

# THE LINCOLN FORUM BULLETIN

ISSUE 51

www.thelincolnforum.org

Spring 2022

## TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL FORUM TO PROBE "LINCOLN IN THE WHITE HOUSE"

Historian-Cable News Stars Jon Meacham and John Avlon to be Featured

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Two presidential historians familiar to millions of Americans as cable news commentators—Jon Meacham and John Avlon—will be among the major speakers joining us in Gettysburg November 16-18 for the 27<sup>th</sup> annual Lincoln Forum symposium: “Lincoln in the Civil War White House: The Politics and Personalities of a Union Divided.”

This year, the symposium will feature analysis, discussion, music, and art meant to reimagine and reinterpret the roiling crises that beset the wartime capital—and its most famous resident, Abraham Lincoln.

After a successful (if delayed) in-person 25<sup>th</sup>-anniversary prelude and symposium in 2021, the Forum will gather once again at the Wyndham Gettysburg and feature another stellar roster of lecturers and panelists—along with three group dinners, two lunches, and two breakfasts. This year’s keynote speaker is Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer **Jon Meacham** of Vanderbilt University, who will discuss his forthcoming biography, *And There Was Light: Abraham Lincoln and the American Struggle*. The book tells Lincoln’s story through the lens of his evolving moral and religious sensibilities. Meacham’s talk, “Lincoln and the Arc of a Moral Universe: The Conscience of a President,” promises to offer deep insight into Lincoln’s leadership in times of turmoil.

CNN senior political analyst (and “Reality Check” commentator) **John Avlon** will discuss his new book, *Lincoln and the Fight for Peace*, *continued on page 4*



John Avlon



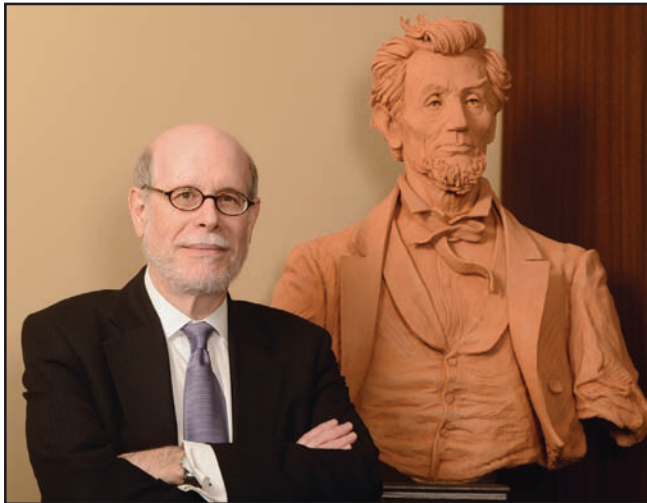
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Walter Stahr



# CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE: SURVIVAL KIT



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On the afternoon of November 19, 1863, as Abraham Lincoln headed by train from Gettysburg back to Washington following the dedication of the town's new Soldiers' National Cemetery—and arguably his greatest three minutes as an orator—something happened to dampen the excitement of the moment.

I've accompanied several political leaders home from major speech appearances. Believe me, they love to spend such trips talking endlessly about the high and low points of their performances. But as many of us know, Lincoln could not do so for long. He soon began to feel ill and took to his compartment to lie down. His valet, William Johnson, brought him a damp cloth for his forehead. By the time the President returned to the White House, he was seriously sick, took to his bed, and remained there for days. As it turned out, the President had contracted varioloid—a form of smallpox—likely from his young son, Tad, who had been critically ill (at least his mother thought so) before Lincoln embarked on his trip to the town where the war's biggest battle had taken place.

Tad survived, as did his father. But William Johnson was not so lucky. Tending Lincoln apparently meant getting too close for safety, and Johnson came down with smallpox as well—and ultimately died from the then-incurable disease.

Although smallpox outbreaks were common in Lincoln's time, and sometimes deadly, it was but one of the unchecked maladies that threatened the lives of soldiers as well as civilians during the Civil War era. William Johnson was among the thousands who succumbed to germ-borne diseases.

Such stories compel us to remain deeply thankful—to science, and to our own consideration for each other—as we count our blessings from Forum XXVI in Gettysburg last November. Not only were 270 friends, colleagues, and lecturers again able to gather together, but from all accounts, not a single attendee reported a coronavirus infection after returning home. Think of it: although we did convene at a fortuitous time—between outbreaks of the Delta and Omicron variants—I have not heard of another gathering from that time whose safety protocols yielded such heartening results. Good on us!

Now, as we plan for what promises to be another superb symposium, for our own protection and that of our speakers I ask that you continue to take all the precautions that our government leaders recommend to ensure our continued safety: to get vaccinated and boosted to preserve your health and that of your friends and family; and to plan on returning in good health to our 27<sup>th</sup> annual meeting on November 16.

We know we have the enthusiasm to reconvene. And we can only hope the pandemic has eased sufficiently—maybe even permanently—by fall, allowing the full resumption of the activities we enjoyed so freely for so long. But please also know that your Forum leadership will work to safeguard our symposium by following all appropriate health rules in practice at the time we meet.

We can either be lucky in health, like Abraham Lincoln, or unlucky, like William Johnson. And maybe we will even enjoy a new birth of freedom—from Covid. But we have access to preventatives and remedies unimaginable in Lincoln's day. Let's make good use of them. And be assured: Our goal will be to welcome another large crowd, host another extraordinary symposium, and send everyone home for Thanksgiving with great memories and in good health. 🍗

Harold Holzer, Chairman

**T**he leadership of **THE LINCOLN FORUM** thanks all of our members who have made donations over the past 26 years. Your generosity has made our programs a success. We are pleased to announce that donations and membership payments can now be made directly at our website: <https://www.thelincolnforum.org/membership-info>

Thank you again for your continued support!

## DIANE BRENNAN BECOMES NEW FORUM ADMINISTRATOR

In November 2021, The Lincoln Forum welcomed Diane Brennan as its new administrator. Diane was hired after a full search was conducted by Chairman Harold Holzer, Vice Chair Jonathan White, and outgoing administrator Pat Dougal. Diane has been well-known in the Lincoln community for many years. She is currently employed at Gettysburg College in the Office of the Provost. At the College, she worked with the American Civil War and public policy programs, and until the spring of 2021, she served as the prize administrator for the Gilder Lehrman Lincoln Prize.

Diane recently completed her undergraduate degree at Gettysburg College with a major in Art History. Over the past few years, she has helped several historians with their research. Diane lives in the mountains northwest of Gettysburg with her husband Don and their “fur son” Indy. She is incredibly proud of her son Robert, who works as an emergency room nurse.

“Diane Brennan brings to the Forum a wealth of organizational experience, strong connections to the Gettysburg community, and decades of work in the Lincoln, Civil War, and history fields,” said Holzer. “Those of us who have known Diane for years feel lucky indeed to have her involved with the Forum.” 📌



## ROSS E. HELLER ENDOWS NEW FORUM FELLOWSHIP FOR LIBRARIANS, ARCHIVISTS, AND CURATORS

Publisher Ross E. Heller—a first-time Lincoln Forum attendee in 2021—has endowed a 10-year program that will bring to future symposia an outstanding Lincoln librarian, archivist, or curator. Annual Ross E. Heller Fellows through 2031 will receive complimentary registration and full travel expenses to attend the Forum. Heller’s gift is the largest single contribution in the organization’s 27-year history.

Chairman Harold Holzer and Vice Chairman Jonathan White further announced that Dr. Olga Tsapina, the Norris Foundation Curator of American Historical Manuscripts at the Huntington Library, will be the inaugural Ross E. Heller Forum Fellow. Dr. Tsapina, who joined the Huntington in 1998, will attend the 2022 symposium and participate with Heller and artist Wendy Allen in a November 18 breakout session.

Heller, who publishes CustomNEWS, Inc., and *USAE Weekly*, bibles of the American trade and business meeting industries, is the editor of the forthcoming book, *By Abraham Lincoln: His 1858 Time Capsule*. This handsomely reproduced volume is a facsimile edition of the small scrapbook of newspaper clippings, speech extracts, and handwritten notes on the slavery issue that Lincoln prepared for fellow Sangamon County, Illinois, politician James N. Brown toward the end of that year’s heated campaign for the U.S. Senate.

Although Lincoln shared the scrapbook—which he likely used as a reference tool during his campaign debates with Stephen A. Douglas—to disclaim rumors that he favored “social and political equality between the white and black races,” Lincoln’s cover letter to Brown also made clear his opposition to slavery. “I believe the declaration that ‘all men are created equal,’” he wrote Brown, “is the great fundamental principle upon which our free institutions rest.”

Now, thanks to Heller—and featuring a new preface by Harold Holzer and specially commissioned cover art by Wendy Allen—the scrapbook will be widely available for the first time in more than a century. The book’s publication launch will take place at Forum XXVII this November.



Ross E. Heller

The original scrapbook resides in the Huntington collection under the supervision of Dr. Tsapina, who encouraged and helped facilitate Heller’s reproduction project. At their Forum XXVII breakout session, the editor, curator, and artist will explore the challenges of preserving, reproducing, and interpreting original Lincoln materials.

“Were it not for The Lincoln Forum and its dedicated longtime members who have assisted me exponentially,” said Heller, “this book in its present form would not exist. To say ‘thank you’ I am delighted to fund this endowment. As they have helped me with my book, this gift will allow distinguished librarians and collection curators to lend their presence and expertise to the Forum and

its members both this year and in the future.”

