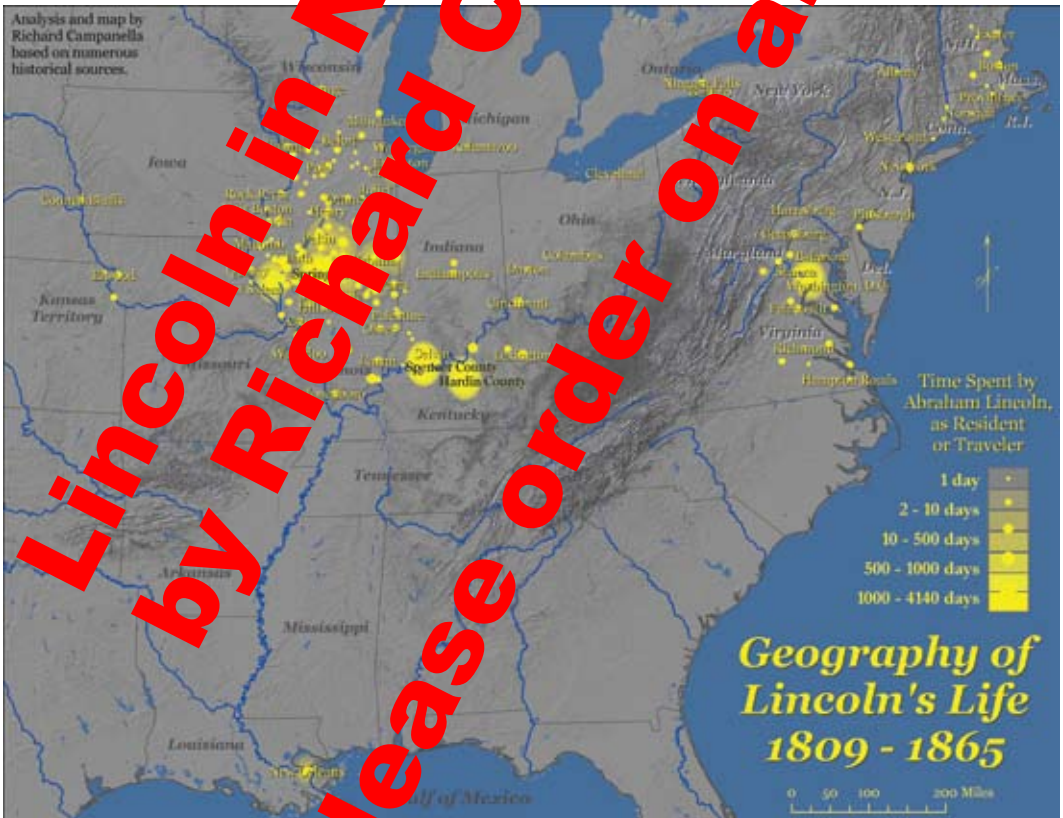


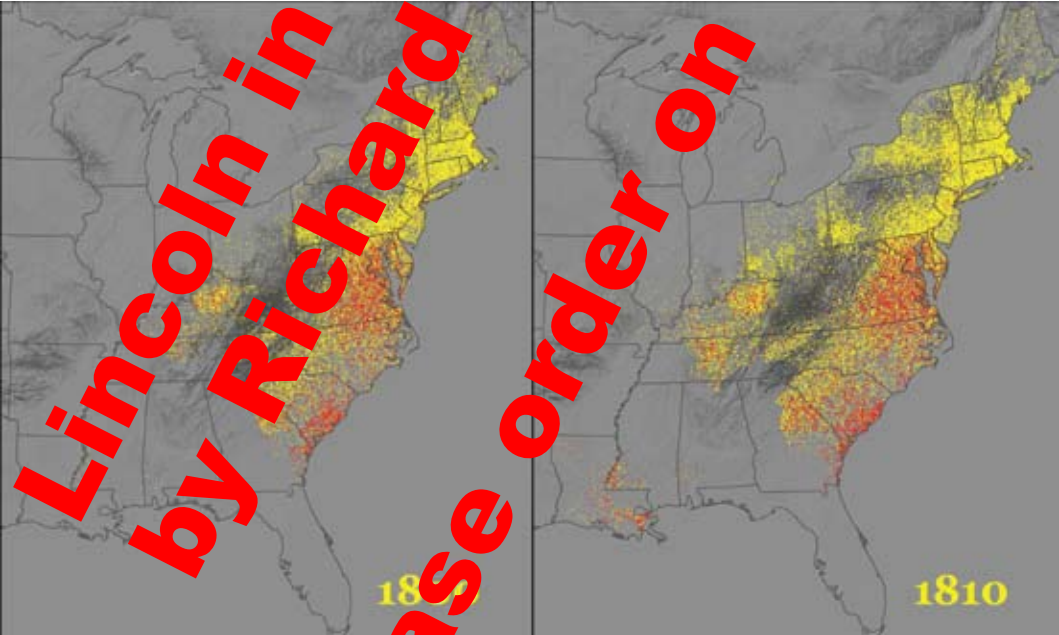
Left: This earliest-known daguerreotype of Abraham Lincoln, attributed to Nicholas H. Shepherd and taken around 1846–47, is the closest we can come to picturing how Lincoln looked during his flatboat years. His massive hands were ideal for the steering oar. *Image courtesy Library of Congress, LC-DIG-299.*

Below: Mapping Lincoln's life illustrates the exceptional nature of his two flatboat voyages to New Orleans. They formed the longest journeys of his life, his first experiences in a major city, his only visits to the Deep South, his sole exposure to the region's brand of slavery and slave trading, his only time in the subtropics, and the closest he ever came to immersing himself in a foreign culture. They highlight the best-known era of Lincoln's otherwise thoroughly examined adult life. *Map by Richard Campanella.*

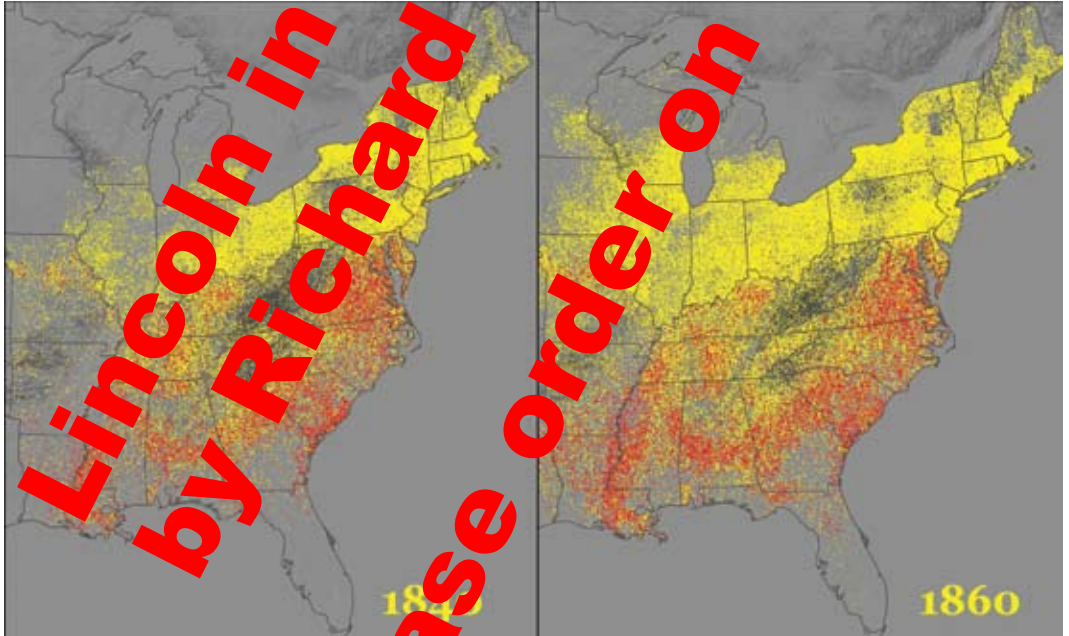
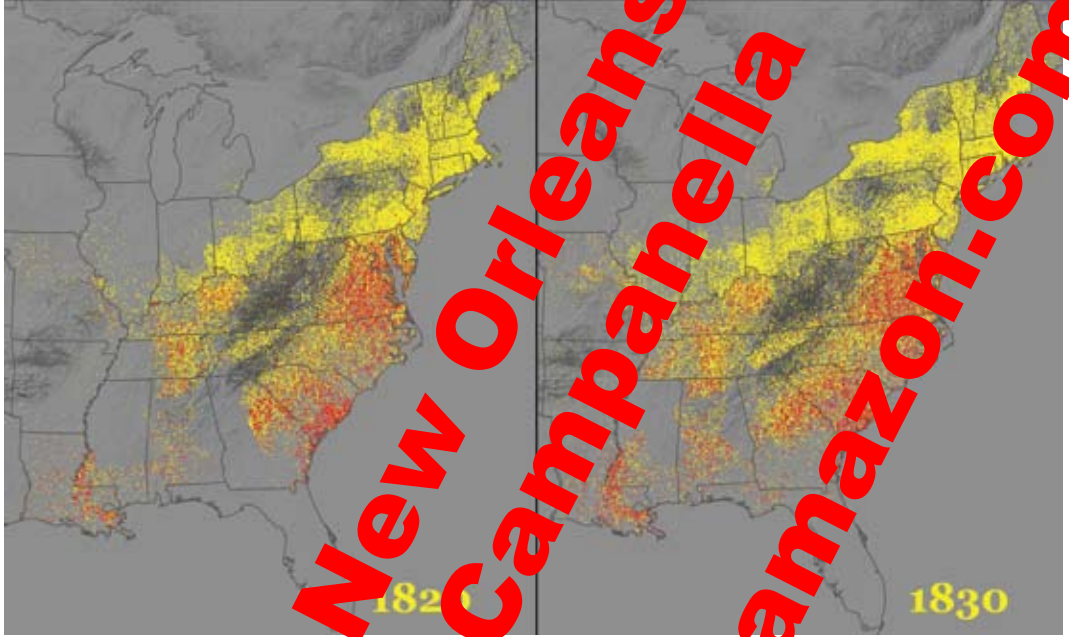


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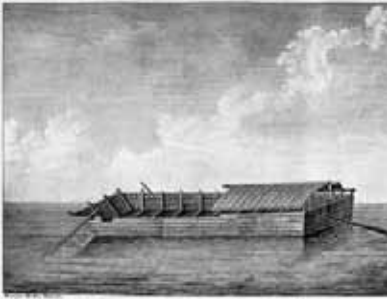
Population Growth in the Trans-Appalachian West 1790-1860



Lincoln's ancestors emulated thousands of other Americans who, between the 1780s and 1810s, migrated westward over the Appalachian Mountains and into the Ohio and Mississippi river valleys. In a remarkably short period, Westerners produced far more agricultural commodities—corn, wheat, hogs, tobacco—than they could consume or trade locally. They exported surpluses via flatboats to New Orleans and the lower Mississippi Valley plantation country, in exchange for much-needed hard currency. *Maps by Richard Campanella.*



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Sketch of a flatboat, that was used to descend the river and the Missouri.

