 to 42 range, and based on the bulk of evidence, an estimate of 36 is probably close to the actual total. The passengers were reluctant to board the boats earlier in the sinking, and the earlier boats were significantly under loaded when lowered away. Since around 6 people were transferred out to Boat No. 7, Boat No. 5 reached the Carpathia with around 30 occupants.

**Boat 3** - Launched at about 12:55am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch, supported by Fifth Officer Lowe. Able Bodied Seaman George Moore was put in charge.

Seaman Moore estimated 32 people were in the lifeboat – 2 seamen, a few men, 5 or 6 firemen, and no stewards or stewardesses. Lookout Symons, who helped load the boat from the boat deck, estimated 40 were aboard. The highest estimate of the number in this boat was from Fifth Officer Lowe who helped load and lower the lifeboat, and guessed that there were 40 to 45 people aboard. (In general, Lowe’s estimates of the number of occupants aboard the lifeboats he helped load and/or lower were amongst the highest amongst the range of estimates given by survivors for those individual boats.)

Passenger estimates of the number aboard Boat No. 3 varied. Mr. Henry Harper estimated that there were some 40 aboard, and said that the boat was far from full. Mr Thomas Cardeza said that he counted 38 heads, and judged that a few more were probably obscured in the bottom of the boat, which was not overcrowded. Mr. Albert Dick agreed with Seaman Moore’s estimate, and said that there 32 aboard, mostly men. Mrs. Edith Graham gave a similar number, saying that there were 34 people aboard, including two sailors, two ship’s boys, and a half dozen or more men. Margareta Spedden also estimated 32, 10 of which she believed were stokers and sailors.

A count of around 32 aboard appears to be the most accurate estimate of the number aboard Boat No. 3, given that this specific number was mentioned by both a crewmember and a passenger, and that the earlier lifeboats were lowered far from full.
Boat 8 - Launched at about 1:00am ATS under the supervision of Captain Smith, Chief Officer Wilde, and Second Officer Lightoller. Able Bodied Seaman Thomas Jones was put in charge. Seaman Jones gave 38 as the number of occupants; 35 plus himself, a lady and a child. Steward Crawford, also saved in the lifeboat, estimated 35 to 40 passengers were aboard, all women, and 4 men. Passenger Mrs. J. White claimed 26 (22 women, 4 men) were aboard. Mrs. Caroline Bonnell estimated that there were 20 women, 2 sailors and 1 steward aboard for a total of 23, and Mrs. E. Taussig said 24 were aboard, and that 4 were stewards and 20 were women. Gladys Cherry was in close agreement, with 24 women, 1 seaman and 2 stewards, and Marie Young said 22 in total, but did not indicate any details.

Another piece of information appears in the “Contents of the Titanic Boats”, an inventory of the contents of the lifeboats as taken in New York City, after the Carpathia docked. This listing says that 27 lifebelts were found in Boat 8.

Both Jones and Crawford give higher counts than the passengers, but that is a common thread for most of the crew estimates. Given this trend, and that No. 8 was lowered relatively early in the sinking, and also that 27 lifebelts were found, the current authors feel that the passenger estimates are closer to the correct count, and that based on the evidence, around 27 individuals were aboard.

Boat 1 - Launched at about 1:05am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch and supported by Fifth Officer Lowe. Lookout George Symons was put in charge.

Unlike other lifeboats, the number of individuals known to have been aboard Boat No. 1 is definitively known – 12. Eleven occupants testified at the inquiries, and by cross-referencing their testimonies, all of the occupants can be identified by name - Lord & Lady Duff Gordon, Miss Francatelli, A. Solomon, C.E.H. Stengel, Lookout Symons, Seaman Horswill, Firemen Collins, Pusey, Hendrickson and Taylor, and Trimmer Sheath. Carpathia passenger Dr. Frank Blackmarr took group photographs of the occupants of this boat, confirming the small number of individuals that were aboard.

The small group of survivors rescued in Boat No. 1 posed together onboard the Carpathia for this picture. (Authors’ Collection)
Fifth Officer Lowe, who helped load and lower Boat No. 1, estimated 27 people were aboard. Lookout Symons originally estimated there were 14 to 20 at the American Inquiry, then lowered his estimate to 12 by the time he testified at the British Inquiry. Hendrickson’s estimate was fairly accurate; he said 12 or 13 were aboard, including 5 passengers, 2 seamen, and 5 firemen and trimmers.

**Boat 6** - Launched at about 1:10am ATS under the supervision of Captain Smith and Second Officer Lightoller. Quartermaster Robert Hichens was put in charge.

Lightoller, who did not leave in No. 6, estimated 35 occupants were aboard when it was lowered. Major Arthur Peuchen testified that 24 occupants had been aboard; himself, 20 women, 1 quartermaster, 1 sailor, and 1 stowaway. Lookout Fredrick Fleet testified that 30 were aboard, and Quartermaster Hichens testified that there were 38 women, 1 seaman and himself, 2 male passengers, 1 Italian boy, and the Canadian major aboard, for a total of 44.