Commented Chairman Holzer: “We are so grateful to Ross Heller for his extraordinary generosity and foresight in creating future opportunities for curators, librarians, and archivists. His gesture will make it possible to integrate this community more deeply than ever into the life of the Forum, and in turn create new opportunities for attendees—including historians and enthusiasts—to meet and mingle with those who preserve and protect the resources upon which we depend for research.”

Vice Chairman White was delighted with the selection of Tsapina as the inaugural Heller Fellow. “I have fond memories of working on my dissertation research at the Huntington Library back in 2006,” said White. “During my month-long fellowship there, Olga was so generous with her time as I learned how to use the resources at the Huntington. I look forward to seeing her in Gettysburg this November!”

Holzer added: “Unbeknownst to us until recently, both Ross Heller and I—as well as my wife, Edith—attended the same high school in Bayside, New York, albeit six years apart. This is the best high school reunion ever, and I am truly grateful for the coincidence that brought us together and led to our new Forum partnership. We look forward to welcoming Ross back to Gettysburg in 2022 and to many future symposia, along with the Fellows whose attendance he has made possible.” 📌

# TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL FORUM TO



**Roger Lowenstein**

*continued from page 1* which Jon Meacham calls “an important and absorbing contribution to the literature of the American Presidency.” He will speak to the Forum on: “How Lincoln Helped Win the Peace After World War II.” Avlon has written previously on George Washington—and is the only descendant-in-law of an American president ever to speak at the Forum (his wife is TV analyst Margaret Hoover).

Among the other first-time speakers is longtime curator and historian **John Rhodehamel**, author of the elegantly written *America’s Original Sin: White Supremacy, John Wilkes Booth, and the Lincoln Assassination* (2021). Rhodehamel will discuss “White Supremacy and the Lincoln Assassination.”

Veteran Lincoln Forum member **Christopher Oakley** will show how art and technology helped him pinpoint the precise location of the speaker’s platform from which Lincoln delivered his immortal Gettysburg Address 159 years ago this November. Oakley, a professor of new media at UNC-Asheville, previously worked as an animator for both Disney and DreamWorks. His mystery-solving discovery—to be announced for the first time at the Forum—will likely make major news in the historical community.

The 2022 symposium will also feature a host of returning Forum favorites. *New York Times* bestselling biographer **Walter Stahr** (who was originally slated to speak in 2021) will discuss his important new biography, *Chase: Lincoln’s Vital Rival* (2022). Lincoln Prize-winner **Elizabeth D. Leonard**, professor of history at Colby College in Maine, will offer a fresh re-assessment of Benjamin “Beast” Butler, based on her new biography, *Benjamin Franklin Butler: A Noisy, Fearless Life* (2022). And prolific Lincoln Forum Vice Chairman **Jonathan W. White** will discuss African American encounters with Abraham Lincoln, based on his two most recent groundbreaking books: *To Address You As My Friend: African Americans’ Letters to Abraham Lincoln* (2021) and *A House Built By Slaves: African American Visitors to the Lincoln White House* (2022).

The Forum will also feature several important conversations and panel sessions.

Chairman Emeritus **Frank J. Williams** will engage veteran *Wall Street Journal* columnist **Roger Lowenstein** in a featured discussion of Lowenstein’s highly praised new book, *Ways and Means: Lincoln and His Cabinet and the Financing of the Civil War*.

Lincoln Forum Executive Committee member **Edna Greene Medford** of Howard University will chair a panel discussion on “Lincoln, Race and Citizenship” featuring University of Nevada-Las Vegas professor **Michael Green**, author of *Lincoln and Native Americans* (2021); last year’s Lincoln Forum Book Prize-winner Professor **James Oakes** of the CUNY Graduate Center; and **Christy Coleman**, the CEO of the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation who served as on-air commentator for the recent CNN and History Channel Lincoln documentaries.

The Forum will also feature a panel on “Lincoln and the Democrats” featuring **J. Matthew Gallman**, author of the new book, *The Cacophony of Politics: Northern Democrats and the American Civil War*; Stephen Douglas biographer *continued on page 5*



**Frank J. Williams**



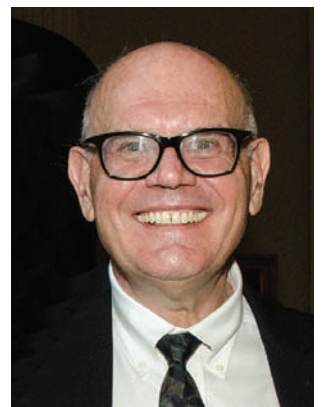
**Christy S. Coleman**



**Christopher Oakley**



**John Rhodehamel**



**James Oakes**



**Michael Green**



**Reg Ankrom**

# PROBE “LINCOLN IN THE WHITE HOUSE”



**J. Matthew Gallman**

*continued from page 4* (and proud resident of the Lincoln-Douglas debate town of Quincy, Illinois) **Reg Ankrom**; Lincoln Forum Chairman **Harold Holzer**, who has written often on the Democratic press of the Lincoln era; **Elizabeth Leonard** (biographer of prominent War Democrats Ben Butler and Joseph Holt); and moderator **Jonathan White**, author of several books and articles exploring wartime political dissent.

As a special added attraction, the **U.S. Army Chorus** will return to the Forum by popular demand for an after-dinner concert of Lincoln-era music. As always, attendees will also enjoy the Forum’s all-author book signing and an array of displays featuring both artists and Lincolnia specialists.

For the first time in three years, the Forum will resume its First-Timers’ Battlefield Tour, this year featuring legendary guide and historian **Carol Reardon** of Gettysburg College. Other attendees will select from a list of compelling breakout sessions: the ever-popular duo of Professors **John F. Marszalek** and **Craig L. Symonds** on the memoirs of Grant and Sherman; **Michael Green** and **Andrew F. Lang** of Mississippi State University on “Lincoln and the Union”; **David Kent**, author of the forthcoming *Lincoln: The Fire of Genius*, in conversation with iconic historian (and longtime scientist) **Edward Steers Jr.**, on Lincoln, science, and technology; and the traditional and delicious crowd-pleaser, “Cooking with the Chief and the Chef” featuring **Chief Justice Frank Williams** in the kitchen with the resident Wyndham Hotel head of cuisine.

Publisher **Ross Heller** will also host a breakout session, featuring artist (and Forum Advisor) **Wendy Allen** and Huntington Library curator **Olga Tsapina**, on preserving and interpreting original Lincoln manuscripts. Dr. Tsapina recently guided Heller to reproduce a new collectible book-length version of a manuscript in the future president’s hand: *By Abraham Lincoln: His 1858 Time Capsule*, for which Allen provided the cover art. The Heller volume will be officially released and sold for the first time during the 2022 Lincoln Forum.

Registration forms for Forum XXVII will be sent to all members in late spring. For the first time, members can register and pay for the symposium online using the new Forum website, or they can still register through the mail by sending their forms and payment to Forum treasurer Paul Ward. 📧



**Craig Symonds**



**Harold Holzer**



**John Marszalek**



**Carol Reardon**



**David Kent**

THE LINCOLN FORUM Bulletin welcomes contributions from members and historians—articles and photos alike. Send to editor Jonathan W. White at [jonathan.white@cnu.edu](mailto:jonathan.white@cnu.edu). The editor particularly thanks the contributors to the current issue.

# BOOK REVIEW: NATHAN HALE'S HAZARDOUS TALES: BIG BAD IRONCLAD! A CIVIL WAR STEAMSHIP SHOWDOWN

By Erin Carlson Mast

When you hear the name Nathan Hale, you may immediately think of the Revolutionary War soldier and spy. He's also the namesake of the author of the celebrated series of historical graphic novels for kids, *Nathan Hale's Hazardous Tales*, and a main character and narrator in the books themselves. The premise of the series gives you an idea of how imaginative and absurd things can get: Hale avoided—and continues to avoid—the gallows by being swallowed by a Giant History Book and sharing what he knows.

Confused? Trust me, it works. The format, diverse storylines, and hilarious dialogue provide easy opportunities for readers to get hooked on the series, learning—and retaining—substantial knowledge along the way.

In *Big Bad Ironclad! A Civil War Steamship Showdown*, the focus is on the people connected to the Battle of Hampton Roads. After establishing the set-up, Nathan Hale informs the British officer and hangman overseeing his hanging that King George's navy will become obsolete in the 1800s. His in-book's fictional audience hooked, he introduces them and the reader to the events (Lincoln's inauguration, secession, etc.) that have led to this battle. You learn about General Winfield Scott and the Anaconda plan, Fort Sumter,

Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, and people involved in the race to build ironclads, such as John Ericsson. In addition to the political, technological, and military issues, the storyline captures the danger and drudgery of life for the sailors on the ironclads. Indeed, one of the strengths of the book is how it conveys human drama.