Above: A typical flatboat of the Western rivers, ca. 1820s. These vernacular vessels of oak, poplar, or pine typically measured twelve to twenty feet in width, twenty-five to forty feet in length, and capable of bearing well over thirty tons. An on-deck cabin sheltered cargo and crew. From the 1780s to the 1860s, men by the thousands guided flatboats downriver to the New Orleans market. *Image from Victor Collot, A Journal in North America (Paris, France: Armand Beltrand, 1826).*



Top right: George Caleb Bingham's *The Jolly Flatboatmen* (1846) captures how most Americans came to peruse the Mississippi boatmen. Flatboats were commonly called "broad horns," for the two long oars ("sweeps") protruding from the sides, as depicted in Bingham's painting.



Middle and bottom right: The advent of steamboats in the 1810s effectively solved the problem of contra-current navigation, and made sail- and oar-powered flatboats all but obsolete on the main arteries of the West. Flatboats, however, were cost-effective—cheap to build and mobilized gratis by the current—thus they coexisted with steamboats for nearly a century, as depicted in these illustrations. After selling their cargo in New Orleans, crews dismantled their flatboats, sold the scrap lumber, and rode steamboats home, reducing the overall time investment and making flatboat commerce more economical. They performed odd jobs for steamboat captains, such as loading firewood, to reduce or eliminate their fares. *Details of "Bound Down the River" by Currier & Ives (1870) and "A Steamboat Race on the Mississippi" by George F. Fuller (1859) courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-5 and LC-USZ62-50000, pga-03028.*



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Above: The uppermost sign on this flood marker (just below the spotlights) dramatically illustrates how high the Ohio River used to rise before the advent of dams and flood control. Flatboatmen loved high water because it meant swift river velocity. **Below:** City Hall bulletin board in West Point, Kentucky. River towns along the Ohio and Mississippi exude a poignant sense of past grandeur. Once strategically located, they now sit on backwaters, as the nation and world have advanced to new forms of transportation. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.*

Above scenes: Thomas Lincoln launched a flatboat from the embarcadero of the tiny Ohio River outpost of West Point, Kentucky, in March 1806, guiding it to New Orleans and returning by early May. Flatboating to New Orleans formed some part of a rite of passage for young Western men; Thomas' neighbors' sons, and many others in his world performed the ritual multiple times. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.*





Top: Downtown Elizabethtown, Kentucky, where Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks married, settled, produced a daughter, and conceived a son. The Lincolns then moved to Hodggen's Mill (later Hodgenville, **second from top**) in Hardin County, specifically to a place known as Sinking Spring (which still flows at the bottom of this rock staircase **right**, near Nolin Creek. There, Abraham Lincoln was born on February 12, 1809, in a log cabin now commemorated by a massive Classical monument (**below**). Lincoln's memory dominates the modern-day landscape of the region; allusions to his name, image, and narrative are ubiquitous. Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.



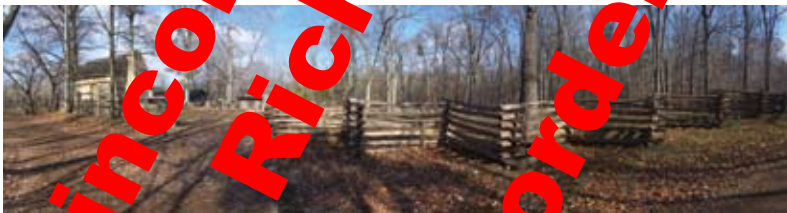
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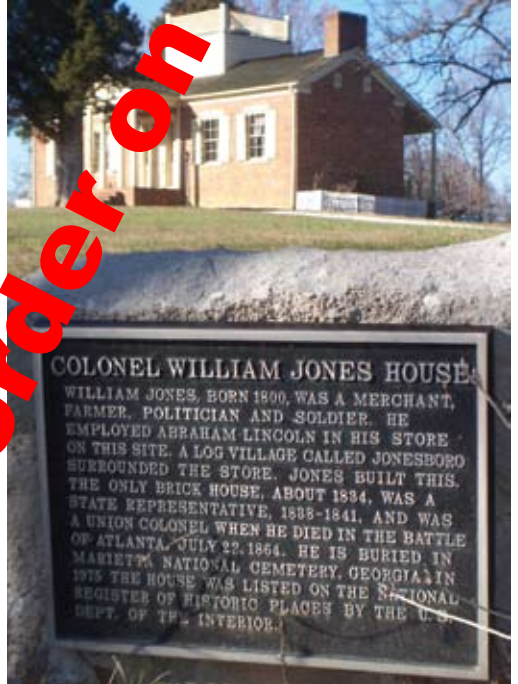
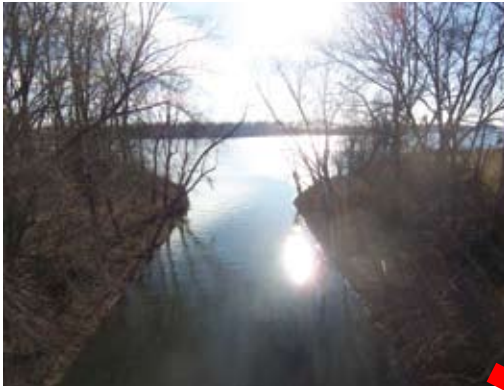
Above, left, and right: Questionable Kentucky land titles and poor soils forced Thomas Lincoln in 1811 to relocate his family to a rugged area eight miles northwest ofinking Spring. The Knob Creek farm chosen for the adjacent hills rising two hundred feet in elevation, saw Abraham grow from a toddler to an active boy of seven. "My earliest recollection," wrote Lincoln later in life "is of the Knob Creek place." The site today is the most peaceful and pristine of the Lincoln lands available. Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.



"[We] removed to what is now Spencer county Indiana, in the autumn of 1816," Lincoln explained, "partly on account of slavery; but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in K[entucky]." The family settled near what is now Gentryville (**top left**), in the dense hardwood forests and gently undulating terrain of Pigeon Creek (**middle left**). The footprint of the Lincolns' one-room cabin is marked today by this bronzed frame (**bottom left**), which incorporates what are probably the original hearthstones. One of the many hardships endured in this region was the mysterious affliction known as milk sickness. Lincoln's own mother Nancy succumbed to it in the autumn of 1818; she lies today in this grave (**bottom right**). Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.

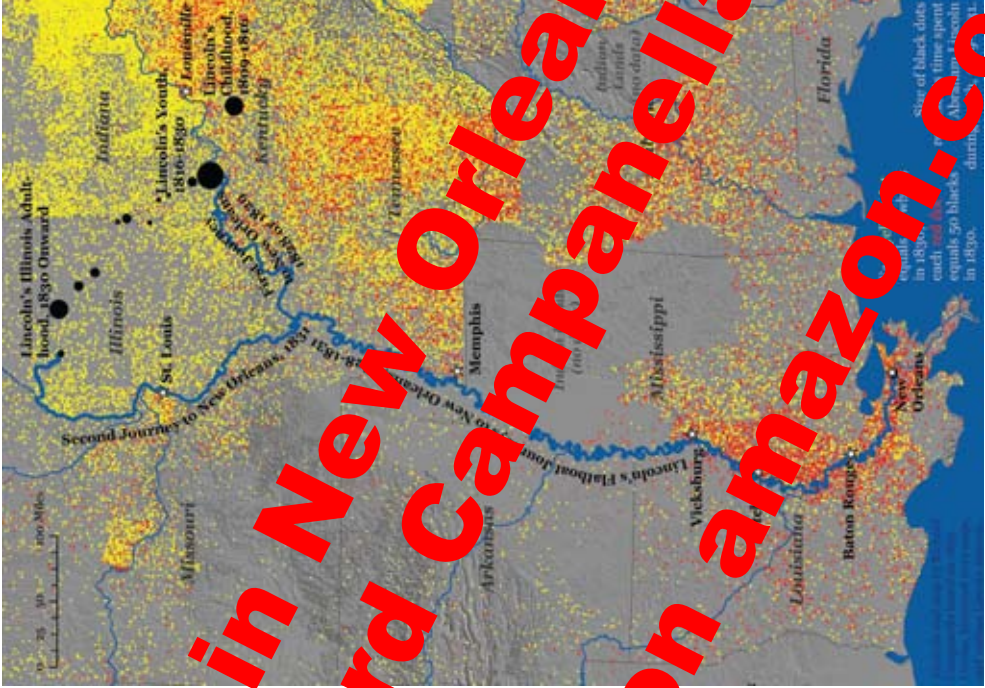
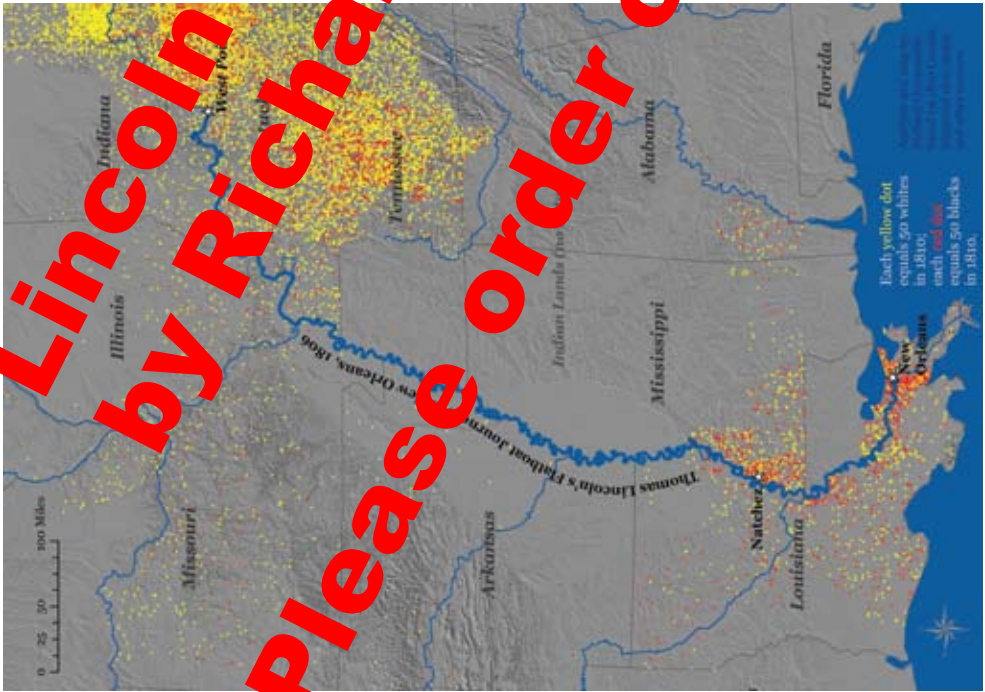