According to both passengers Margaret Brown and Steward Charles Andrews, a crewman was transferred into No. 6 from Andrews’ boat, No. 16.

Peuchen’s count is very specific, but lower than that given by Fleet, Hichens and Lightoller. Peuchen mentions the occupants of the lifeboat actually having been counted, so his total of 24 is probably very close to the actual number aboard.

There are multiple photographs of lifeboat No. 6 as she approached *Carpathia*. The first below (A) allows a count to be taken, of approximately 25 people. A second photo, taken even closer to the rescue ship, is very fuzzy (B), and was heavily retouched to create the third photo (C).

Comparing the three photos, we can see that most of the people aboard are in the same places in all three pictures. Pictures B and C both have Hichens at the stern cropped off, but he can be accounted for, as it is doubtful that he left his position at the tiller. In Picture B, near the front of the boat, there appears to be something on the forward thwart, extending a little beyond the starboard gunwale, and there appear to be shoes, bottom up, in the center of the thwart. Comparing this to the retouched Picture C, it appears the artist missed this detail, and chose to draw an empty thwart, instead of what appears to be a person leaning over the side.

An examination of Picture C, the retouched photo, yields a count of 21. Accounting for Hichens, who was out of frame when the picture was taken, there would be 22 aboard. However, as was pointed out, this drawing can not be entirely trusted. There is at least one more person, on the forward thwart – and possibly another – somewhere in Picture B, which were not accounted for in the retouched version. Picture A yields a count of around 25, however, even in this clearer photo, it is hard to tell what is a full person, versus a shadow or part of another.

When all of the evidence, both eyewitness and photographic alike, is examined, it appears that No. 6 actually contained around 24 people as it approached *Carpathia*, very close to what Peuchen said, but very much in line with both Fleet and his estimates. This count of 24 includes the crewman who was transferred from No. 16 to No. 6.
Picture A
Lifeboat No. 6 approaching *Carpathia* (National Archives and Records Administration, Northeast Region)
A closer photograph of Boat No. 6, as it reached Carpathia.  
(Brooklyn Daily Eagle, April 20, 1912)

Boat 16 - Launched at about 1:20am ATS under the supervision of Sixth Officer Moody. Master-at-Arms Bailey took command of the lifeboat after being ordered down the falls by Moody.  

Seaman Ernest Archer said No. 16 contained 53 occupants, with no men, 50 passengers, plus the mate and himself, and the master-at-arms who came down the falls.  Steward Charles Andrews testified to 6 seamen being aboard, including the master-at-arms, and 50 passengers.  Andrews also testified that one crewman was transferred to No. 6 when they tied up after Titanic went down.  Passenger Katie Mullen said there were 50 people in the lifeboat.

Archer’s and Andrews’ numbers are similar, 53 and 56 respectively, but the lower count is a bit more specific.  Mullen’s count is slightly lower than these estimates.  Taking into account the tendency of the crewmembers to overestimate the number of occupants in the boats, and taking into account the one crewman transferred to No. 6, it appears that around 52 people were aboard this lifeboat when it reached the Carpathia.

Boat 14 - Launched at about 1:25am ATS under the supervision of (at various times) Chief Officer Wilde, Second Officer Lightoller, and Fifth Officer Lowe, who superintended the final
loading and lowering of the boat. Lowe assumed command of the lifeboat when it reached the water.

Steward George Crowe said there were 63 occupants in No. 14; 57 women and children, and 6 or 7 men, himself included.\textsuperscript{45} Seaman Joseph Scarrott estimated a similar figure of 65 to 66, composed of 54 women, 4 children, 2 firemen, 3 or 4 stewards, and himself and Lowe.\textsuperscript{46} Steward Frank Morris estimated 60 were aboard; 53 passengers, 2 firemen, 2 sailors, 2 stewards, and himself, and possibly 2 men passengers.\textsuperscript{47} Seaman John Poingdestre, who was not an occupant of the boat, but helped lower it, gave a rough count of 40 women and children being aboard No. 14.\textsuperscript{48}

Lowe, who did the final work loading and lowering No. 14 after Wilde and Lightoller had moved on to other lifeboats, claimed that he lowered No. 14 with 58 people aboard. Once afloat, Lowe distributed most of these occupants to other lifeboats (Boats No. 10, 12, 4 and Collapsible D), transferred two crewmen aboard from Boat No. 10; Able Bodied Seamen Buley and Evans, and with 9 total men aboard, himself included, went back into the wreckage and picked up 3-4 survivors, one of whom died. Lowe claimed that he later picked up 20 men and one woman out of Collapsible A. He says that No. 14 reached the \textit{Carpathia} with 45 people aboard.\textsuperscript{49}

Lowe’s count seems very specific, although the numbers he gave don’t add up. If there were only 9 in the lifeboat when he went back to the wreckage, and he picked up 3-4 from the water, and then took 21 more aboard from Collapsible A, this adds up to just 33-34 aboard total when the boat reached \textit{Carpathia}, not the 45 he claimed. Since the evidence suggests Collapsible A contained only 12-13 people, No. 14 must have had only around 24-26 people aboard when picked up. A visual count of the number of people in No. 14 in a photo taken from the \textit{Carpathia} isn’t clear enough to allow an exact count, but it does show that 24-26 is in the correct range, since the lifeboat is definitely not fully loaded.