It must be noted, *Big Bad Ironclad* is not a history book shoved into the graphic-novel framework simply because that framework is popular. Kids know the difference. *Big Bad Ironclad* uses the graphic novel medium to the fullest, with effective use of imagery, timelines, maps, dialogue, meta-discussion, contextual content and, yes, onomatopoeia. Spoiler alert: When the USS *Merrimack*/CSS *Virginia* explodes, it goes, "FOOOOOOM"! **continued on page 17**



## GALLAGHER VOTED FAVORITE SPEAKER AT FORUM XXVI

Attendees of the 2021 Lincoln Forum ranked Gary W. Gallagher first among the speakers at the 26<sup>th</sup> annual symposium. Gallagher's lecture, "Revisiting the Turning-Point Merry-Go-Round: Just How Important Was Gettysburg?" enthralled the audience and is now available on C-SPAN's online video archive for those who missed it or wish to view it again. Gallagher scored an astounding 9.78 out of 10. Following Gallagher were Lucas Morel (9.58), Caroline Janney (9.49), the duo of Craig Symonds and Harold Holzer (9.28), James Oakes (9.12), and Annette Gordon-Reed (9.07).

Attendees also thoroughly enjoyed the concert by Jay Ungar and Molly Mason, as well as the dramatic reading by the brilliant actor Stephen Lang. On the post-symposium surveys, 99.04 percent of respondents said they would like Jay and Molly to return to the Forum, and 98.72 would like to hear from Lang again. Comments for the concert included "Excellent," "Loved it," "Wonderful," "Fabulous," and "They were great! A music component would always be welcome." Comments for Lang included "Fantastic," and "It was a perfect ending. He was superb."

Despite the obstacles posed by the pandemic, the 2021 symposium drew an impressive crowd of 270 participants. Once again, attendees ranked the entire Forum highly (9.34), giving the hotel and meals high marks (8.89 and 9.14, respectively). One attendee wrote on the post-symposium survey, "What a joy to gather together again!" Another added, "Thank you all for putting this on. I have been meaning to attend for at least two years, and indeed attended the virtual forum in 2020. I look forward to the XXVII in 2022." A third added, "Every year is wonderful. Without The Lincoln Forum to attend the year would not be complete. I count the days to arrive and am sad to wait so long until next year. But, I know I'll be back again!"

The breakout sessions in 2021 were also a big hit, with all the sessions receiving a rating of 9.0 or higher. This year included a new feature—a livestream on Facebook of the "Lincoln Artifact Roadshow" featuring expert appraisals by Dan Weinberg and Stuart Schneider.

The Forum's first-ever Prelude attracted 111 attendees and received an overall score of 8.1 on the post-Prelude surveys. The highest-rated events were the screening of Steven Spielberg's *Lincoln* (8.96), the post-film "talkback" featuring Catherine Clinton, Harold Holzer, Matthew Pinsker, and Frank J. Williams (8.79), the Springfield panel (8.7), and the opportunity to visit the Battle of Gettysburg Cyclorama (8.58).

Attendees who stayed until the final evening received a special 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary Lincoln Forum challenge coin, which was designed by executive committee member Chris Burne.

The Forum also announced several new awards, which are discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this issue of the *Bulletin*.

The Forum raised \$900 from the book sale and silent auction. These funds will be put toward teacher and student scholarships.

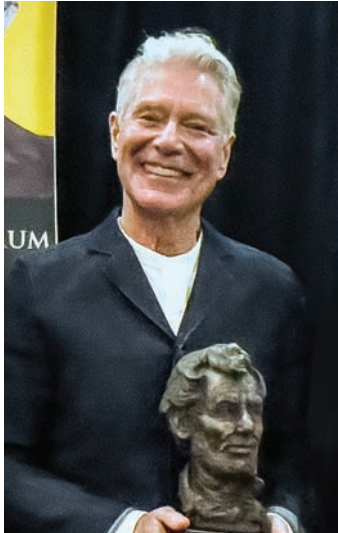
Finally, the leadership of the Forum is pleased to report that it received no word of any COVID transmissions having taken place at the symposium. 🏠



# FORUM PRESENTS 2020, 2021 CURRENT AWARDS

## Three Honorary Awards Included in Roster of Honorees

Making up for lost time after a year in lockdown, The Lincoln Forum presented not one, but two, Richard Nelson Current Awards of Achievement at its November symposium—and also surprised three historians who have long served as Executive Committee veterans, presenting them with honorary Current Awards.



Stephen Lang

The 2020 Current Award went to stage and film star **Stephen Lang** in recognition of his long campaign for Civil War battlefield preservation, and for his memorable performances in two epic Civil War films: as George E. Pickett in *Gettysburg* (1993) and as “Stonewall” Jackson in *Gods and Generals* (2003). Lang, who has twice appeared at the Forum to perform his one-man dramatic reading as Wheatfield survivor and Medal of Honor recipient James Jackson Purman, received a standing ovation for this year’s encore. Lang is known for his New York stage work (*Death of a Salesman*, *A Few Good Men*) and for his iconic films (*Last Exit to Brooklyn*, *Tombstone*, and *Avatar*).

The morning after accepting his Current award, Lang read Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address at the 158<sup>th</sup> anniversary ceremonies at the Soldiers’ National Cemetery.

The Forum presented its 2021 award to historian **Gary W. Gallagher**, the John L. Nau III Professor Emeritus at the University of Virginia, and one of the most prolific and popular Civil War historians and lecturers of the last three decades. Gallagher, who has appeared at the Forum several times over the years, and lectured and led a panel discussion at Forum XXVI, is known for his many books, including *Three Days at Gettysburg*; *The Union War*; *The Confederate War*; *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory*; and *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know About the Civil War*. His most recent works are *The Enduring Civil War: Reflections on the Great American Crisis* which he wrote with Joan Waugh.



Gary Gallagher

The awards to Lang and Gallagher were in the form of Lincoln busts by John McClarey.

The honorary awards went to: 2009 Lincoln Prize winner **Craig L. Symonds**, Professor of History Emeritus at the U.S. Naval Academy; the editor of the *Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, **John F. Marszalek**, Professor of History Emeritus at Mississippi State University; and **Edna Greene Medford**, Professor of History Emeritus at Howard University and author of *Lincoln and Emancipation*. These were the first of the new generation

of Current Awards: Lincoln statuettes by sculptor Frank Porcu.

“This is undoubtedly the most impressive roster of scholar-awardees we have ever had the opportunity to honor,” commented Chairman Harold Holzer. “We paid tribute not only to this year’s and last year’s special honorees, but to three extraordinary historians who have so generously, and for so long, shared their talents, time, and expertise with the Forum and its members.”



John Marszalek, Craig L. Symonds

“These five honorees represent some of the finest work being done in historical scholarship, the arts, and battlefield preservation,” noted Vice Chairman Jonathan White, who presented the 2021 Current Award to Gallagher. “And not only are they doing amazing work—they are amazing people. It was an honor to be able to recognize them for all they have accomplished for Lincoln and Civil War history.”

Previous winners of the Richard Nelson Current Award of Achievement are: historian Gabor Boritt (1996); C-SPAN founder Brian Lamb (1997); “historian of the century” John Hope Franklin (1998); U.S. Senator Paul Simon of Illinois (1999); biographer David Herbert Donald (2000); historian Garry Wills (2001); historian James M. McPherson, with an honorary award to the dean of Lincoln scholars, Richard Nelson Current himself (2002); actor Sam Waterston (2003); Ulysses S. Grant authority John Y. Simon (2004); the award’s sculptor of record, John McClarey, together with an honorary award for founding chairman Frank J. Williams (2005); historian Doris Kearns Goodwin (2006); novelist Jeff Shaara (2007); documentary filmmaker Ken Burns (2008); Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O’Connor (2009); historian Mark E. Neely, Jr. (2010); battlefield guide extraordinaire Ed Bearss (2011); Reconstruction scholar Eric Foner (2012); playwright and scenarist Tony Kushner (2013); the late dean of Lincoln reenactors James Getty (2014); Lincoln assassination authority Edward Steers Jr. and prolific Civil War historian William C. “Jack” Davis (2015), with an honorary award to Forum founding vice chair Harold Holzer; Civil War historian James I. “Bud” Robertson, Jr. (2016); master biographer Ron Chernow (2017); prize-winning historian David Blight (2018); and presidential historian Michael Beschloss (2019).



Jonathan W. White, Edna Greene Medford, Harold Holzer

# THE UNION MAKES AN OFFER TO GARIBALDI

By Henry Cohen

Our story begins in 1861. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), the personification of the Risorgimento, Italy's nationalist liberation movement, was the most inspirational and beloved hero of mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. In 1860, with his guerrilla army of volunteer Redshirts, he had led a daring invasion, sweeping across Sicily, marching up the peninsula, and entering Naples to cheering crowds. He gave southern Italy to King Victor Emmanuel II, who in 1861 established the Kingdom of Italy. But not all of Italy was unified. Rome was under French control, and Venice was under Austrian control. Garibaldi was living in temporary retirement on the tiny island of Caprera, off the north coast of Sardinia.



Giuseppe Garibaldi

In the *North American Review* for January 1861, Henry T. Tuckerman, author of Italian travel books, published "Giuseppe Garibaldi," a glowing tribute to Garibaldi. When the article reached Caprera, Garibaldi asked his friend Augusto Vecchi to write a letter of thanks on his behalf. Vecchi did so and also enclosed his own letter suggesting that the United States invite Garibaldi to aid the Union cause.