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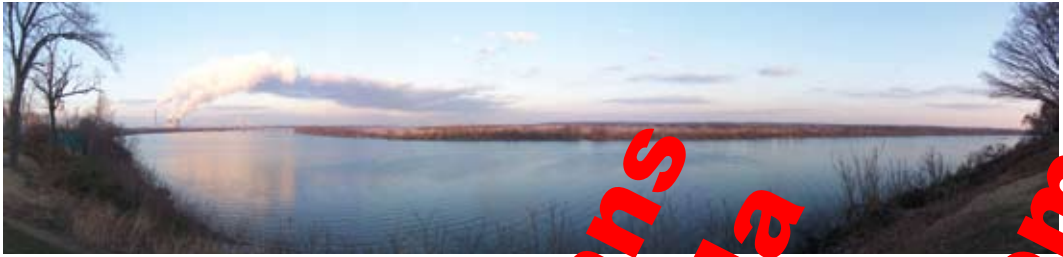
Southern Indiana saw Lincoln grow from a boy of seven to a man of twenty-one. His first experience with rivers, vessels, and riverine commerce came in 1828 at the busy Anderson Creek influence (top left) where he gained employment on Indiana's side of the Ohio River (top right). Among his most influential neighbors was the Gentry family, whose patriarch, James, owned extensive landholdings, a river launch, and a store (middle left), where Abraham enjoyed newspapers and conversation. In 1828, James Gentry hired Abraham to assist his son Allen in guiding a flatboat to New Orleans. Gentry family members remain in southern Indiana in large numbers. Buried in the same place as Creek Baptist Church Cemetery as these Gentry kin (middle right) is Lincoln's older sister Sarah (bottom left), who died during childbirth in 1828. Closer to Gentryville stands the home of William Jones (bottom right), another influential flatboating figure from Lincoln's Indiana years. Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.

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These maps show Thomas Lincoln's flat-boat route from West Point, Kentucky, in 1806 (left) and his son Abraham's route from Rockport, Indiana, in 1828 (right), overlaid with the racial demographics as enumerated by the U.S. Census closest to those dates. Although both men saw slavery up-close on their trips to New Orleans, their relatives exposed them to large-scale plantation slavery and slave trading for the first time. Maps by Richard Campanella.

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Top two scenes: View of the Ohio River and Main Street in downtown Rockport. The name of this Indiana town comes from the white limestone bluff (middle left) along its riverfront, a landmark for navigators and a landing for steamboats, as seen in this image (middle right) from around 1900. Steamboat photograph by John M. Killian, courtesy Spencer County Public Library Board. Picture B-079; other photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.



Above and right: A few hundred feet downriver from the bluff is the Old Lower Landing (Gentry's Landing), where Allen Gentry and Abraham Lincoln built and launched their flatboat for New Orleans in the spring of 1828. A limestone monument marks the spot today, inscribed with the notoriously dubious but oft-quoted line, "If I ever get a chance to hit that thing [slavery], I'll hit it hard." Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.



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When in 1828 Did Allen Gentry and Abraham Lincoln Depart by Flatboat for New Orleans?

Evidence for Springtime Departure					Evidence for Autumn/Winter Departure				
Evidence	Nature and Strength of Evidence (0-1 scale)				Evidence	Nature and Strength of Evidence (0-1 scale)			
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Contextual		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Contextual
Maritime reports confirming very high number of flatboat arrivals to N.O. during time we expect Lincoln to land according to spring departure hypothesis, and very low number for corresponding autumn/winter hypothesis	1.0				Lincoln's family association with William Jones contracts flatboat to be delivered in December 1833	0.2			
Lincoln's statement, "When[I] was nineteen...[I] made [my] first trip upon a flatboat to New-Orleans..."	0.2				Lincoln's Ehrmann's 1960s interviews with numerous Gentry descendants, followed by Francis Marion Van Meter's affidavits in the 1960s.			1.0	
Lincoln's hand-editing of Howell biography, in which he corrected spring-1830 departure date for Illinois as being two years after New Orleans trip	0.5				Fairly busy flatboat season in general				0.25
Anna Gentry's personal recollection of an April-to-June trip		0.9			Consistent assignment with harvest and planting schedules				0.3
Absalom Roby's concurrence of Anna Gentry's recollection		0.5							
Grigsby's, Richardson's, and Romine's recollection of spring departure		0.5							
High, swift rivers in spring 1828 versus low, slow waters in December				0					
Warmer temperatures, safer climate				0.5					
Busiest flatboat season in general				0.5					
Gentry family baby situation				0					
Weight factor (importance)	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	Weight factor (importance)	3.0	2.0	1.0	1.0
Sum of evidence strength multiplied by weight		3.2	0.0		Sum of evidence strength multiplied by weight	0.6	0.0	1.0	0.55
Total strength of springtime hypothesis				10.0	Total strength of autumn/winter hypothesis				2.15

Above: The mystery of Lincoln's first trip to New Orleans concerns whether he launched in the spring of 1828, or in the late fall and early winter of that year. What he experienced on the Mississippi and in New Orleans is contingent on resolving this key question. Evidence presented in this book, and weighed numerically in this chart, leans decisively to an April 1828 launch. *Analysis and chart by Richard Campanella, see text for details.*



Left: This bankside view near Mt. Vernon, Indiana, represents what Lincoln and Gentry would have seen while drifting down the Ohio River shortly after launch. **Right:** This riverside bluff may appear to be as pristine and wild as it was in 1828; in fact, vast hydrological, topographical, and ecological changes have been wrought by man upon the Mississippi River Valley since Lincoln's time. *Photos courtesy Spencer County Visitors Bureau, September 2008.*



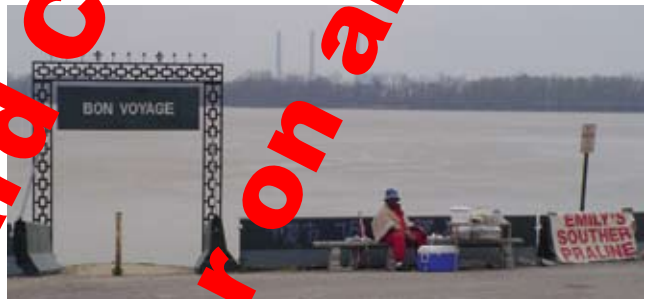
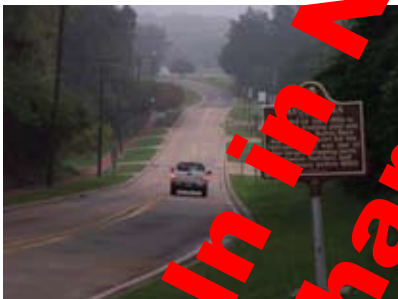
Above: Mrs. Jane Boultinghouse views the Rockport riverfront monument marking where her great-great-grandfather Allen Gentry and his son-in-law Abraham Lincoln launched for New Orleans 160 years earlier. **Above right:** Mr. Robert Grose, the only man to complete two full formal reenactments of Lincoln's Rockport-to-New Orleans journey, shows photos of his 2008 trip (including a visit to Bourbon Street) to Mrs. Barbara Dillon, who is also a great-great-granddaughter of Allen Gentry. **Next:** The Spangor County Library holds a treasure trove of local historical material and flatboat memorabilia. Lincoln's connection with the town and county and the significance of his flatboat trip, are major sources of local pride as evidenced by Victor Kupce's art work on display at the library. His paintings (**below**) depict Lincoln and Gentry launching at Rockport and witnessing a slave auction at New Orleans. Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008.