The current authors believe No. 14 lowered with around 40 people aboard, as Poingdestre said. Lowe transferred about 33 people out of No. 14, leaving him with 7 people, himself included, to go back into the wreckage to look for survivors, but he also transferred in Able Bodied Seamen Evans and Buley from Boat No. 10. These 33 who were transferred out had to be split up amongst Nos. 4, 10, 12, and Collapsible D. Since around 12 were transferred into Collapsible D,\textsuperscript{50} that leaves 21 for the rest of the boats. There is no evidence that any of these passengers were transferred into No. 10, since it was more heavily loaded than boats No. 4 and 12. The present authors believe that the evidence supports that No. 4 received around 10 of these people, and that No. 12 picked up the remaining 11. When combined with the occupants already in Nos. 4 and 12, this made about 48 in No. 4, and 53 people in No. 12, before they both picked up more passengers from the overturned Collapsible B.

Taking all these movements into account, the evidence supports that No. 14 reached \textit{Carpathia} with 25 people aboard – the 7 that Lowe had in the lifeboat when they went back to the wreckage, plus Evans and Buley, 3 picked up alive from the sea, and 13 picked up from Collapsible A.
Lifeboat No. 14

This photograph of No. 14 is too dark to count individual passengers, but plainly shows that the boat was far from full when it approached the Carpathia.
(National Archives and Records Administration, Northeast Region)

Boat 12 - Launched at about 1:30am ATS under the supervision of Chief Officer Wilde, with Second Officer Lightoller assisting. Able Bodied Seaman John Poingdestre was put in charge.

Seaman Frederick Clench testified that 40 to 50 people were aboard, which included 14 to 15 passengers, and 2 seamen.\(^{51}\) Seaman Poingdestre estimated 40 women and children were aboard, but a later newspaper account he gave adds 2 sailors to this count.\(^{52}\) Passenger Lillian Bentham said there were “more than thirty” aboard No. 12, before they pulled “20 men” into the boat off of Collapsible B.\(^{53}\) Passenger Victor Sunderland, rescued from Collapsible B, says there were 72 aboard after rescuing the survivors on his boat.\(^{54}\) Lightoller estimated there were around 75 in the lifeboat after picking him and the other survivors up from Collapsible B, he counted 65, not including himself, and guessed the rest.\(^{55}\)

Poingdestre’s total count was 42. No. 12 also picked up around 11 people from No. 14 when Lowe was moving his people out of the boat in preparation for going back to the site of the sinking. It also picked up around 16 of the approximately 28 surviving men on Collapsible B, and reached the Carpathia with around 69 people aboard.
**Boat 9** - Launched at about 1:30am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch on the boat deck, assisted by Sixth Officer Moody. Boatswain Albert Haines was put in charge, although multiple survivor accounts indicate the belief that Able Bodied Seaman George McGough was in charge of this boat, probably due to the fact that he sat at the tiller.

Quartermaster Walter Wynn was aboard the lifeboat, and said it contained 56 passengers – 42 women, 4 stewards, 4 seamen and 6 men passengers.\(^6\) Haines estimated there were 60 occupants aboard, 2 sailors, 3 or 4 stewards, 3 or 4 firemen, and 2 or 3 men passengers, with the remainder women.\(^5\) Fireman George Kemish claimed that No. 9 was dangerously overloaded with almost 80 aboard the boat.\(^5\) Passenger Bertha Watt said No. 9 contained 46 or 47.\(^5\) Passenger Ellen Toomey was in the same boat as Watt, but stated that there were only 35 in the boat, including herself, her mother, and 3 sailors and two men.\(^6\)

All of these crewmembers gave estimates substantially higher than the passengers did for this boat, and some of their numbers are simply not believable, particularly considering that the capacity for this type of lifeboat was 65. The current authors believe that the evidence supports that the passenger counts are closer to the truth, and that No. 9 was lowered with around 40 people aboard.

**Boat 11** - Launched at about 1:35am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch. Able Bodied Seaman Sidney Humphries was put in charge.