Rumors started spreading, and, on June 8, 1861, U.S. consul to Antwerp James W. Quiggle took it upon himself to write to Garibaldi: "The papers report that you are going to the United States, to join the army of the North in the conflict of my country. If you do, the name of La Fayette will not surpass yours. . . I would thank you to let me know if this is really your intention."<sup>1</sup>

Garibaldi replied on June 27, 1861: "My dear friend, the news given in the journals that I am going to the United States is not exact. . . I would go to America, if I did not find myself occupied in the defense of my country." Garibaldi added, "Tell me, also, whether this agitation is the emancipation of the negroes or not."<sup>2</sup>

On July 4, Quiggle replied, "You propound the question whether the present war in the United States is to emancipate the negroes from slavery? I say this is not the intention of the Federal Government. . . . But if this war be prosecuted with the bitterness with which it has been commenced, I would not be surprised if it result in the extinction of slavery in the United States, no matter what may be the circumstances."<sup>3</sup>

Quiggle forwarded copies of his correspondence with Garibaldi to Secretary of State William H. Seward, who consulted with President Lincoln. The humiliating Union debacle at Bull Run on July 21 may have encouraged them to seek Garibaldi's aid. Seward instructed Henry S. Sanford, U.S. minister to Belgium, to work in conjunction with George Marsh, U.S. minister to Italy, and to offer Garibaldi "a Major-General's commission."<sup>4</sup> Sanford brought in Quiggle, who committed an indiscretion. He wrote to Garibaldi that Sanford was en route to offer Garibaldi "the highest Army Commission which it is in the power of the President to confer."<sup>5</sup> Not realizing that the highest army commission was in fact the rank of major-general, Garibaldi wrongly assumed that Sanford would offer him the supreme command of the Union army. This misunderstanding, wrote historian Joseph A. Fry, "did much to prejudice Sanford's efforts in Italy."<sup>6</sup>

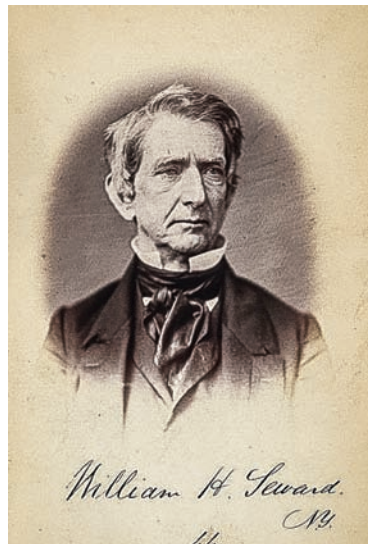
When Sanford had Joseph Artomi (or Artoni), clerk of the U.S. legation at Turin, deliver Sanford's letter to Garibaldi, Artomi compounded the confusion by telling Garibaldi that Lincoln wished to make him commander-in-chief. Article 2, section 2, of the U.S. Constitution provides that the "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States" shall be the President, so Lincoln could not have made Garibaldi commander-in-chief if he'd wanted to.

Garibaldi at this time wanted King Victor Emmanuel II to authorize him to march on Rome to wrest it from Napoleon III and bring it into the Italian nation. Just as an employee seeking a raise might tell his employer that another company has offered him a higher salary, Garibaldi wrote to Victor Emmanuel that the United States had offered him the command of its armies. Did the king need him in Italy or should he go to America? Garibaldi's ploy failed. The king gave him permission to go to America.

On September 9, 1861, Sanford visited Garibaldi. He reported the results of the meeting to Seward: "He said that the only way in which he could render service, as he ardently desired to do, to the cause of the United States, was as Commander-in-chief of its forces, that he would only go as such, and with the additional contingent power—to be governed by events—of declaring the abolition of slavery—that he would be of little use without the first, and without the second it would appear like any civil war in which the world at large could have little interest or sympathy."<sup>7</sup>

This meeting occurred a year before Lincoln was ready to issue the preliminary emancipation proclamation. Sanford's mission was hopeless, and Garibaldi did not join the Union army.

U.S. officials were not overly disappointed. As George Marsh wrote to Seward, Garibaldi's "constitutional independence of character and action, his long habit of exercising uncontrolled and irresponsible authority, the natural and honorable pride which he cannot but feel in reviewing his own splendid career and vast achievements . . . all these combine to render it difficult if not impossible for him, consistent with due self respect, to accept such military rank and powers as the



William H. Seward

President can constitutionally and lawfully offer him."<sup>8</sup> In other words, Garibaldi was not used to taking orders.

In addition, Garibaldi was an idealist and would fight only for a righteous cause. He has never, Marsh wrote, "been ambitious of wielding power or winning laurels in a cause which did not commend itself to him as something more than a question of legal right and government interests, and this the cause of the American government and union, as regarded from his point of view, has thus far failed to do."<sup>9</sup>

Garibaldi's fighting for the Union also might have given rise to some problems. John Bigelow, U.S. consul general in Paris, reported that the U.S. offer to Garibaldi was "regarded as a confession of military incompetence," and the London *Times* saw it as "despairing of native genius or enterprise."<sup>10</sup> In addition, Marsh feared that a command for Garibaldi would arouse jealousy among U.S. officers. U.S. minister to London **continued on page 17**



# ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM RECEIVES FACE OF LINCOLN BRONZE #16



John Clell Hamm and John Rutledge Short present the bronze to Christina Shutt, executive director of ALPLM.

On October 5, 2021, Lincoln Forum lifetime members John Clell Hamm and John Rutledge Short donated *The Face of Lincoln* bronze casting #16 by noted American artist Robert Merrell Gage (1892–1981) to the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM) in Springfield, Illinois. Clell and John are the founders of the North Carolina Gallery of Fine Art (NCGFA) and the producers of this rare bronze. Their gift represents the gallery partners' desire to place the special number 16 of the bronze castings in the collection of the ALPLM. The gallery also created a unique 19<sup>th</sup>-century presidential-themed gold leaf base for this donation.

“The cast bronze face mask entitled *The Face of Lincoln* by the preeminent American sculptor Robert Merrell Gage . . . is a remarkable piece capturing both Mr. Lincoln’s strengths and frailties and will be a welcome addition to the collection here at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum,” said Ian Patrick Hunt, chief of acquisitions at ALPLM at the donation ceremony. “The world of Lincoln owes you a debt of gratitude for acquiring and preserving the original terra cotta and then deciding to share it with the world. I am sure if Mr. Gage were here

today, he would thank you for the recognition his work is receiving today and will continue to receive in the future. It will now be available for researchers from across the globe who travel to Springfield to utilize this facility.”

The bronze represents a lifetime of Lincoln study and work by Robert Merrell Gage and captures a poignant portrayal of Lincoln’s face in actual size. For more historical information on the artist and the bronze, or for information on how to donate one of these special bronze castings to a public institution, visit NCGFA’s website [www.ncgfa.com](http://www.ncgfa.com) or contact Clell Hamm or John Short. 📌

## HONORING LINCOLN IN LINCOLN-ARGENTINA

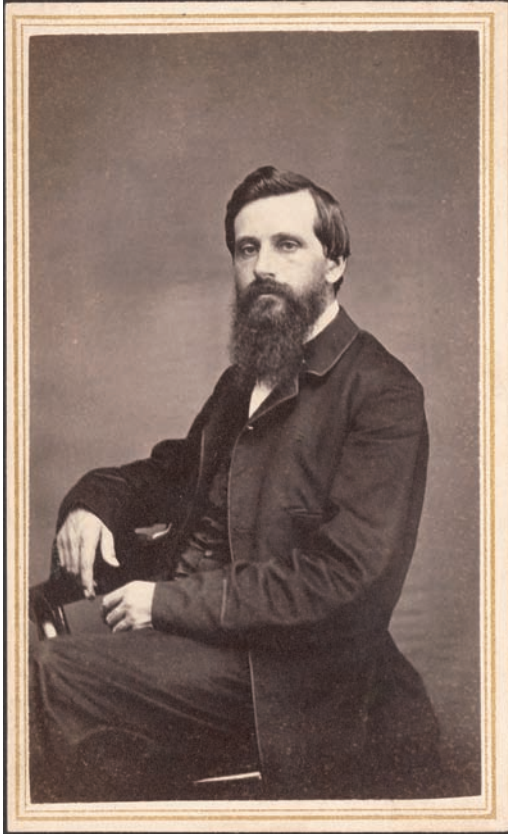
The municipality of Lincoln, Argentina—the first overseas city to be named for America’s 16th President—marked the anniversary of Lincoln’s death on April 15. This year, Mayor Salvador Sernal joined International Relations Director Nancy Rosetti outside City Hall to pose with Frank Porcu’s bronze Lincoln bust, which the Forum presented as a gift to the city several years ago (note the acknowledgment on the plaque). The pedestal and installation were designed by Frank himself, who was invited to Lincoln for the unveiling. Rosetti called April 15 “the right moment to share with all of you our respect for Abraham Lincoln—and our love for the wonderful Lincoln bust the Lincoln Forum gave us.” 📌



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# “SOMETHING ABOUT EATON WON LINCOLN’S TRUST”



John Eaton prewar

By John David Smith and Micheal J. Larson

In 1863, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant appointed one of his regimental chaplains, John Eaton, superintendent of contrabands for the Department of the Tennessee. As the Civil War raged, Eaton’s humanitarian aid and educational programs for the newly freed people marked one of the first attempts to assimilate a population of formerly enslaved people into the citizenry of the postwar Union. Eaton chronicled these pioneering efforts in his 1907 memoir, *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen: Reminiscences of the Civil War*, a work that for more than a century has been an invaluable primary source for historians of the Civil War era. Later this year the University of Tennessee Press will publish the first scholarly edition of this fundamental text, introduced and co-edited by the present authors, Micheal J. Larson and John David Smith.