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Top: This drawing depicts the river landing in front of a prototypical cotton plantation, where flatboats and riverboats commonly interacted with plantation life. The topography (which is exaggerated in this illustration) represents the Mississippi's bluff-lined eastern bank from Vicksburg to Baton Rouge. River towns here embodied two topographically distinct sections: residential district "on the hill," and rough commercial boat landing "under the hill." Natchez, Mississippi, which Lincoln passed in 1828 and 1831, still preserves this two-tiered geography today: Natchez Under the Hill is shown in the **middle and bottom left** photos; Natchez proper, "on the hill," appears at **bottom right**. This Mississippi city ranked second only to New Orleans in terms of flatboat traffic. U.S. Custom Service manifests show that some flatboats operated in a sort of triangular trade, carrying Western produce from the upcountry to Natchez, exchanging it there for cotton and other Southern produce, then transporting their new cargo to New Orleans to complete their enterprise and return upcountry with cargo. Drawing by Adrien Persac, detail, Norman's Chart of the Lower Mississippi River (1858), courtesy Library of Congress; photos by Richard Campanella, 2004–07.



Top left: The Old River Control structure, which regulates the amount of water flowing between the Atchafalaya and Mississippi rivers, traces its origins to navigation improvements starting around the time of Lincoln's second trip to New Orleans. **Right:** A resident of the remote village of Fort Adams in extreme southwestern Mississippi points to the bluff on which the fortification (1783–1837) once stood. **Second from top:** Cypress trees grow along the elevated, slack-water banks of the Mississippi River in remote Wilkinson County near Fort Adams. **Third from top:** Continuing downriver, the next major stop for flatboatmen was Bayou Sara, a bustling river landing ranking third in commerce behind Natchez and New Orleans. Bayou Sara is a victim to floods and changing tides, but its hilltop corollary, St. Francisville, remains today as one of Louisiana's most beautiful towns. **Right:** Next stop downriver was Port Hudson, last of the bluff towns and, in 1863, site of a key battle and siege that eventually cost the Confederacy control of the Mississippi River. Port Hudson's landing, too, has been lost to the river; only a few old houses on the bluff survive. Photos by Richard Campanella, 2004–08.



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Top left: Riverfront in Lincoln's time knew Baton Rouge (population 10,000) for its landmark U.S. Barracks, a recently erected complex of five two-storied structures with pearl-white classical columns arranged in the shape of a pentagon. The Barracks served officers and soldiers deployed to the Southwest under the command of Lt. Col. Zachary Taylor. An intriguing legend holds that Lincoln visited, signed-in, and perhaps even spent the night at the Barracks. No one, however, has been able to produce the garrison records to prove it, and the story is probably mistaken. Lincoln undoubtedly saw the structures—four of which still stand (**top right**)—and he later served under Taylor in the Black Hawk War.

Second from top: This 1858 depiction of the Baton Rouge riverfront by Adrien Persac shows the U.S. Barracks at top left (note flagpole), with a flatboat similar to Lincoln's floating in front of it. **Left:** Once past Baton Rouge, flatboatmen entered the sugar coast, known for its opulent sugar cane plantations and plentiful trading opportunities, including at Donaldsonville (shown here) at the Bayou LaFourche distributary. The decline in traditional river traffic by the end of the nineteenth century led to the disappearance of many riverfront boat landings, including the term "landing" as a place name. Caire's Landing in Edgard (**bottom left**) is an exception. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2004–09; drawing by Adrien Persac, detail, Norman's Chart of the Lower Mississippi River (1858), courtesy Library of Congress.*

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Right: Drawing of a prototypical sugar plantation (1858); note cane fields to the right, mill behind mansion, and slave cabins in rear. Flatboatmen, including Lincoln, often “lingered” along Louisiana’s prosperous and highly enslaved sugar coast, trading from plantation to plantation en route to New Orleans. Most vestiges of this antebellum civilization have vanished; shown here are among the last survivors in Ascension, St. James, St. John the Baptist, and St. Charles parishes. *Drawing by Adrien Persac, detail, Norman’s Chart of the Lower Mississippi River (1858), courtesy Library of Congress; photos by Richard Campanella, 2003–09.*



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Around May 12–13, 1828, Lincoln and Gentry were, in Lincoln's words, "attacked by seven negroes with intent to kill and rob. . . ." The historical record offers a number of clues

that help narrow down the attack site. Acquaintances recalled it occurred below Baton Rouge, near Wade Hampton's plantation (today's Thomas House, **top left**), close to a place associated with a woman named "Busham," "Bushan," or "Duchesne," and remembered as "Madame Duchesne." Documents record no such woman—except for French-born Rose Philippine Duchesne (1769–1852), who in 1825 founded the Convent of the Sacred Heart (St. Michael's, **top right**) twelve miles below the Hampton Plantation, in the present-day town of Convent. These and other clues suggest the attack occurred near the site of the now-demolished Sacred Heart Convent, a few hundred feet upriver from the present-day St. Michael's Church (**middle left**), along the Mississippi River bank (**middle right**). The Catholic Church canonized Mother Duchesne as a saint in 1988; a shrine in St. Charles, Missouri, (**bottom left**) entombs her remains today. Note the depiction of a Creole-style hip-roof house typical of Louisiana, in the shrine's stained glass window (**bottom right**). *Photo of original convent courtesy Archives of the Society of the Sacred Heart, Sister Mary Louise Gavan, and Sister Mary Pat White; other photos by Richard Campanella, 2008–09.*

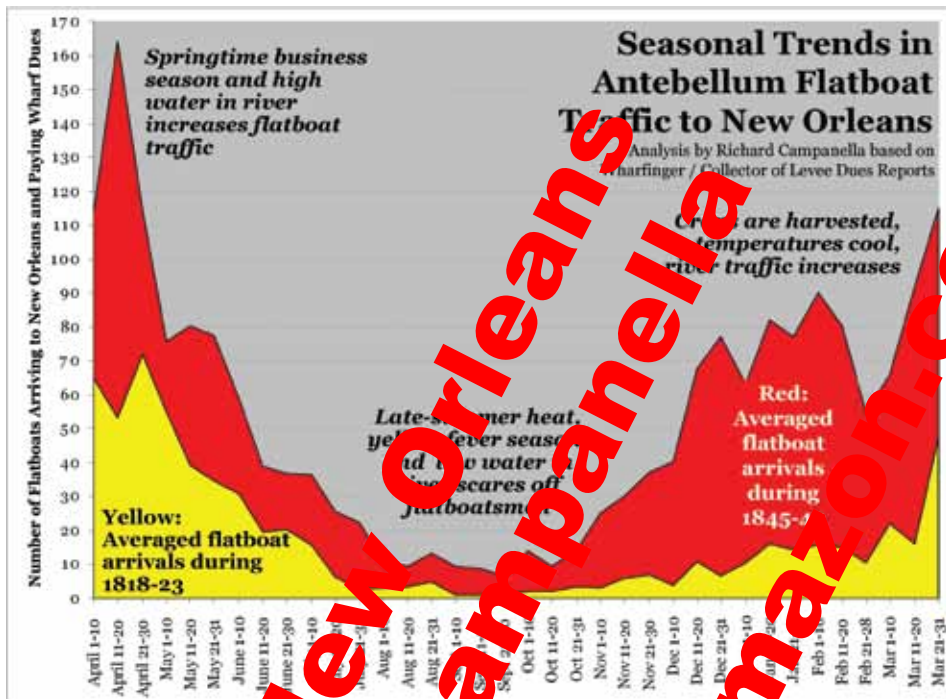
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Above left: This 1820 map of the lower Mississippi River (with New Orleans appearing at lower right) depicts the location of the Hampton Plantation and the "Church" (St. Michael's) where the Convent of the Sacred Heart would be founded five years later. **Above right:** Detail of map to the left, focusing on St. James Parish. Some time between "Hampton" and "Church" on the east (upper) bank of the Mississippi, a spot where Lincoln and Gen. were nearly murdered in 1828. **Below:** This researcher identifies the area mapped in green tones, on the east bank of the Mississippi near the present-day town of Convent, as the most likely attack site. "Map of Mississippi" by John Mitchell (1820), courtesy Library of Congress; analytical map by Richard Campanella.



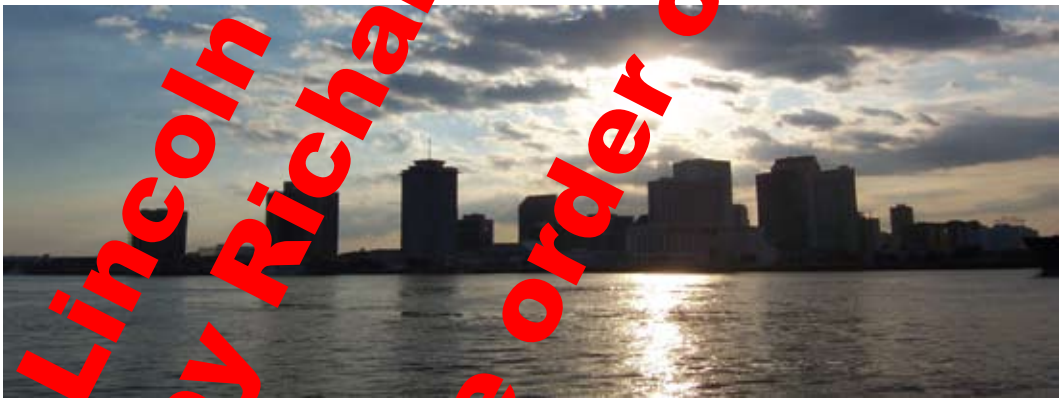
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Above: Annual flatboat traffic arriving in New Orleans peaked in early spring and bottomed out in late summer. This graph shows seasonal arrival patterns of duty-paying flatboats averaged over the years 1818-23 (yellow curve) and 1845-49 (red curve). All other comprehensive wharf reports for the interceding years have been lost, including those from Lincoln's years of 1828 and 1831, although newspaper reports of those missing data survive.