Steward Edward Wheelton said the lifeboat contained 58 people, with 7 or 8 of them being crewmembers, and 1 a male passenger.\(^6\) Seaman Walter Brice estimated 60 were aboard, with 51 passengers, himself, the mate, and 1 fireman.\(^6\) Steward Charles Mackay claimed there were 74 to 78 occupants, including 8 children.\(^6\) Steward Joseph Wheat agreed with Mackay, saying 74 were aboard, detailing it as 51 women, 9 children, 7 stewards, 2 sailors, 1 fireman, and himself, and 3 male passengers.\(^6\)

Passenger Nellie Becker guessed that there were 50 people in the boat,\(^6\) while Elizabeth Nye guessed that there were 30 or 40.\(^6\) Passengers Jennie Hansen and Jane Quick agreed that around 50 were loaded into the lifeboat.\(^6\)

Boat No. 11 was one of the most heavily loaded boats when lowered, although 74 to 78 aboard seems like an unrealistically high total considering that the capacity of the boat was 65. Mrs Nye’s total is probably too low, considering how far off from the other estimates it is. An estimate of around 50 is probably more accurate.

**Boat 13** - Launched at about 1:40am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch on the boat deck, with Sixth Officer Moody assisting on A deck. Leading Fireman Frederick Barrett assumed command of the lifeboat when it reached the water, although he later relinquished control of the boat to another crewmember because he was extremely cold due to the lightweight clothes he was still wearing after leaving the boiler rooms.

Fireman George Beauchamp estimated 60 to 70 occupants were in the boat, while Barrett estimated 70 were aboard, with 5 or 6 being women, and 1 or 2 children.\(^6\) Passenger Lawrence Beesley, writing in 1913, indicated that there were about 35 passengers, and 25 crew aboard, for a total of 60.\(^6\) Passenger Mary Hewlett guessed 50 people were on board.\(^6\)

No. 13 was another heavily loaded boat, with about 55 people in it.
**Boat 15** - Launched at about 1:41am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch on the boat deck, with Sixth Officer Moody assisting on A deck. Fireman Frank Dymond assumed command of the lifeboat when it reached the water, however Steward Rule claimed Steward Jack Stewart was in charge. This was obviously a mistake, though it is possible that Stewart was put in charge before Dymond boarded the boat, and subsequently relinquished control.

Steward Samuel Rule estimated 68 occupants were in the boat, including 4 or 5 women, 3 children, and the rest men. Trimmer George Cavell thought No. 15 contained 70 people, including 60 women and children, probably from third class. Steward John Hart felt “about 70” were in the boat when they reached the water. Steward Walter Nichols said there were 10 crewmembers manning the boat, plus approximately 50 passengers, plus some picked up from the water. Fireman Frank Dymond said 68 were aboard, including 22 women and 6 babies. Passenger Charles Dahl gave a high count of 82 in the lifeboat.

Rule, Cavell, Hart and Dymond all agreed on a number of around 68 to 70 people. Rule claimed that the lifeboat was filled primarily with men, while Cavell and Hart thought they were mostly women and children. While these numbers are likely an overestimate, this was certainly one of the most heavily loaded boats when launched. Rule claimed that the gunwales of the boat were far down in the water, also indicating a heavily loaded boat. This detail is supported by the private accounts of Bertha Mulvihill, a third class passenger rescued in No. 15, who stated that when she leaned against the gunwale, it was so low that her hair dangled in the water. With no evidence to the contrary, a total of around 68 appears to be the most likely total for this boat.

**Boat 2** - Launched at about 1:45am ATS under the supervision of both Chief Officer Wilde and Captain Smith. Fourth Officer Boxhall was put in charge.

Both Fourth Officer Boxhall and Able Bodied Seaman Frank Osman estimated 25 to 30 people were in the lifeboat, and even detailed the same numbers of sailors, stewards and passengers – 1 officer, 1 sailor, 1 steward, 1 cook, and 1 male passenger, with the remainder being women. Steward Johnstone gave an estimate of 23 to 25 aboard.

Passengers gave lower estimates for this boat – Mrs. Mahala Douglas said 18 to 20 were aboard, Mrs. Malvina Cornell said 23, and Mrs. Minnie Coutts stated more than once that there were 17 aboard – an officer, a seaman, and a male passenger, and the remainder were women and children. Mr. Anton Kink also stated that there were 17 aboard, including ten women, three children, two sailors, himself, and one other occupant.

Boxhall and Osman, in their testimony, gave *exactly* the same breakdown of passengers aboard No. 2. The passengers give similar details, however, none of the passengers mention the cook. Based on the similarities in their counts, the authors feel it very possible, even likely, that Osman, who testified April 30th, just repeated the testimony of Boxhall, who had been previously questioned on April 25th. If this is the case, then Boxhall is the only one who suggested a cook was in the boat, and at most only two of them reported the cook if Osman wasn’t repeated what Boxhall had said.