Grant played a larger role in *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen* than President Abraham Lincoln, but the president nevertheless appeared prominently in Eaton’s reminiscences. According to Carl Sandburg, “Something about Eaton won Lincoln’s trust,” and Eaton prided himself on their relationship. He met Lincoln at least six times.

In July 1863 Eaton visited Lincoln, reporting on his work with the freedpeople. He fielded Lincoln’s questions about how the ex-slaves responded to their newfound freedom. The president expressed great interest in Eaton’s work with the formerly enslaved people, informing him that he preferred “freed-men or freed people,” over the legal term “contrabands.” “There was not the slightest affectation, nor assumption of superiority” on Lincoln’s part, Eaton recalled.

During their meeting, Lincoln explained the importance of finishing the Capitol dome because it “would be a symbol to the Nation of the preservation of the Union. ‘If people see the Capitol going on, it is a sign we intend the Union shall go on.’” He criticized congressmen who demanded Grant’s removal from command because of his alleged alcoholism. Lincoln, tongue-in-cheek, asked the politicians “to ascertain and let me know” the brand of whiskey the general purportedly favored, “for if it made fighting generals like

Grant, I should like to get some of it for distribution.” Historians no longer give credence to this dog-eared quotation.

On another visit, Lincoln questioned Eaton about “Negro character,” inquiring about “what freedom meant” to “the more remarkable colored men and women.” The president also spoke candidly about such abolitionist critics of him as Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips. They posed a source of “great grief and trial to the president,” Eaton remembered. Of one “well-known abolitionist and orator,” Lincoln quipped: “He’s a thistle! I don’t see why God lets him live!” Regarding “a certain Senator,” Lincoln joked, “He’s too crooked to lie still!”

When Eaton praised Secretary of State William H. Seward’s handling of the November 1861 *Trent* affair with Great Britain, Lincoln exclaimed: “Seward knows that I am his master!” and underscored how dangerous he considered a war with England over the capture of Confederate agents aboard the British mail packet. Lincoln added that during the Anglo-American diplomatic crisis he feared that “Seward would have temporized, and so risked a most unwelcome complication with England.”

Eaton also conversed with Lincoln about Grant’s possible candidacy for the presidency in November 1864. The president worried that Republican dissidents might replace him on the ticket. “Well, the disaffected are trying to get him to run, but I don’t think they can do it. If he is the great General we think he is, he must have some consciousness of it, and know that he cannot be satisfied with himself and secure the credit due for his great generalship if he does not finish his job. I do not believe . . . they can make him to run.” To feel Grant out on his possible interest in the presidency, Lincoln dispatched Eaton to his headquarters at City Point, Virginia. “He seemed to feel that Grant trusted me and would be likely to talk to me. I had no idea what the result of such a mission might be.” Eaton was quick to point out that Lincoln had no “personal rivalry” with his top general, but “dreaded . . . the loss which our cause would suffer if Grant could be induced to go into politics before the military situation was secure.”



John Eaton in uniform

Upon Eaton’s arrival, Grant invited him for *continued on page 11*

# FROM THE FAMILY ALBUM: TAD LINCOLN, 'SUNSHINE PATRIOT'



Tad poses with a photo of Major Anderson

Mary Lincoln once referred to her youngest son, Tad, as “my little troublesome *sunshine*.” (John Hay explained, “that tricky little sprite...gave to that sad and solemn White House...the only comic relief it knew.”) These photographs demonstrate that Tad (1853-1871) was not only a prankster but a patriot. The two *cartes de visite*, both of which Mary Lincoln preserved in her family album, demonstrate that little Tad was fully caught up in the war fever gripping the North by the spring of 1861, when the unidentified photographers captured the boy for the two images shown here. Neither was released to the public during the lifetimes of Abraham or Mary Lincoln. In one (left), Tad poses alongside a *carte de visite* of the Union hero of the hour, Major Robert Anderson, the defender of Fort Sumter. And in the other, Tad is seen holding a miniature rifle no doubt designed specifically for his use—as a toy—and wearing a Zouave uniform. Note that Tad, or perhaps his brother, Willie, has used ink to superimpose longer hair, a goatee and moustache, and a sash, a clumsy but endearing effort to make the eight year old resemble the family friend who became an iconic early casualty of the Civil War: Colonel Elmer Ellsworth. Ellsworth was martyred in Alexandria the day after Virginia seceded from the Union, and the amateur retouching visible on this photo was surely meant to honor the drillmaster-turned-Union officer who had been a favorite playmate of the Lincoln boys beginning with the family’s inaugural journey earlier that year. Despite the difference in the flooring (one pose with a rug, one with bare,



Tad takes up arms—beard, moustache and sash added

planked floor) these images may well be the work of the same anonymous Washington photographer. Note the similarity in the plain backdrop screen (which does not quite reach the floor in either picture) and the identical design on the legs of the immobilizer standing behind Tad’s feet. One could almost imagine these photos being taken on the same day. - Harold Holzer

(Photo Credit: Lincoln Collection, Indiana Historical Society)

## “SOMETHING ABOUT EATON WON LINCOLN’S TRUST”

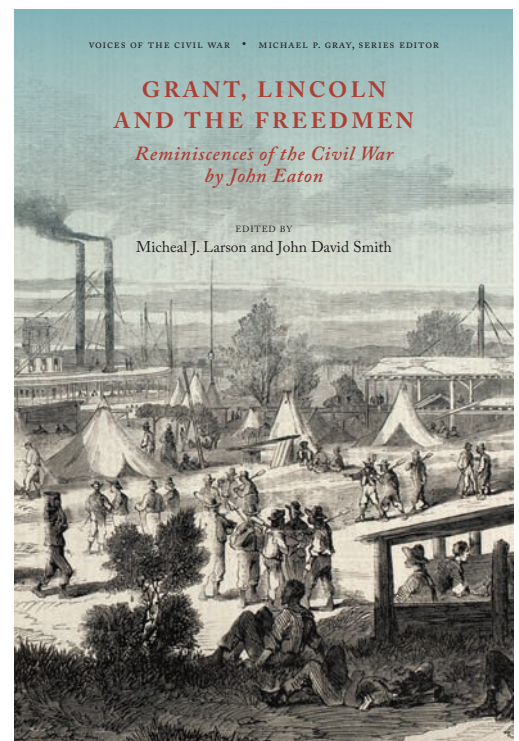
*continued from page 10* supper at his officers’ mess. The two men talked until late in the evening, largely about battles won and lost. Finally, as per Lincoln’s request, Eaton asked Grant if he would run for the presidency if drafted, not as a politician, but rather as the citizens’ candidate.

Uncharacteristically, Grant erupted angrily, slamming his clenched fists on the arms of his campaign chair, declaring, “They can’t do it! They can’t compel me to do it!” When Eaton pressed the general, asking him disingenuously if he had explained this to Lincoln, Grant replied that he had not done so because he judged doing so unnecessary. “I consider it as important for the cause that he should be elected as that the army should be successful in the field.” Upon returning to Washington, Eaton reported to Lincoln Grant’s emphatic disavowal to run for the presidency. Delighted by the news, Lincoln exclaimed: “I told you they could not get him to run until he had closed out the rebellion.”

Eaton visited Lincoln after his reelection victory. On February 10, 1865, then colonel of the 63<sup>rd</sup> U.S. Colored Infantry, he lobbied the president to place the proposed Freedmen’s Bureau under the War Department, not Treasury. Eaton found Lincoln “thinner than ever,” obviously preoccupied with squashing the Confederates’ insurrection. “He was like a man seeing visions, and even the ‘little stories’ of which he was always reminded, and the jokes in which he took such quaint enjoyment and consolation, had assumed a melancholy tone.”

Two months later Lincoln fell to an assassin’s bullet.

(John David Smith is the Charles H. Stone Distinguished Professor of American History at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Micheal J. Larson is an adjunct faculty member at Northwood Technical College, Rice Lake, Wisconsin.)



# THEY SAW LINCOLN: TWO BLACK ARMY DOCTORS

Edited by Jonathan W. White

On the evening of Tuesday, February 23, 1864, two black army surgeons, Alexander T. Augusta and Anderson R. Abbott, walked up to the Executive Mansion unannounced and entered during one of Lincoln's weekly public receptions. The weekly levee at the White House overflowed with dignitaries, including Assistant Secretary of State Frederick W. Seward (Secretary of State William H. Seward's son), historian George Bancroft, Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax, generals and admirals, diplomats from Sweden and Spain, Supreme Court justices, congressmen, and senators. Several escaped prisoners from Richmond's Libby Prison were also among the guests, and Union general Daniel Sickles, who had recently lost a leg at Gettysburg, sat in the Oval Room surrounded by his staff and friends. One journalist noted that "Mr. Lincoln was in good spirits," while Mary Lincoln "was dressed very charmingly" and "tastefully" in a white silk dress that was heavily festooned with black lace. She also wore a pearl necklace and a headdress made of pearls. The "penitential season" of Lent did not bring down the atmosphere at the White House at all.<sup>1</sup>



Alexander T. Augusta



Anderson R. Abbott

Everyone in the White House noticed Augusta and Abbott. Augusta had been born free in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1825, but had relocated to Toronto to earn his medical degree because he had been denied admission to the University of Pennsylvania Medical College in Philadelphia on account of his race. Abbott had been born in Canada in 1837; his parents, who were free people of color, had settled there in the mid 1830s after fleeing intense racial discrimination in Alabama. Years later, Abbott wrote a memoir describing the experience. He titled this section "The Levee."<sup>2</sup> For the sake of readability, I have silently made some edits, such as inserting punctuation and paragraph breaks, and I have inserted missing words in brackets.