Below: This pair of graphs shows absolute (top) and relative (bottom) numbers of rafts, barges, steamboats, and flatboats arriving to the Port of New Orleans during 1818-23, based on records of the Collector of the Levee Dues. Not shown are sailing vessels arriving from the Gulf of Mexico. *Graphs and analysis by Richard Campanella based on Wharfing Reports / New Orleans Collector of Levee Dues-Registers of Flatboats, Barges, Rafts, and Steamboats in the Port of New Orleans, 1818-23 and 1845-49. Note: 1819's data represent Second Municipality only, where most flatboats landed.*



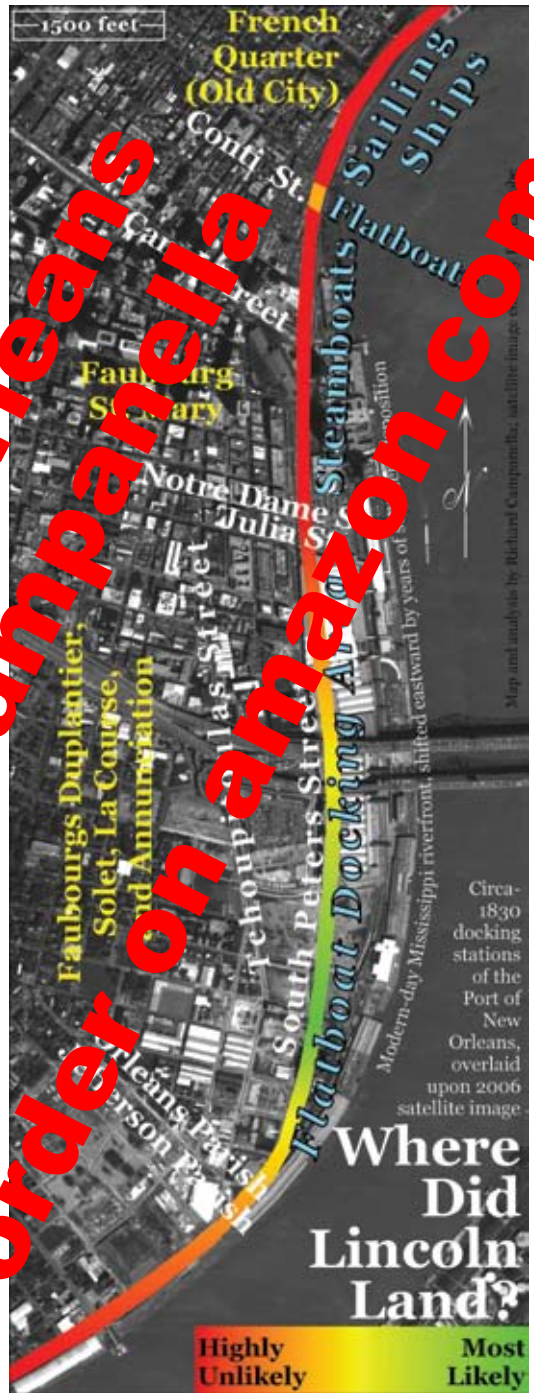


Top: When Lincoln floated down these last few miles of the Mississippi River before reaching New Orleans, nearly all areas visible in this aerial view comprised sugar and cotton plantations. Today they host the residential districts of uptown New Orleans and the container wharves of the Port of New Orleans. **Middle:** This drawing of the late-antebellum Port of New Orleans shows the plank-covered levee and docks where ocean-going vessels moored, in front of the French Quarter and Faubourg Marigny (right). Flatboats docked at the opposite end of the city and, lacking the picturesque-ness of sailing ships and drama of smoke-belching steamboats, rarely earned their way into drawings, paintings, or photographs. **Bottom:** Contemporary views of downtown New Orleans from river level. Flatboatmen of the 1820s–30s would have seen a skyline composed of tall chimneys, steep-pitched rooftops, and storehouses no more than three to four floors high, punctuated by billowing plumes of smoke and dust. *Drawing by Adrien Persac, detail, Norman's Chart of the Lower Mississippi River (1838), courtesy Library of Congress; photos by Jaap van der Salm and Richard Campanella, 2008–09.*



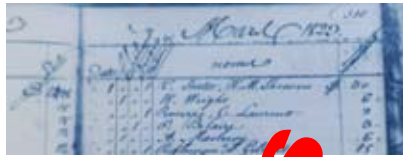
Top: One of the earliest illustrations of flatboats moored at New Orleans dates from shortly before Lincoln's 1828 arrival. It does not show the main uptown flatboat wharf where Lincoln most likely landed, but rather the smaller downtown station around Conti Street (note St. Louis Church at extreme left). Sketched by Capt. Basil Hall using a *camera lucida*, this drawing may be the closest thing we have to a photograph of the antebellum flatboat wharves. **Middle:** Lincoln most likely tied up his flatboat somewhere along a line running diagonally from the upper right to lower left of this photograph. Aligning with South Peters Street, this corridor traces the circa-1830 flatboat wharf. Sediment deposition has since shifted the riverfront outward by a few blocks. **Bottom:** This photograph situates Lincoln's flatboat experience in the context of modern-day downtown New Orleans. Flatboatmen landed at the area at the center-right of the photo, and, after selling their goods and dismantling their vessels, walked into the heart of the city (extreme left). The foreground of this photo, by the Superdome, is where the ca. 1830 city petered out into backswamp. *Hall drawing courtesy Louisiana State Museum; photo by Richard Campanella and Jaap van der Salm, 2004-09.*

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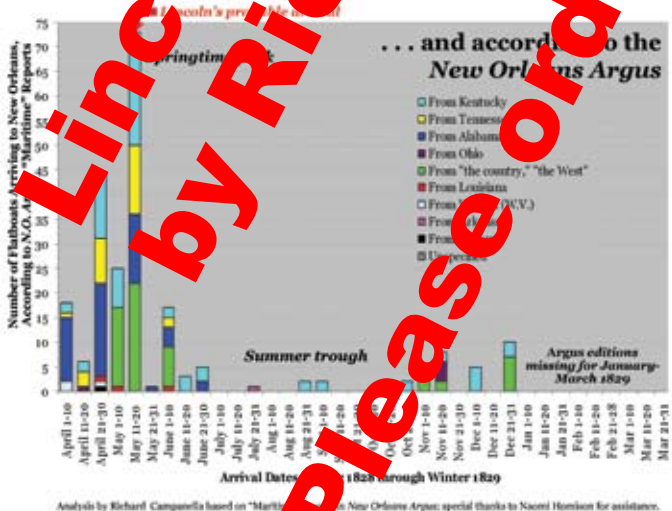
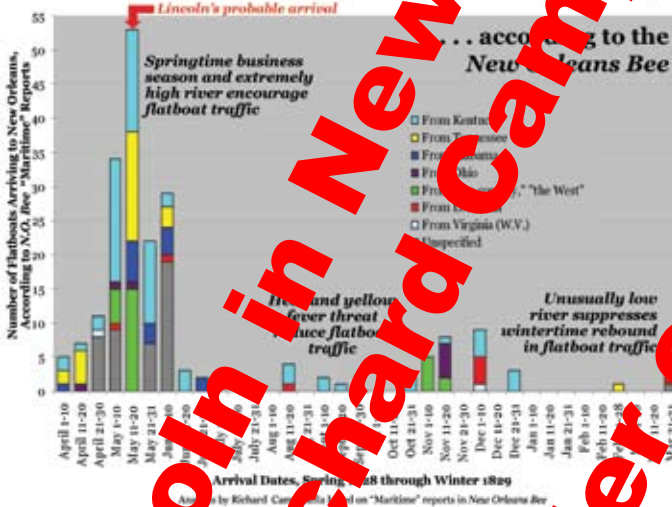
Left scenes: These photos show what the location of the old flatboat wharf looks like today, well inland from its former position along the now-shifted riverfront. The one-story cottage (**bottom left**, now a restaurant) on Religious Street at the Orange intersection is the oldest surviving structure closest to Lincoln's landing site, about four blocks away. Dating probably to the 1810s, it represents typical working-class multi-family common-wall housing of this area and era. **Right:** This map shows how different vessels (ocean-going sailing ships, river steamboats, and flatboats) were assigned their respective docking stations at the time of Lincoln's voyages. The multi-colored line marks the location of the riverfront in that era. We cannot pinpoint exactly where Lincoln landed, but, working off ancillary information, can identify the most likely area, shown here in yellow-to-green shades. *Map and photos by Richard Campanella, 2004–09.*

When did Lincoln first set foot in New Orleans? Documents from the Collector of Levee Dues and the Wharfinger (such as the excerpt at **top left**), which recorded flatboat arrivals, do not survive for 1828–31. However, two local newspapers reported this information



in their "Maritime News" columns. When plotted from April 1, 1828, through March 31, 1829, (graph **below** represents the *Bee*'s reports; graph at **bottom** shows the *Argus* tally) we see that large numbers of flatboats arrived in spring 1828, but very few in early 1829. This, together with other evidence explained in this book, strongly suggests that Lincoln first set foot in New Orleans in mid-May 1828, and not in winter 1829. Primary sources suggest. Further evidence indicates that Lincoln's vessel was among the fifteen flatboats from "the country" (green color in graphs) arriving around May 13–14, 1828. The *Bee* reported these fifteen arrivals on May 17 (at right, **marked by arrow**), with the words, "Quinze chalans de divers endroits, avec du produit du pays." These fifteen flatboats from various places, with products from the country." The author contends that Lincoln's vessel was in that cohort. **Second from bottom right:** Once dismantled, flatboat lumber was sold and used for scrap purposes around town. Here, the author inspects old boards containing pairs of pin holes and mortise-and-tenon

Flatboat Traffic Arriving to New Orleans, 1828-29



joins typical of flatboat construction. These pieces may have originally served as a plank and/or a keel on a flatboat-like vessel. They remain today in the attic of St. Mary Church (built in 1845) in the French Quarter. **Bottom right:** Shown here is a flatboat board found in an uptown house dating from 1850, on display in the Louisiana State Museum in Baton Rouge. Note the flat nail, peg holes, and white striping from where lathing was applied when mounted to the wall. Analysis by Richard Campanella based on daily tally of "chalans" (flatboats), plus a small number of barges and keelboats, listed in the "Maritime" reports in the *Bee* and *Argus*; photos by Richard Campanella and Greg Lambousy of the Louisiana State Museum.