The present authors believe 17 people aboard is close to the correct amount, since crewmembers tended to inflate the estimated numbers aboard each boat when they testified, and the passengers indicated that there were far fewer aboard this boat. Additionally, there are 17 survivors who can be firmly established as having been aboard No. 2: Ms. Elizabeth Allen, Mrs. Charlotte Appleton, Mrs. Malvina Cornell, Mrs. Minnie Coutts, Master William Coutts, Master Neville Coutts, Mrs. Mahala Douglas, Mrs. Emilie Kreuchen, Mr. Anton Kink, Mrs. Luise Kink, Ms. Luise Kink, Ms. Bertha Leroy, Ms. Georgette Madill, Mrs. Elizabeth Robert, Fourth Officer Boxhall, Steward James Johnstone, and Able Bodied Seaman Frank Osman.
Boat 10 - Launched at about 1:50am ATS under the supervision of First Officer Murdoch. Able Bodied Seaman Edward Buley was put in charge; however, once afloat, he was transferred to Boat No. 14 by Fifth Officer Lowe, to help go back into the wreckage to look for survivors.

Seaman Frank Evans estimated that there were 57 occupants aboard, which were himself, a seaman (Buley), a steward, 7 or 8 children, and the rest women. Buley said 60 to 70 were aboard, including a steward, a fireman, Evans, and himself. Steward Burke stated around 60 were in the lifeboat, including 4 children.

Since No. 10 was more heavily loaded than Boats Nos. 4, 12, and Collapsible D, it appears that no one was transferred from No. 14 to No. 10. No one in No. 10 testified to picking up any people at that time.

Evans, Buley, and Burke are all in very close agreement, supporting that the last of the aft port boats lowered had around 57 to 60 people aboard. However, by the time No. 10 reached the Carpathia, both Evans and Buley had moved to No. 14, leaving No. 10 with around 55 people aboard when they boarded the Carpathia.

Boat 4 - Launched at about 1:50am ATS under the supervision of Second Officer Lightoller. Quartermaster Walter Perkis was put in charge.

Second Officer Lightoller, in his 1940 book, estimated that 40 people were in No. 4 when it lowered. Lightoller only helped load and lower the lifeboat, he did not leave in it. Quartermaster Perkis estimated that there were 42 occupants aboard – 3 sailors, including himself, and 39 passengers. He also said that an additional 8 people were picked up from the ocean, and 2 of them died in the lifeboat.

Greaser Thomas Ranger, who got into No. 4 after climbing down the falls that had previously held Boat No. 16, guessed that No. 4 eventually contained 49 people. He said that Perkis and Steward William Foley were the only crew members aboard the lifeboat until Greaser Frederick Scott and 7 others were picked up from the sea. Steward Andrew Cunningham estimated that there were 49 people aboard after the men were picked up from the water. However, he said he could not count how many were in the boat, and only gave an estimate when pushed for one by the examiner during his Inquiry testimony.

Lightoller’s estimate of 40 people being loaded aboard this boat does not include the 8 people picked up from the water. Lamptrimmer Hemming also estimated there were 40 aboard, before 8 men, himself included, were pulled from the water. Mrs. Virginia Clark said that No. 4 could have held 15 more when lowered. The capacity of the boat was 65, so this places her estimate around 50. However, in another account, she gave a more specific count of 43 – Mrs. Madeleine Astor, Mrs. Clara Hays, herself, and 40 others. These estimates do not appear to include the people picked up from the water either.

Other estimates vary widely. Mrs. Madeleine Astor reportedly said that there were 12 other women, a man in charge of the boat who she wrongly believed was “one of the ship’s pursers,” and a man who jumped into the boat, and herself, for a total of 15, before the men were pulled from the water. However, this account is second-hand, having been relayed through one of her friends, and may be of limited reliability.

Mrs. Elizabeth Eustis said there were about 30 aboard when the boat was lowered. Again, this does not appear to include those picked up from the water. Mrs. Martha Stephenson said that there were 23 aboard when the boat was lowered – 20 women, 1 man, plus two other men who came down the falls to help man the boat. (Quartermaster Perkis testified that he and a sailor were sent down the falls to man the boat.) Mrs. Emily Ryerson said that there were 24
women and one seaman aboard, when the order to lower away was given. She says that another sailor was sent down the falls to man the boat, plus several other men who were not sailors climbed down the falls into the boat, for a total of around 29 aboard, before anyone was picked up from the water.98

The evidence and the process of elimination supports that Boat No. 4 picked up around 10 people from No. 14, as Lowe transferred people out of his lifeboat before returning to the wreckage to look for survivors in the water. The crewmembers gave estimates of about 40 being aboard before anyone was rescued from the water, while there is evidence from some passengers that there were about 30 aboard before anyone was pulled from the water. Given the tendency of crewmembers to overestimate the number of people in each boat, it appears likely that about 30 were aboard when the boat lowered, plus 8 pulled from the water, another 10 from No. 14, and 12 from the overturned Collapsible B, which means No. 4 reached the Carpathia with around 60 people aboard.