Dr. Augusta & myself determined to visit the President at the next Levee that he held in the White House. On that evening we appeared at the White House in full uniform. As we entered the Porch we were conducted to a room and relieved of our wraps, for it was in the winter. The White House was a blaze of light. Soldiers were guarding the entrance. Carriages containing handsomely dressed ladies, citizens, and soldiers were continually depositing the elite of Washington at the entrance to the porch. Music was wafted to our ears from the Marine band, which was stationed in the Conservatory. Ushers, lackeys, waiters [and] messengers were scurrying here and there attending to guests.

After leaving the vestibule we were led along a wide hall to a door where we were met by Mr. B. B. French, a

Commissioner of the Treasury Department, who conducted us with all the urbanity imaginable to the President, who was standing just inside the door spoken of. Mr. French introduced Dr. Augusta first, we had previously given him our cards. Mr. Lincoln, on seeing Augusta, advanced eagerly a few paces forward, grasped his hand, and as he held the Doctor's hand, Rob Lincoln, who had been standing beside his mother about six paces off, came up to the president and asked a question very hastily the purport of which I took to be—"Are you going to allow this innovation?" referring doubtless to our presence there! The president replied promptly, "Why not?" Nothing more was said and Rob Lincoln returned to his mother's side. While the President turned again to [Augusta], who gave his hand a hearty shake, and then I was introduced and the president shook hands with me also & we passed on to a position in front of Mrs. Lincoln and was again introduced [to] that lady.

We then passed out into a room on the opposite side from where we entered called the East Room and then we were destined to undergo an ordeal in comparison with which what we had experienced thus far was only a dream. The moment we entered the room, which was crowded and brilliantly lit up, we became the cynosure of all eyes. I never experienced such a sensation before as I did when I entered the room. We could not have been more surprised ourselves or created more surprise if we had been dropped down upon them through a sky-light. I suppose it was because it was [the] first time in the history of the U.S. when a colored man had appeared at one of these levees.<sup>3</sup> What made us more conspicuous of course was our uniforms. Colored men in the uniforms of U.S. military officers of high rank had never been seen before. I felt as though I should have liked to crawl into a hole. But as we had decided to break the record, we held our ground. I bit my lips, took Augusta's arm, and sauntered around the room endeavoring or pretending to view the very fine pictures which adorned the walls. I tried also to become interested in the beautiful music discoursed by the Marine band but it was the first time that music had failed to absorb my attention.

Wherever we went a space was cleared for us and we became the center of a new circle of interest. Some stared [at] us merely from curiosity, others with an expression of friendly interest. While others again scowled at us in such a significant way that left no [doubt] as to what views they held on the "Negro question." We remained in the room and faced monocles, lorgnettes, stares & fascinating eyes levelled at us for half of an hour or so and then we passed out of the room, secured our wraps from the attentive assistants, and just as we were leaving we were seized by the ubiquitous reporter who wanted to interview us. We handed him our cards and so ended our first visit to the White House. I don't know whether we were the 1<sup>st</sup> who had visited the president of the U.S. at his levees or not—but I am inclined to think we were.

I asked an attaché of Haytian embassy<sup>4</sup> whom I met in Washington if he had visited the levees [and he] replied that he had frequently done so without any embarrassment. But I can understand that in his case that he was so light complexioned that I would pass unnoticed in a throng like that. However, we had broken the ice. The Hon Fred Douglass shortly afterwards visited one of the president's levees and was received very cordially.<sup>5</sup>

# ATTEND A WHITE HOUSE RECEPTION

People who witnessed the scene were amazed by what they saw. “I shall never forget the sensation produced at a levee by the appearance of two tall and very well dressed Africans among the crowd of those who came to pay their respects,” wrote Lincoln’s private secretary William O. Stoddard. “It was a practical assertion of negro citizenship, for which few were prepared.” Lincoln nevertheless “received them with marked kindness” and after a short while they “went on their way with great self-possession.” Stoddard then added, “It was as good as a play.” Another witness to the scene wrote that “no visitor could discover that Mr. Lincoln considered them black. They were greeted with the same cordiality and freedom that he bestowed upon white men,” and that Lincoln “treated the affair as of ordinary occurrence, much to his credit and renown.” Meanwhile, Copperhead papers expressed outrage. The *New York Freeman’s Journal* snarled that “filthy black niggers” now mingled with white people at the White House. The *Detroit Free Press* sought to undermine the accomplishments of these two surgeons, writing contemptuously, “Prominent among the distinguished people there were ‘Dr. Augusta, and ‘Dr’ Abbott, two negro Surgeons in the uniform of a Major.” The *Free Press* added, “The ladies were very much disgusted with the social equality thus attempted.” Some Democrats publicly cursed Lincoln in the streets for having admitted black guests.<sup>6</sup>

Augusta and Abbott were two of the hundreds of African Americans who met Lincoln in Washington, D.C., between 1862 and 1865. For more on these two extraordinary men, and the many others

who met with Lincoln, see Jonathan W. White, *A House Built By Slaves: African American Visitors to the Lincoln White House*, which was published by Rowman and Littlefield on Lincoln’s birthday, February 12, 2022.

<sup>1</sup> Washington, D.C., *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 24, 1864; Washington, D.C. *National Republican*, February 24, 1864; Washington, D.C. *Evening Star*, February 24, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> Abbott’s memoir is in the Anderson R. Abbott Papers at the Toronto Public Library. Photographs of the memoir were kindly provided by Jill Newmark of the National Library of Medicine.

<sup>3</sup> Four African American men had actually attended Lincoln’s New Year’s reception seven weeks earlier.

<sup>4</sup> In 1862, the Lincoln Administration gave diplomatic recognition to Haiti and Liberia. In early 1863, Haitian minister Ernest Roumain arrived in Washington, D.C.

<sup>5</sup> Abbott may have been thinking of Douglass’s famous interaction with Lincoln at the White House reception following Lincoln’s second inauguration in March 1865.

<sup>6</sup> William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times: Memoirs and Reports of Lincoln’s Secretary*, edited by Michael Burlingame (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 172; William M. Thayer, *The Character and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States* (Boston: Dinsmoor, 1864), 22; *Detroit Free Press*, March 4, 1864. ■



Artist Anton Hohenstein imagines Lincoln’s last White House reception, lithograph issued by John Smith, Philadelphia, 1865

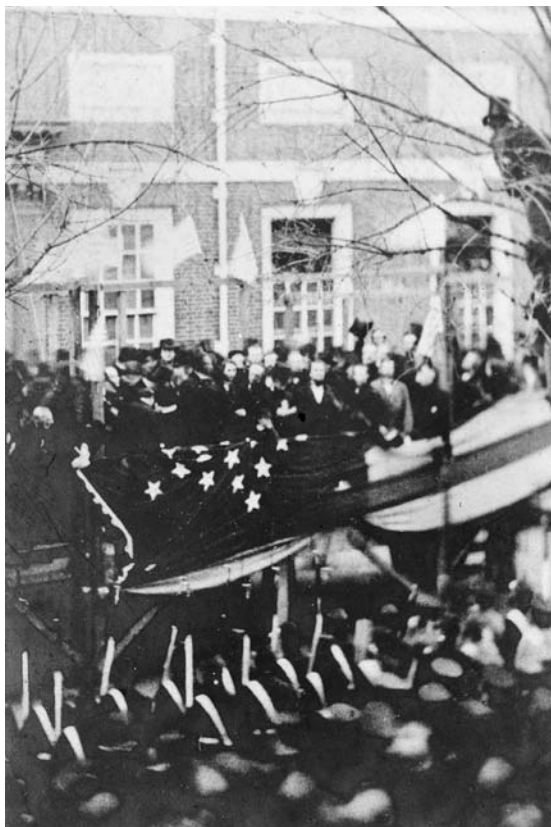
# ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE PROPOSITION OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

By Andrew F. Lang

On the eve of his presidential inauguration in 1861, Abraham Lincoln reflected on the “philosophical” attributes of American nationhood. The Union’s prosperity and vast expanse were “not the result of accident.” Even the bold act of securing national independence was “not the primary cause of our great prosperity. There is something back of” the republic’s founding, “entwining itself more closely about the human heart.” The Union was exceptional among the nations of the world because it was *not* merely a nation. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed an unprecedented national “principle of ‘Liberty to all’—the principle that clears the path for all—gives hope to all—and, by consequence, enterprise, and industry to all.” The first nation ever to center individual human dignity at the apex of national purpose, the Union pledged as its signal obligation the protection and propagation of individual rights to life and liberty. This lofty ideal held that ordinary people were not consigned as helpless wards of the state, their coerced labor enriching the coffers of favored elites. The nation’s citizenry, Lincoln alleged, claimed the liberty to chart sovereign lives freed from arbitrary state-sanctioned oppression. The Union’s founding fostered a timeless “promise of something better” for all its citizens, a sacred commitment that Lincoln believed had “secured our free government, and consequent prosperity.”