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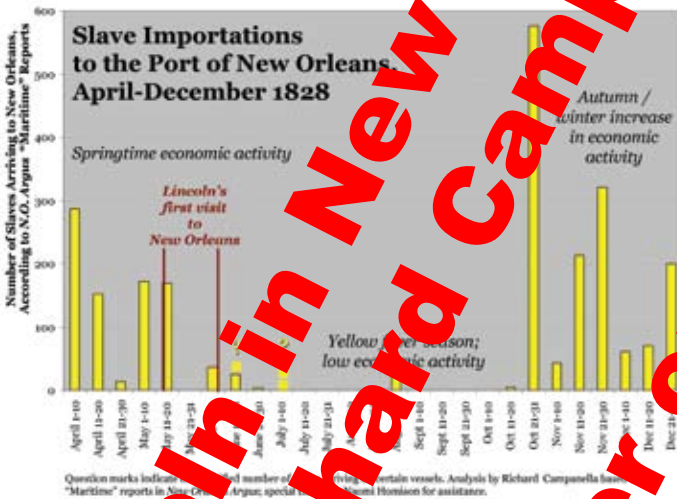
Two premier intersections in the New Orleans built Lincoln ward in 1828–31 remain busy today, and retain five of the eight corner structures from that era. **Above:** Chartres Street at the St. Louis intersection, and some of the most important commercial houses of the city; Chartres itself was widely viewed as “the ‘Broadway’ of New Orleans.” The city’s number-one slave auctioning venue, Hewlett’s Exchange, was located on the corner (left, now occupied by the Omni Royal Orleans Hotel). The Girod House (now home to the famous Napoleon House bar) appears at center. At right is an edifice built around the same time and in the same style as Hewlett’s, known today (erroneously) as Maspero’s Slave Exchange. Visitors in the 1820s—made a point of seeing Chartres Street, particularly this bustling intersection, and oftentimes stepped into Hewlett’s Exchange to witness the daily slave-auction ritual. “It seems to be the Soul of New Orleans,” one visitor said of Hewlett’s in 1831: “He [who] does not visit it cannot claim to have] seen all of New Orleans.” **Below:** The Royal Street intersection with Conti formed the heart of the banking and financial district. The three corner buildings seen here date from the 1790s–1820s. Benjamin Latrobe, architect of the pastel-yellow bank at right, also designed the U.S. Auditor, which was not completed until Lincoln’s administration. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2009; special thanks to Georgia Chadwick and Greg Lambousy for access to the roof of the Louisiana Supreme Court Building.*





Top left: Illustration of Lincoln in New Orleans often depict streets lined with the city's famous iron-pale galleries. While simple narrow balconies wrought iron abounded, ornate cast-iron galleries did not arrive until around 1850. Buildings along low Conti Street, with arched openings on the ground floor and no galleries would have been more typical of the inner-city streetscapes Lincoln saw. **Top center:** Hotel's Exchange, where thousands of slaves changed owners, occupied this corner until a few years after Lincoln's second visit, when it was replaced with the grand St. Louis Exchange Hotel (1840), also

the site of slave auctions. Damage inflicted by the 1892 hurricane led to its razing. The lot remained empty until 1960, when the present-day Omni Royal Orleans Hotel was erected in a style similar to the old St. Louis Exchange. Architects preserved a fragment of the 1840 structure: note the palimpsest of the word "EXCHANGE" above the man's head at right. **Top right:** An obscure legend posits that Lincoln boarded at this house on St. Ann Street. While this particular cottage did exist during his visit, and many such residences did take in boarders, no evidence corroborates the story. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008–09.*



Question marks indicate the arrival number of slaves on certain vessels. Analysis by Richard Campanella based on "Maritime" reports in New Orleans Argus; special thanks to Thomas Hornsby for assistance.

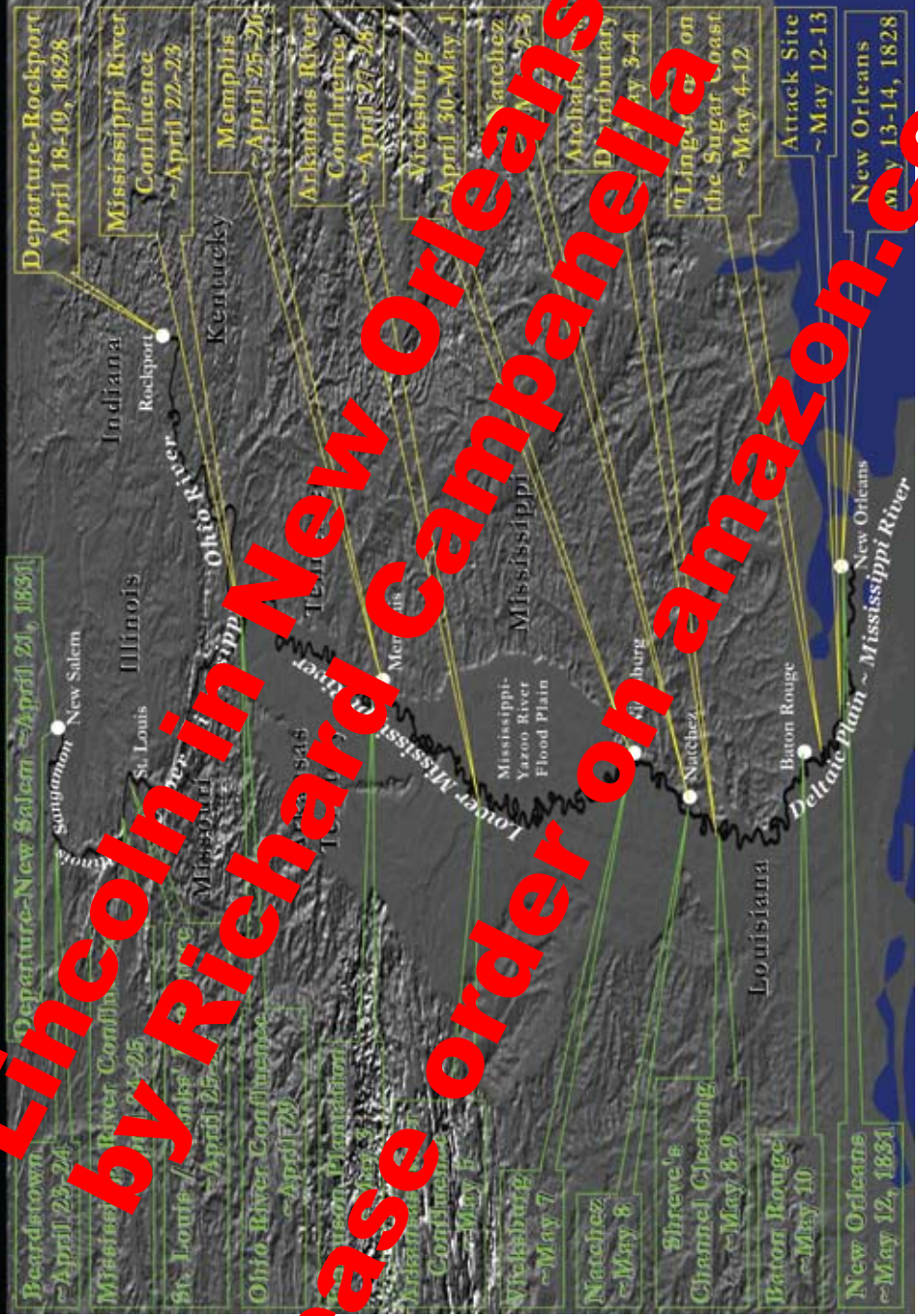


Graph based on Notarial Archives records researched by Fogel and Engerman (1974) and tabulated by Jonathon B. Pritchett (1991). Figures reflect only those slaves imported from out-of-state and sold in New Orleans with records in the Notarial Archives.

Left: In terms of season and era, Lincoln visited New Orleans when it engaged in the importation and trading of slaves with great vigor. New Orleans not only boasted the nation's busiest slave market, but its trafficking of human beings, wrote historian Frederic Bancroft, "had a peculiar dash: it rejoiced in its display and prosperity; it felt unashamed, almost proud." *Graphs by Richard Campanella based on "Maritime" reports in New Orleans Argus, and Notarial Archives records researched by Fogel and Engerman (1974) and tabulated by Jonathon B. Pritchett (1991).*

Reconstructed Chronologies of Lincoln's Flatboat Voyages to New Orleans, from Indiana (1828) and Illinois (1831)

Analysis and map by Richard Campanella. See text for explanation.



Reconstructed chronologies of Lincoln's flatboat journeys to New Orleans, from Indiana (1828) and Illinois (1831). Map by Richard Campanella.

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Left: Vincennes, strategically located on the Wabash River, formed the most important settlement in Indiana during its French colonial and early American era. When Thomas Lincoln came here in 1817 to finalize his Pigeon Creek property purchase, the influence of the town's French-speaking Catholic population predominated in the street scene. It may be seen to this day in "The Old French House" (**middle left**), built around 1806 in a style similar to that of Louisiana. It was at Vincennes that the Lincoln family, in March 1830, crossed the Wabash (**middle right**) and first set foot on Illinois soil. The migration occurred two years after Abraham's first flatboat trip to New Orleans and one year before the second. The state of Illinois commemorates the arrival of its most famous son with this monument (**bottom**). Photos by Richard Campanella, 2009.