Collapsible C – Launched at about 2:00am ATS under the supervision of Chief Officer Wilde and First Officer Murdoch. Quartermaster George Rowe was ordered to assume command of the lifeboat.

Quartermaster Rowe estimated that there were 39 occupants (himself, 3 firemen, 1 steward, Ismay and 1 other male passenger), plus 4 oriental stowaways, for a total of 43 aboard.99 Pantryman Albert Pearcey gave a high value of 71, which was 66 passengers, all women; and 3 fireman, himself, and the quartermaster.100 Passenger Bruce Ismay estimated 45 were aboard, with 4 being crewmembers.101 Passenger William Carter testified to an occupancy of about 40, mostly women and children from steerage.102

Taking into consideration that the collapsibles were only designed to hold 40 persons, Pearcey’s numbers cannot be right. Rowe’s numbers are very specific, close to Ismay and Carter’s estimates, and his estimate of 43 was probably correct, or very near to it.

Collapsible D – Launched at about 2:05am ATS under the supervision of Chief Officer Wilde and Second Officer Lightoller. Quartermaster Arthur Bright was placed in command.

Lightoller, who helped load and lower the boat, but was not an occupant, estimated 15 to 20 people, including 1 seaman and 1 steward, were aboard.103 Quartermaster Bright said 25 were in the lifeboat, 10 or 12 were later transferred from another boat, and one seaman transferred out104. Steward Hardy estimated 25 were originally in the boat, and that Lowe transferred in 10 more people, for a total of 35.105 Seaman Lucas, who was lowered in Collapsible D, but later transferred to No. 12, said D originally contained 47 people, which were 40 women, 1 quartermaster, 2 foreigners, himself, and 3 stowaways.106 Passenger Hugh Woolner, who jumped into the lifeboat at the last minute as it was lowered past A deck, estimated 36 were aboard, consisting of one sailor, one steward, and one other; plus himself, his friend Mauritz Håkan Björnström-Steffansson, plus another man pulled from the sea, and 30 women and children.107

Lightoller’s count is an estimate. Bright and Hardy agreed that there were 25 aboard when the collapsible was lowered, plus 10 or 12 transferred in by Lowe later. So, Collapsible D must have left the Titanic with around 20 people, in close agreement with Lightoller, picked up 3 male passengers between A deck and the water, per Woolner, plus the 12 transferred in from No. 14 later, giving a total of 35 aboard. A visual count of the number of occupants in Collapsible D in a photograph of it approaching the Carpathia shows at least 35 people aboard, so a count of 35 seems very reasonable.
Seaman Lucas testified that an unspecified number of people, including himself, were transferred out of Collapsible D to Boat No. 12 (which he mistakenly called Boat No. 8), but much of this movement was offset by people coming into Collapsible D from No. 14. The net effect of this movement was the additional 12 people referred to in the paragraph above, as the visual count indicates that around 35 people were in Collapsible D when she reached Carpathia.

Collapsible D
White dots indicate where occupants are clearly visible in this photograph of Collapsible D, at least 35 in all. It is possible that additional occupants are partially obscured or blocked from view. (National Archives and Records Administration, Northeast Region)

Collapsible A – This boat was washed off the boat deck swamped as it submerged around 2:15am ATS. First Officer Murdoch and Sixth Officer Moody were trying to attach the collapsible to the forward falls when the boat deck dipped under. Consequently, no one was placed in charge of this lifeboat.

Quartermaster Arthur Bright was not on Collapsible A, but in Collapsible D, which was towed by No. 14, which picked up the survivors from Collapsible A. Bright estimated that 14 people were picked up, 13 men and one woman, and that two bodies were left aboard. Steward Brown, who survived on Collapsible A, said 12 to 14 survivors were picked up in this boat. Fifth Officer Lowe in No. 14, which spotted Collapsible A and picked them up, claimed 21 survivors were aboard it; 20 men and one woman, with 3 dead bodies left aboard. Passenger Olaus Abelseth said 10 to 12 were aboard, including himself. In a private letter, George Rheims, a passenger, said “about 20 men and women” were aboard the collapsible
originally, but 8 died during the night, for a rough estimate of 12 survivors. However, he later gave a more detailed description, stating that 13 or 14 were picked up, 3 dead bodies were left aboard, and that an additional 2-3 occupants had died during the night, whose bodies were not in the collapsible. Passenger William Mellors wrote that 20 to 30 clung to Collapsible A through the night, but only 10 to 12 survived to be picked up in the morning, and that 5 or 6 dead bodies were left in the boat.

Collapsible A washed off the ship, and nearly all occupants of the lifeboat climbed in from the water. Over the course of the night, many died and fell, or were rolled back into the sea. The number left alive, when picked up by Collapsible D, was probably 12 to 13, with just one being a woman. Lowe’s account is again quite a bit higher than the other estimates.