Lincoln considered the Union distinct from a global order of monarchies, aristocracies, and oligarchies in which noble patricians ruled by subjective fiat. As a free people who claimed the rational capacity for self-government, Americans defended a constitutional Union that guaranteed their civil liberties, political equality, and economic opportunity as the essential national purpose. In an elegant analogy, Lincoln explored how these “principle[s]” of nationhood have “proved an ‘apple of gold’ to us. The Union, and the Constitution”—the nation and the rule of law—“are the picture of silver” that encase, boast, and enhance the apple of liberty displayed in the Declaration of Independence. “The picture was made, not to conceal, or destroy the apple; but to adorn, and preserve it. The picture was made for the apple—not the apple for the picture.” A free people possessed a universal charge to conserve the picture and reinforce the frame so that the apple would provide eternal nourishment.

When slaveholding secessionists shattered the Union and waged war against the Declaration and Constitution, Lincoln stood foremost among the loyal citizenry in explicating the United States’ wartime purpose. The Civil War was at once a national event and a world-historical trial, testing the sanctity of democratic liberty—the right of free people to chart unencumbered political destinies—and Union—preservation of a republic within a world of undue privilege and political repression. “This



Lincoln raises the flag in Philadelphia, February 22, 1861

issue embraces more than the fate of the United States,” he proclaimed on July 4, 1861. “It presents to the whole family of man, the question, whether a constitutional republic, or a democracy—a government of the people, by the same people—can, or cannot, maintain its territorial integrity.” In Lincoln’s egalitarian view, the Union served as a global beacon of liberty in which common people freed from authoritarian coercion enjoyed the independence to rise socially and improve economically. If the democracy that protected these ideals collapsed, all who cherished individual autonomy would be deprived of “an unfettered start, and a fair chance, in the race of life.”

The war against slaveholding secessionists was “essentially a People’s contest,” Lincoln counseled. “On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world, that form, and substance of government, whose leading object is, to elevate the condition of men.” If elite slaveholders legitimated a new nation predicated on human bondage, they would forever undermine the natural right of all people to claim the fruit of their toil that was due them. Thus, the conflict “is not altogether for today—it is for a vast future also.” The Founders’ sacred work, the destiny of free peoples, and the fortune of nations hinged on what happened in the American crisis. “The central idea pervading this struggle” was to “prov[e] that popular government is not an absurdity,” he explained. “If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves.”

Lincoln spoke to the loyal citizenry’s quest to preserve a democratic republic amid the world’s political absolutisms, social hierarchies, and aristocratic indulgences. When he declared, “We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best, hope of earth,” he disclosed that the Union’s moral ideals—political liberty, economic independence, individual consent—depended on the triumph over tyrannical slaveholders. The nineteenth century featured myriad authoritarian, monarchical, and centralized consolidations against the popular will, and the Confederate war again threatened the liberty of common citizens. Merging the nineteenth century’s prolific nationalism with the era’s idealistic liberalism, Lincoln welcomed the war as a national cleansing, healing the chafing scars once applied by the Slave Power’s political whip.

The Gettysburg Address framed the Civil War as a referendum on the Union’s global standing. When the American “fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal,” their design sheltered individual natural rights within a constitutional republic. The United States now found itself “in a great civil war” that tested “whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure.” The Union’s war against the Confederacy embodied nineteenth-century struggles between liberty and despotism, democracy and aristocracy, progress and reaction, republicanism and monarchism. If slaveholding secessionists succeeded in severing an egalitarian republic in the name of human bondage, they would signal that the founders’ truths were *not* self-evident, that the rights they put forth in the Declaration and Constitution were *not* universal, that there could exist an alternative American nation, one rooted in oppression, slavery, and hierarchy.

*continued on page 15*

## OAKES WINS ANNUAL FORUM BOOK PRIZE; AWARD RENAMED FOR HAROLD HOLZER

This past November The Lincoln Forum awarded its 3<sup>rd</sup> annual book prize to James Oakes for *The Crooked Path to Abolition: Abraham Lincoln and the Antislavery Constitution*. At the presentation of the award, prize committee chair Thomas Horrocks called Oakes's work a "highly original and compelling book" that was "timely, for in a time when Lincoln's legacy has come under strident criticism from some quarters, either as a reluctant emancipator or, even worse, as an ardent white supremacist, Oakes's concise study offers a realistic contrast." The other book prize committee members were Michelle Krowl, Christian McWhirter, and Daniel Weinberg.

The \$1,000 prize recognizes a distinguished book in which Abraham Lincoln is a central figure. Biographies, monographs, works of synthesis and interpretation, edited collections of original papers, and documentary editing projects, published in the English language, are eligible. Oakes follows authors Ted Widmer (2020) and the inaugural recipient, Sidney Blumenthal (2019).

The idea for a book prize originated in 2018 with Forum chairman Harold Holzer. "I simply remember bringing up the idea because so many organizations honored books on an annual basis, and while we did a lifetime achievement award, I thought we should also be recognizing books," recalls Holzer.

During the most recent Board of Advisors meeting in November, board member Clark Zimmerman made a motion to rename the book prize in honor of Chairman Holzer. "I could not think of a more deserving individual than Harold, who has given so much to the Lincoln community," commented Zimmerman at the November meeting. Following a unanimous vote by the board, Holzer graciously consented to the renaming. The book prize will be known as the Harold Holzer Lincoln Forum Book Prize.

"I think this is a wonderful tribute to Harold for all he has



**Harold Holzer, Michelle A. Krowl, Daniel R. Weinberg, Thomas A. Horrocks, James Oakes, Christian McWhirter and Jonathan W. White**

done to build The Lincoln Forum family," said Vice Chairman Jonathan White. "Harold has invested more than a quarter of a century into making the Forum the nationally recognized organization that it is today, and I think it is altogether fitting and proper that he be recognized in this way."

The book prize is funded entirely by donations. The first five years have been supported by Lincoln Forum board of advisors member Clark Zimmerman and his wife Jennifer. "As an educator I believe books play a quintessential role in a person's everyday life," remarked Zimmerman. "Expanding one's knowledge of events that helped shape our world is vitally important to the growth of an individual. Sponsoring the book is a way to give back to the Forum and we could not be more delighted to be associated with this organization."

Lincoln Forum members who wish to donate to the Harold Holzer Lincoln Forum Book Prize fund can do so by sending a check to Forum treasurer Paul Ward or by making an online donation at the Forum's website. 📌

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## ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE PROPOSITION OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

*continued from page 14* The founding "proposition" was thus at stake as two American societies warred over the meaning of 1776. Only one republic could sustain the founding idea that all humans possessed an equal right to liberty. The other nation rowed against the tide of history, darkening the continent with a fallacious conception and a decadent mission. The Union's gruesome triumph at Gettysburg symbolized humanity's quest to live free from tyranny, unbound from coercion, and relieved from unrequited toil. The nineteenth-century world had failed to nationalize liberty, according to Lincoln, and only the United States protected individual autonomy from authoritarian coercion. Sustaining the noble struggle to preserve democracy against aristocratic slaveholding despotism advanced "the unfinished work" of the thousands of young men who fell in the quest of national preservation. "[T]hese honored dead" bequeathed their "last full measure of devotion" to a moral cause that

transcended time, generations, and national borders. They "gave their lives" so that the Union "shall have a new birth of freedom," ensuring for common people the equality of opportunity and the right to unobstructed political liberty. Their sacrifice portended "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

This piece is excerpted from *A Contest of Civilizations: Exposing the Crisis of American Exceptionalism in the Civil War Era* by Andrew F. Lang. Copyright © 2021 by the University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission of the publisher.

(Andrew F. Lang, an associate professor of history at Mississippi State University, is the author of several books, including *A Contest of Civilizations: Exposing the Crisis of American Exceptionalism in the Civil War Era*. He is writing an intellectual biography of Lincoln's nationalism and concept of Union.) 📌

# NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY ACQUIRES HAROLD HOLZER'S RESEARCH PAPERS

The New York State Library has acquired the complete works of Lincoln Forum Chairman Harold Holzer. The acquisition covers Holzer's 49-year career as a writer, lecturer, and historian specializing in President Lincoln and the political culture of the Civil War era.



**PJ Nastassi, Associate Librarian for Manuscripts and Special Collections, works on Holzer Papers at New York State Library, Albany**

“The State Library is widely known as a premier center for research and serves as a permanent repository for items that shaped the history of New York,” said Board of Regents Chancellor Lester W. Young, Jr. “Thanks to donations like this one, we are able to share the past with a future generation of students and researchers. We are grateful for Mr. Holzer’s support of this institution and his work throughout the years.”

“At a time when our nation is increasingly divided, we can all draw inspiration from the tremendous work of President Lincoln,” said Commissioner Betty A. Rosa. “Harold Holzer’s research papers span the life of President Lincoln, his efforts to bring our country together and abolish slavery. We are grateful for Mr. Holzer’s support of the State Library and this remarkable donation.”

“It’s a great honor to know that this material, which reflects so much of my work in the six decades since the 1970s, will be preserved at this wonderful institution—one where I have conducted research of my own and learned a great deal from its holdings,” said Holzer. “As someone who has worked in Albany and has known so many extraordinary people here—in government, education, historic preservation, the museum world, and the arts—I am thrilled that our capital will hold this archive in perpetuity.”