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Above: In early spring 1830, the Lincolns settled on this bluff overlooking the Sangamon River, near Decatur in Illinois' Macon County. They built a cabin at the spot in the distant right marked with a boulder (plaque on boulder appears in right). Here, Lincoln and his cousin John Hanks launched their canoe to commence the first leg of their spring 1831 journey to New Orleans. The pair picked up Lincoln's stepbrother John D. Johnston outside Springfield and then found Denton Offutt, their boss, who was supposed to have prepared a flatboat for the crew to go to New Orleans. Failing to acquire the vessel, Offutt instead hired the three men to build a flatboat. Photos by Richard Campanella, 2009.



Above: This bank on the Sangamon River, seen here with swollen waters in May 2009, is within earshot of where Lincoln and colleagues built their rustic craft. The construction and launch was filled with mishaps, including, most influentially, getting hung up on the mill dam at New Salem (left, showing a detail of an idealized 1909 depiction of the incident, with the mill enumerated

as "1," Lincoln's flatboat as "2," and the mill dam as "3"). Lincoln's ingenious method of freeing the vessel impressed many villagers. New Salem apparently inspired Lincoln, because, immediately after his return from New Orleans, he spent the next six years of his life there. Photo by Richard Campanella, 2009; drawing by Arthur L. Brown, "New Salem: Home of Abraham Lincoln 1831 to 1837," *Springfield, Illinois*: R. J. Onstott, 1909), courtesy Library of Congress.

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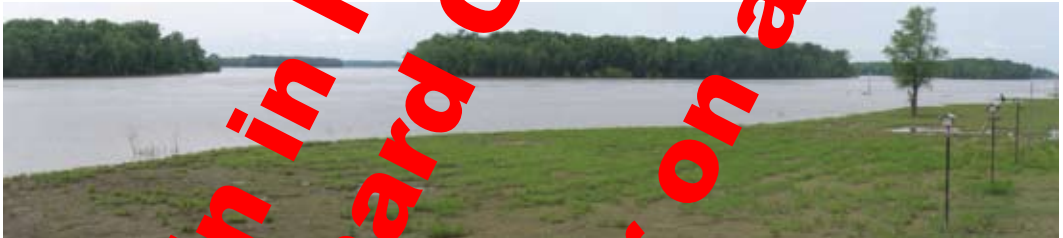
Bypassed by railroads and dependent on the unreliably navigable Sangamon, New Salem withered away and disappeared by 1840, three years after Lincoln departed for Springfield. A twentieth-century reconstruction of New Salem's shops, homes, and the mill dam (**left**) is a nearly destroyed Lincoln log cabin, receives thousands of visitors annually. **Below:** In the halls of the Illinois State Capitol in Springfield hang murals of New Salem painted around 1885, including one depicting Lincoln's mill-dam incident. Photos by Richard Campanella, 2009.



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Top: Once beyond the wending Sangamon in late April 1831, Lincoln, Offutt, Hanks, and Johnston floated down the wider, straighter Illinois River, through scenery just as bucolic today as during the flatboat era. After the Illinois joined the Mississippi River (**second from top**), the terrain on the eastern bank presented the most rugged topography (**second from bottom, left**) Lincoln had seen to date—including one limestone cliff famous for an indigenous painting of a winged monster first described by Marquette and Joliet in 1673. A modern mural of the beast recalls the “Legend of the

Piasa” today (**second from bottom, middle**). Next came Lincoln’s first view of Alton, Illinois, whose historic riverfront downtown (**second from bottom, right**) includes the Franklin House Hotel, where Lincoln would, many years later, debate Stephen A. Douglas. Finally, around April 25–26, the party arrived at St. Louis. Flatboats usually docked upriver from steamboats, making these areas near the foot of the Eads Bridge (**bottom**), north of the Gateway Arch, the likely spot where the Lincoln flatboat stopped to depart. Crewmember John Hanks’s departure marked a significant moment in Lincoln’s second trip to New Orleans—and ended in a strange way, twisting the way that trip would be interpreted by history. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2009.*



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Above: This graph plots Lincoln's probable arrival window against the frequency of other flatboats arriving to New Orleans, as recorded by three local newspapers. **Below left:** When Lincoln arrived in May 1831, New Orleans was abuzz about a new infrastructure technology, railroads. At this intersection of Girard and Commerce streets (now occupied by this edifice built later in the 1800s), a few blocks from his landing site, a special exhibit gave New Orleanians their first demonstration of a steam-powered locomotive. Two miles downriver, the first railroad west of the Appalachians, a horse-drawn line inaugurated only weeks earlier, connected the Old City with Lake Pontchartrain on what is now Elysian Fields Avenue. A general improvement in general, and railroads in particular, would play a major role in Lincoln's future legal and political career. **Below right:** This photograph, taken in 1922, shows the same Pontchartrain Railroad line a decade before it was finally removed. Photo and graph by Richard Campanella, 2009; 1922 photo courtesy Southeastern Architectural Archive, Tulane University.



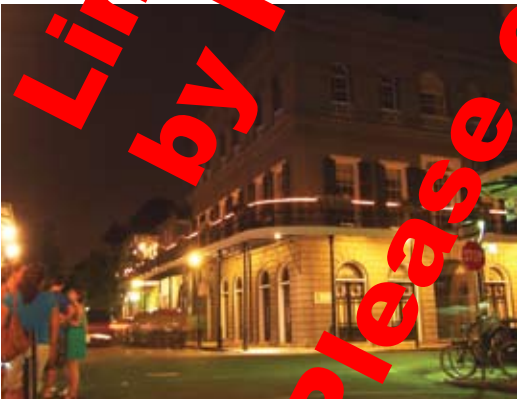
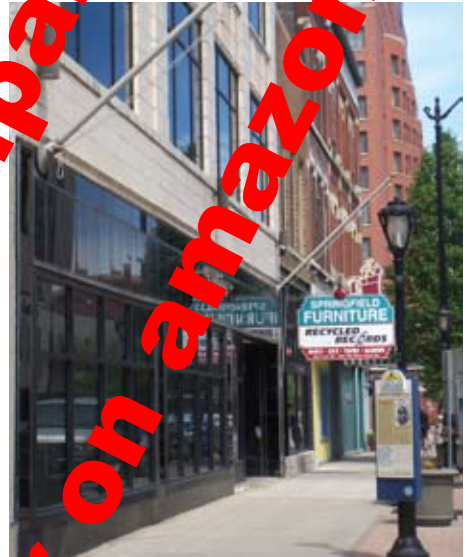


On a few occasions during 1831–61, New Orleans crept into Lincoln's life. In 1857, a black Illinoisan named John Shelby was imprisoned in New Orleans for lacking papers proving his freedom. Lincoln, working from his Springfield law office (**above left**), negotiated with New Orleans lawyer B. F. Thomas (whose law office, **above right**, operated in this St. Charles Avenue / Canal Street building, formerly Crescent Hall) to pay Shelby's fine and spare him enslavement. Shelby ranks as among the first African Americans (if not the first) ever freed by Abraham Lincoln.

Right: At this spot in downtown Springfield, William de la Florville ("Billy" Florville) worked as a barber and befriended his customer, Abraham Lincoln. Born in Haiti of mixed Franco-African ancestry, Florville spent some time in New Orleans in the 1820s and like Shelby three decades later, found it a risky place to free black man. In 1863, "Billy the Barber" wrote President Lincoln a warm letter of gratitude for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation.

Below left: Stories of New Orleans' treatment of slaves circulated throughout the West. On 7 April 1834, in private an incident of slave torturing in the Royal Street mansion of a wealthy Creole woman named Madame Lalaurie. Lurid news stories of the abuse reached a young Kentuckian girl who would later marry Lincoln, and helped her form her anti-slavery position. The Lalaurie story is well known locally to this day; tourists taking French Quarter "ghost tours" hear the (greatly embellished) story nightly. **Below right:** Three frontier symbols helped sell Lincoln

the presidential candidate to skeptical voters: rail-splitting, the log cabin, and the flatboat. Thousands of supporters marched in front of Lincoln's home (constant left) in Springfield in August 1860, pulling along "a mammoth flatboat on wheels" in their procession. Seen here is a recreation of one of the log cabin floats from that campaign procession. Other rallies featured a float depicting "a flatboat on which smoke exuded from a stove pipe and roosters crowed in their coops." *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2009.*

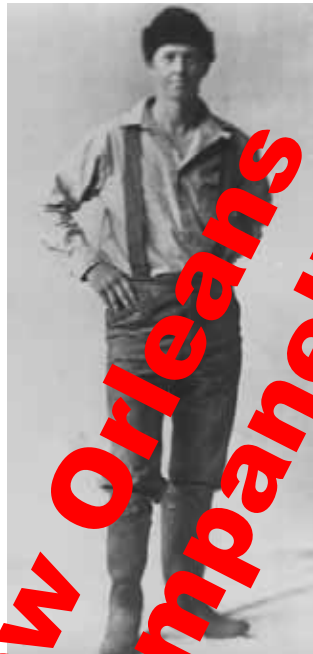


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Frontier symbolism figured heavily in Lincoln's 1860 campaign. **Left:** This broadside featured a caricature engraving of Lincoln poling a flatboat down the Mississippi, surrounded by a border of split-railed fences anchored by illustrations of log cabins and tools. As its caption read, "Abraham Lincoln has served an apprenticeship to flatboating, and may he yet guide the Ship of State with his own inherent homely tools." One editorialist would have none of it. "Make Linkin Captain of the Ship of State," he wrote, exaggerating a rustic dialect, "and in less than a year, he'll be without rudder, compass, or anchor. Who wants to see the Ship of State degenerate into a rickety old flat-boat?" **Right:** Composer Charles Grove parodied Lincoln's campaign symbols into song and dance. Lyrics to his 1860 "Lincoln Quick Step" (featuring a flatboat, rail-splitting, and a log cabin on the cover), "HONEST OLD ABE" has split many a rail / He is up to his work, and he'll surely not fail, / He has guided his FLAT-BOAT thro' many a strait, / And he'll prove at the HELM of the State." *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