Collapsible B – This boat was washed off the boat deck upside-down at around 2:15am ATS. Second Officer Lightoller and a number of others pushed the boat from the roof of the Officers’ Quarters, where it landed upside down on the deck below, just as the boat deck dipped under, and washing it overboard. Once he climbed aboard the lifeboat, Lightoller assumed command. Lightoller said that around 28 to 30 men were left on board the over-turned collapsible when they were picked up by No. 12 later that morning. Baker Charles Joughin, who spent part of the night partially submerged in the water, holding on to one of the men standing on the boat, estimated 20 to 25 men were aboard. Able Bodied Seaman Lucas, one of the crewmen in No. 12 (he mistakenly thought he was in No. 8), said they picked up 36 people from this boat. Marconi Operator Harold Bride thought 30 to 40 were left alive to be rescued. Passengers Archibald Gracie and John Thayer Jr. thought 30 and 28 respectively, were rescued from the upturned boat. Another passenger, Edward Dorkings, said 31 were rescued, 30 men and 1 woman, and of these, 3 died and were thrown overboard, and 2 others slipped off, leaving 26 to be rescued. Passenger Victor Sunderland claimed 28 were aboard when No. 14 appeared, but that 2 were dead. It is unclear whether these 2 were part of his count is 28. Passenger Lillian Bentham said there were “more than thirty” aboard No. 12, before they pulled “20 men” into the boat off of Collapsible B.

Both John Thayer Jr. and Archibald Gracie said that the men were taken off of Collapsible B into two lifeboats, and Gracie said he had learned that they were No. 4 and No. 12. Thayer commented that about half went to each lifeboat. Lamprimirr Hemmings also agreed that the men taken off went into two lifeboats, although he thought only 20 men were aboard Collapsible B, and only 4 or 5 were taken into No. 4, which was his boat. Passenger Martha Stephenson also thought “only a few” of the survivors were taken into No.4.

Joughin’s lower estimate could be explained by him being in the water, and unable to accurately count the men standing on the overturned boat. Bentham’s count is low compared to the bulk of the other estimates. The actual count rescued by No. 4 and No. 12 appears to be a range from 28 to 30. Of these, about 12 were transferred to No. 4, while about 16 were transferred to No. 12.

One final item that must be taken into account at this point, is that 4 people rescued by the lifeboats, and part of our counts above, died and were buried from the Carpathia – specifically, First Class passenger William Hoyt, Third Class passenger David Livshin (traveling under the alias Abraham Harmer), Bedroom Steward Sidney Siebert and Able Bodied Seaman William Lyons.
The following table summarizes the numbers above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boat Number</th>
<th>As lowered from <em>Titanic</em></th>
<th>People moved from other boats or picked up from sea</th>
<th>As picked up By <em>Carpathia</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>+8 (from sea) +10 (from No. 14) +12 (from Collapsible B)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-6 (to No. 7)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>+1 (from No. 16)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+6 (from No. 5)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-2 (to No. 14)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>+11 (from No. 14) +16 (from Collapsible B)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>+3 (from sea) -33 (to Nos. 4, 12, and D) +13 (from Collapsible A) +2 (from No. 10)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>-1 (to No. 6)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>+3 (from sea) +12 (from No. 14)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Estimated Total Recovered | 728 |
| Died and Buried from *Carpathia* | 4 |
| Estimated Total Survived | 724 |
| Actual Total Survived | 712 |

In the accounts above, it is mentioned that lifeboat Nos. 10, 12, 14, 4 and Collapsible D tied up together after leaving the ship, and many transfers of passengers were made between
these boats, some of which are not thoroughly documented by the survivors. Boat No. 14 must have lowered with around 40 occupants aboard, but Lowe transferred almost all of these to other lifeboats before he took a nearly empty lifeboat back into the debris to look for survivors. These transfers are not all thoroughly detailed, although it can be established that around 12 passengers moved to Collapsible D, that an undetermined amount were transferred from Collapsible D to No. 12, and that none were put into No. 10. Based on the best available evidence, the present authors are forced to estimate the number of occupants, and which boats they were moved to, to come up with the counts as the lifeboats reached the Carpathia.

Taking into account the 4 people who were buried from the Carpathia, the present authors’ survivor totals add up to 724, closer to the actual number of survivors rescued than the totals for each boat given in either the British Inquiry or Colonel Gracie’s book, but still above the actual number of survivors of 712. It must be noted that the number of occupants listed as being saved in each lifeboat in this chapter are estimates only, based on an analysis of eyewitness statements regarding the number in each boat. While future research may allow for more accurate estimates of the number saved in each boat, it is unlikely that the precise numbers will ever be arrived at.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the specific number of survivors aboard each individual lifeboat, with the exception of a few boats like No. 1 and No. 2, where the names of all those aboard can be established by multiple lines of evidence. Survivors gave a range of estimates of the numbers saved in each boat. Not every lifeboat was photographed, or photographed clearly as it approached the Carpathia, so that line of evidence is limited in that regard. Most survivors were otherwise occupied during the sinking, and did not count each person in their boat individually. This means that researchers are forced to rely on sometimes subjective survivor estimates and circumstantial evidence to get an idea of the number rescued in each boat.