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Left: Spencer County history enthusiast, Rose W. Ehrman, worked tirelessly to commemorate Lincoln's Indiana roots. Her biennial riverfront pageant, "When Lincoln Went Flatboating from Rockport", ran on July 4 from 1926 through 1930 and involved five hundred actors, including a descendant of Lincoln family, friends, and neighbors. Among them were Roby Gentry (**center**), who played his own great-grandfather Allen Gentry, and Roby's friend Millard Huffman (**right**), who portrayed Allen's friend Abraham Lincoln. *Spencer County Public Library, Box 7, Pictures E-049, E-026, E-003, and E-048; special thanks to the library staff for access to these and other materials.*



Above: The 1928 pageant began with the reenactment (note film crew at right) of the Lincolns' 1816 ferry crossing of the Ohio River from Kentucky into Indiana. Later, the Gentry and Lincoln characters reenacted their launch for New Orleans using a flatboat-like river barge (**right**). Rockport's biennial pageants are a thing of the past, but Lincoln's trip to New Orleans would inspire future reenactments in 1958 and 2008. *Spencer County Public Library, Box 7, Picture E-049, E-026, E-003, and E-048; special thanks to the library staff for access to these and other materials.*





To commemorate the sesquicentennial of Lincoln's birth, Duane Walter and the Rockport Jaycees in 1958 built a flatboat and reenacted the 1818 trip to New Orleans. The boatbuilding skills falling short of their enthusiasm, crewmembers constructed a rather flimsy rope-wall raft—*The Pride of Indiana*—propelled by two adrift Evinrude power-funnies, enough only to keep the craft in the current. The journey commenced in July with a big parade on Main Street (**top left**—that's Robert Grose in the wheelbarrow, who also journeyed exactly fifty years later), then launched in front of a large crowd on the Rockport bluff (**top right**) and crossed the



Ohio River to greet neighbors in Owensboro, Kentucky (**middle**). After various adventures—getting stuck on a sand bar, narrowly evading a deep-draft vessel, and receiving warm welcomes in Mississippi—the crew arrived safely in Louisiana (**bottom**), where they were treated to a meal by Louisiana Gov. Earl K. Long. *Photos courtesy crew-member Robert Grose and Spencer County Public Library; used with permission.*

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Lincoln Movie Films to Be Taken in Orleans

New Orleans Times-Picayune
December 3, 1918

Henry Belmar, director of a moving picture corporation, is in New Orleans to make a movie of the entire life of Abraham Lincoln, with Laurel Love playing the role of Nancy Hanks.

"I have worked for seven years getting the ideas together for this picture," said Mr. Belmar at the St. Charles Hotel Monday, "and I figure that it will take fully nine months to finish the entire film.

"We came here because we understood that a studio was available, but were much disappointed when we found that this was not so. But we shall con-

struct one, as all we need is the four walls of some large empty building. For the proper wooded effects to simulate Kentucky scenes we shall probably have to go to Alabama.

"While in New Orleans we will shoot some scenes at the French Market, and the plan is of interest at the time Lincoln came to this city, as he is well known on a flatboat with wares for sale. We need to reproduce the capitol as it was in Lincoln's day, the White House, the Old's Theater and many other historical structures. These will all be set up in New Orleans."



Top: A movie of Lincoln's life, to be made entirely in New Orleans in 1919, might have influenced popular perceptions of the former president's relationship with the city, but the plan never came to fruition. *Excerpt from New Orleans Times-Picayune, December 3, 1918, p. 7. Above photos:* Flatboat scenes appear prominently in Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* (1940), which depicts the 1831 trip down the Sangamon River, including the mill-dam incident but not New Orleans proper. *Courtesy KC Radio Pictures.*



Left: An Illinois re-enactment group built and launched a flatboat into the Sangamon River on the 175th anniversary (1831–2006) of Lincoln's New Salem departure. Measuring thirty feet by twelve feet and constructed of tulip and poplar, the realistic vessel was designed according to nineteenth-century documents and built using woodworking techniques of that era. **Right:** New Orleans slave-auction scenes lend themselves to dramatic depictions of the Lincoln story in theatrical productions have featured them at least since 1891 and probably earlier. The 2009 musical *Abe!*, by Lee Goldsmith and Roger Anderson, opens with this auction scene below a projected image of the dome of the St. Louis Hotel. A thoughtful Lincoln subsequently contemplates what he had just witnessed. *Scenes from Abe!* used with permission; special thanks to Jeff Haller, Lee Goldsmith, and Roger Anderson; photos courtesy Lincoln's New Salem State Historic Site.





Above: In 2008, the Spencer County Visitors Bureau and partner organizations sponsored a full-length reenactment of the 1828 New Orleans trip to mark the upcoming bicentennial of Lincoln's birth. Using a well-built sixty-foot flatboat made by local farmer and Washington lawyer Reed Drake (a descendent of flatboatmen affiliated with the Lincolns' Little Pigeon Primitive Baptist Church), the *Journey of Remembrance* launched with fanfare on September 9, 2008. Slow river currents, storms, seven-foot swells, and the remnants of Hurricane Ike did not prevent the crew from making over twenty event-filled stops educating thousands of townsfolk about the significance of the voyage. The bearded gentleman seated by the model flatboat is Robert Grose, a veteran of the 1828 trip. He is the only person to complete two full-scale reenactments of Lincoln's voyage. **Below:** The *Journey of Remembrance* entered Louisiana waters in early October and arrived in New Orleans several days later. The city, unfortunately, proved to be as aloof to the flatboat crew as it was to Lincoln 180 years earlier. Officials at the Port of New Orleans ignored organizers' repeated requests to dock downtown, forcing them instead to tie up at a private Harvey Canal dock on the West Bank. Undaunted, the crew piled in a car and, like so many flatboatmen before them, enjoyed a night in the French Quarter. Photos courtesy Journey of Remembrance crewmembers and the Spencer County Visitors Bureau. Special thanks to Melissa Miller.



While Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky poured millions of dollars into commemorating Lincoln's bicentennial in 2009, Louisiana conducted a broad range of innovative activities with dedicated volunteers and a shoestring budget of \$3,000. **Below:** Chaired by David Madden and themed "Lincoln Chose Louisiana" (a reference to the president's vision to use the state as a model for swift and non-vengeful reconstruction), the Louisiana Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission held poetry readings, lectures, symposia, art showings, plays, exhibits, and a February 12 ceremony on the steps of the State Capitol in Baton Rouge (**right**). The newfound appreciation for Lincoln's Louisiana connection contrasts with the historical scorn once directed at the man. Lincoln place names, for example, remain rare in greater New Orleans; most—few streets, a school, an abandoned park—are affiliated with the African American population. Perhaps the most famous is the now-defunct Lincoln Beach (**middle right**), the blacks-only lakefront recreational facility that operated during the last two decades of Jim Crow. Only its weathered entrance signs remain. The Lincoln toponym located closest to the area traversed by the flatfoot is Lincoln Court (**bottom right**), a tiny street in a working-class section of the Seventh Ward. It measures one block long, hosts a single street-fronting home, and suffered five feet of flooding during Hurricane Katrina. *Commission images courtesy Louisiana Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission; photos by Richard Campanella, 2009.*



LINCOLN'S
UNIQUE LOUISIANA
CONNECTION

A LECTURE BY DAVID MADDEN



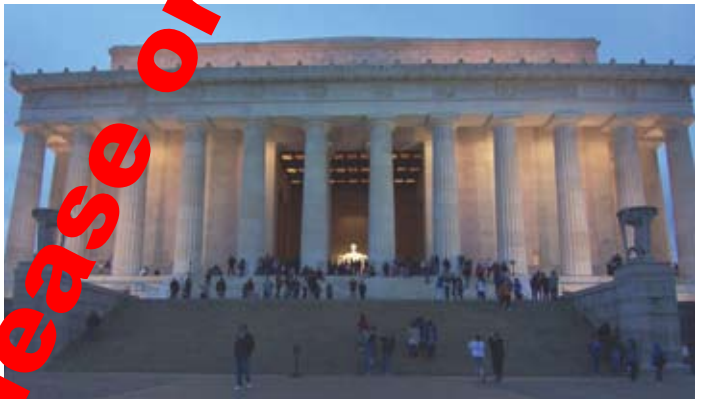
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Left: Allen Gentry (1806–62), captain of the 1828 journey, rests under this leaning tombstone in Rockport Cemetery, Spencer County, Indiana. **Below left:** His assistant, greenhorn boatman Abraham Lincoln (1809–65), two years his junior, lies beneath this tombstone in Springfield, Illinois. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2008–09.*



Bottom left: The irrepresible John Hanks (1802–89), source of many colorful details (reliable and otherwise) about Lincoln's flatboat journeys, lies in this simple grave in the Hickory Point Township Cemetery in Decatur, Illinois. **Bottom right:** His distant cousin—fellow rail-splitter and flatboatman, seven years Hanks' junior and the target of much good-natured ribbing—is remembered today by the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. *Photos by Richard Campanella, 2009.*



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Voyage of Life: Youth, second in a series of four paintings (*Birth*, *Youth*, *Manhood*, and *Old Age*) by Thomas Cole, 1840. The New Orleans float boat journeys resonate in Lincoln's biography in part because they invoke many key elements of classic mythology: a youth, admired in the most ordinary of circumstances, receives a call to adventure and embarks on a long trip to an exotic destination. There he encounters danger, crosses a moral threshold, and returns enlightened—and eventually saves his people. The heroic form of the monomyth recurs in countless stories, from Greek mythology and the Bible to classic literature and recent cinema. Lincoln throughout reflected on the river years of his youth and drew lessons from them; the New Orleans trips in particular punctuated his four-year (1828–32) transformation from adolescence to manhood. Perhaps this explains why Lincoln owned a print of Cole's riverine painting *Youth*, and displayed it prominently in the dining room of his Springfield home. It hangs there to this day. *Image courtesy National Gallery of Art, 1971.16.2; special thanks to Martina Campanella.*