Part of the issue is that crewmembers tended to give higher estimates of the number of people in the lifeboats than did the passengers. This discrepancy was noted by the assessors at the British Inquiry, who attributed it not to lying, but to “a natural desire to make the best case for themselves and their ship.” A clear example of this is Lookout Hogg and Third Officer Pitman testifying that there were 40, or 30 to 40 aboard boat No. 7, while first class passengers Mr. J. McGough and Mrs. D. Bishop both agreed there were 28 aboard. Another example is how Fifth Officer Lowe’s estimates were almost always higher than those given in other accounts. A good example of this is his estimate of 27 in Lifeboat No. 1, while we know there were only 12 in this lifeboat.

While it may not be possible to state the number aboard each individual boat with certainty, cross-checking sources and lines of evidence, as has been done in the preceding section, does allow for a more accurate picture of the occupancy of each boat than presented in the inquiries or Gracie’s book. In general terms, it appears that survivors likely overestimated the numbers present in the aft boats, which were generally heavily loaded and lowered later in the sinking. The earlier boats left far from full, which would have made at least some of the counts easier and more accurate.

\[1\] AI 289
\[2\] AI 390
AI 578. Hogg came up with a total of 47, however, a careful reading of his testimony indicates 6 people (4 ladies, a baby and a gentleman) were transferred, giving a total of 48.

Hartford Times, April 19, 1912, printed in “On Board the RMS Titanic”, George Behe, 2011

Hartford Times, April 19, 1912, printed in “On Board the RMS Titanic”, George Behe, 2011

Lancaster Intelligencer, April 23, 1912, and The Oregonian, April 27, 1912, courtesy of George Behe

Harper’s Weekly, April 27, 1912

Philadelphia Inquirer, April 28, 1912

Toronto Star, April 20, 1912

Trenton Evening Times, April 20, 1912

Diario De Noticias

The Washington Times, April 19, 1912

New York Times, April 22, 1912

April 17, 1912 letter, printed in “On Board the RMS Titanic”, George Behe, 2011

April 18, 1912 letter, printed in “On Board the RMS Titanic”, George Behe, 2011

Newport Herald, May 28 & 29, 1912, in “On Board the RMS Titanic”, George Behe, 2011

The Longford Leader, May 18, 1912
Letter to Walter Lord, June 19, 1955. Kemish said the lifeboat was overloaded “dangerously”. Courtesy of Paul Lee.

Letter to Walter Lord, April 10, 1963. Courtesy of Paul Lee. We know Watt was in No. 9, as she mentions a minister in the boat with her. Sidney Collett is known to have been in this boat, as he kept the numeral as a souvenir, and that in his account in the Auburn Citizen of April 23, 1912, he mentions “Paddy McGuffe” (McGough) was master of our boat”.

The Indianapolis Star, April 23, 1912.
The Washington Post, April 20, 1912; Islington Gazette & North London Tribune, May 9, 1912. The latter account is courtesy of George Behe.

Milwaukee Journal, April 24, 1912

List courtesy of Don Lynch.

AI 676
AI 604
AI 823

Commander Lightoller, “Titanic and Other Ships,” 1935

AI 581
BI 4067-4105
AI 794-796
AI 666-668

New York Times, April 25, 1912; Los Angeles Times, April 25, 1912
New York Times, April 22, 1912
Boston Globe, April 19, 1912
Boston Evening Transcript, April 19, 1912

AI 1107-1108
AI 520
BI 10411-10418
AI 8-9
Washington Post, April 20, 1912
AI 83
AI 833-834
AI 589
BI 1538-1542
AI 888
BI 1595-1598
AI 834
BI 10660
AI 411, BI 15998
AI 1040

Private letter from George Rheims to his wife, dated April 19, 1912, printed in “On Board the RMS Titanic”, George Behe, 2011


Private letter from William Mellors to Dorothy Ockenden, May 9, 1912, printed in “On Board the RMS Titanic”, George Behe, 2011

BI 14109, AI 73, AI 87
BI 6085
BI 1598
AI 162
AI 997

John B. Thayer, “The Sinking of the S.S. Titanic”, 1940

Bureau County Republican, May 2, 1912

Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 26, 1912
Hoyt was pulled from the water by Fifth Officer Lowe in No. 14, and Siebert and Lyons were pulled from the water in No. 4. The situation regarding Livshin is not so clear cut, he may have been a body removed from No. 12 when she was emptied, or he may have been alive when the lifeboats reached Carpathia, and died there. For more details on this, see Appendix P, “Buried at Sea” from “On a Sea of Glass” by the present authors and J. Kent Layton.