The complete collection includes the research files and typescripts from Holzer’s 55 authored and co-authored books; more than 150 original lectures; photo files covering the development of the Lincoln image, and the art and iconography of the American Civil War; audio and video recordings of Holzer’s many television and radio appearances; and Holzer’s original correspondence from some of the leading historians, political leaders, and performers of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

Holzer’s donation comes on the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his appointment to the Board of the New York State Archives Partnership Trust, a post to which he was named by Governor Mario Cuomo in 1992 and still holds. Holzer was awarded the New York State Archives & History Award in 2017. He serves currently as the Jonathan F. Fanton Director of the Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute at Hunter College, City University of New York.

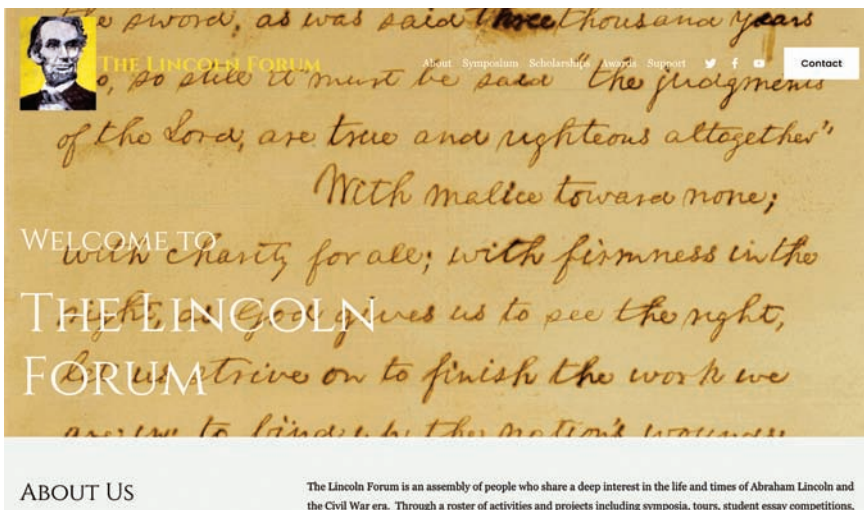
Holzer has hosted conferences at the New York State Museum focusing on the Empire State and the Civil War, delivered lectures, and, at the request of former Governor Andrew Cuomo, helped organize a statewide tour of Lincoln’s Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which the New York State Library has owned since 1865. Holzer also co-directed the project to reinstall the portraits in the New York State Capitol Hall of Governors.

The New York State Research Library was established in 1818 to collect, preserve, and make available materials that support New York State government work. The library’s collections include over 20 million items. 📖

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## LINCOLN FORUM WEBSITE GETS A MUCH-NEEDED FACELIFT



For the past few months, Vice Chairman Jonathan White has worked with freelance web designer (and Lincoln Forum member) Emmet Aylor (<https://www.emmet-aylor.com/>) to design and create a new website for The Lincoln Forum. The new site will allow members to register and pay for the November symposium, as well as make donations and pay for memberships. The site also includes information on the Forum’s scholarships and awards, as well as every back issue of *The Lincoln Forum Bulletin* (downloadable as PDFs). To attract younger users, the site is also more mobile-friendly than the Forum’s old site. 📖



# NATHAN HALE'S HAZARDOUS TALES

*continued from page 6*

I had my doubts about the series at first, given how silly things can get beyond the premise itself. For example, a department of “Correction Babies” weighs in on accuracy (you can contact them if you find a problem). Anthropomorphized animals are a regular feature. Of course, I’m not the intended reader. The humor is undeniably tailored to the target audience, kids aged 8-12. Plus, the book’s literary devices serve a purpose. The proof is in my kids’ continued interest in the series, immediately reading each new book as it is published. They have retained and used historical knowledge from the series in school, something that makes them proud. What’s more, the series adds moments of hilarity to our own lives. A couple years ago, we were walking past a General Winfield Scott statue when my youngest, who was about 7 at the time, instantly recognized him and shouted, “Hey, mom, ‘ANACONDA’!!!” Truly, *Big Bad Ironclad* is the gift that keeps on giving.

(Erin Carlson Mast is President and CEO of the Lincoln Presidential Foundation and a member of The Lincoln Forum Board of Advisors. She is the mom of two boys, Flynn, 11, and Schuyler, 9.)



Erin Carlson Mast

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## THE UNION MAKES AN OFFER TO GARIBALDI

*continued from page 8* Charles Francis Adams perceived Garibaldi’s refusal as a “lucky escape,” because Union officers would have felt “that the introduction of a foreigner to do their work is a lasting discredit to themselves.” Adams saw the U.S. negotiations with Garibaldi as a “strange medley of blunders.”<sup>11</sup>

This is not the end of the story. The next year, during the summer of 1862, Garibaldi and his volunteers moved on Rome, in violation of government orders. The Italian government, not wanting to jeopardize its relations with France, ordered its own troops to fire on Garibaldi and his men. Garibaldi was severely wounded in the foot and was arrested on August 29, 1862.

On September 1, Theodore Canisius, the U.S. consul in Vienna, without authorization from the U.S. government, wrote to Garibaldi suggesting that, in light of the impossibility of his accomplishing “the great patriotic work which you had undertaken in the interest of your beloved country,” he might wish to “offer us your valorous arm in the struggle which we are carrying out for the liberty and unity of our great republic.”<sup>12</sup> Seward fired Canisius for this presumptuousness.

Garibaldi replied to Canisius, “I am a prisoner and severely wounded: in consequence it is impossible for me to dispose of myself. However, I believe that, if I am set at liberty and if my wounds heal . . . I shall be able to satisfy my desire to serve the great American Republic.” On October 5, Garibaldi wrote to Marsh that he would like to aid the Union, but the Union must recognize “the principle which animates us—the enfranchisement [*i.e.*, the emancipation] of the slaves, the triumph of universal reason.”<sup>13</sup> Lincoln had issued the preliminary emancipation proclamation on September 22, so this time Garibaldi’s demand would not have been a problem. But the Union made no offer to Garibaldi, as difficulties remained and circumstances had changed.

Historian H. Nelson Gay writes, “there was no intimation that the obstacle presented by the general’s determination to accept no post except that of commander-in-chief had been removed. His wound made present military service impossible; his position as prisoner of the Italian government would render negotiations delicate; his action in violation of his government’s orders may not have been perfectly understood in the United States.”<sup>14</sup>

Historian Howard R. Marraro adds: “Garibaldi’s offer was not acted upon favorably, chiefly because, in the meantime, the critical period in the conduct of the Civil War had passed, and also because, by this time, the North had several able army generals who were leading the Union soldiers in the field. There was no longer any need for the services of Garibaldi.”<sup>15</sup>

(Having retired from his career as a lawyer and editor with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, Henry Cohen is now the copyeditor of The Lincoln Forum Bulletin.)

<sup>1</sup> H. Nelson Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi: Light on a Disputed Point of History,” *Century Magazine* 75 (November 1907): 66.

<sup>2</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 66-67.

<sup>3</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 67.

<sup>4</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 67.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert Mitgang, “Garibaldi and Lincoln,” *American Heritage Magazine* 26 (October 1975), available at [www.americanheritage.com/](http://www.americanheritage.com/).

<sup>6</sup> Joseph A. Fry, “The Messenger to Garibaldi: Henry S. Sanford and the Offer of a Union Command to Giuseppe Garibaldi,” *Essays in History* 17: 39.

<sup>7</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 69; Mitgang, “Garibaldi and Lincoln.” See also Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 25.

<sup>8</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 70.

<sup>9</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 70.

<sup>10</sup> Fry, “The Messenger to Garibaldi,” 42.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Francis Adams, Jr., “February Meeting, 1908. Lincoln’s Offer to Garibaldi,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 1 (1907): 321-322 (quoting his father).

<sup>12</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 72.

<sup>13</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 72.

<sup>14</sup> Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” 73.

<sup>15</sup> Howard R. Marraro, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi: Further Light on a Disputed Point of History,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 36 (September 1943): 270.

# DONORS CREATE DIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIP TO HONOR FORUM LEADER

By Patrick Anderson

Last summer I woke up one morning and declared we needed to create a scholarship for students of color in honor of Edna Greene Medford. It was as simple as that! I discussed the idea with my wife Kim and she agreed. The scholarship was born!

We created the scholarship for two reasons. First, The Lincoln Forum is not particularly diverse, and we wanted to expand the attendance and membership to include more people of color. Second, and perhaps more important, we wanted to provide educational opportunities for students of color. Today's students will be the future historians, teachers, and authors, and it is vital that more people of color join these professions. As members of The Lincoln Forum, we all have a responsibility to make this happen.

Once Kim and I decided to create the scholarship, we had to name it. That was an easy decision! I joined the Forum in 2001, and since then I have watched Edna Medford teach us and lead discussions about Lincoln and the Civil War. I continue to learn about Lincoln from Edna, but I also have learned about race and racism from her. Several years ago, Edna came to our church in Alexandria, Virginia, to discuss racism and its effects on all of us. She was invited to speak by our anti-racism committee. The

discussion was lively, and Edna added a tremendous amount to our church's journey on race and racism.

It was Edna's request that the name of the scholarship include her hero, John Hope Franklin (1915-2009), longtime professor of history at the University of Chicago and Duke University. Kim and I agreed, and the Franklin-Medford Scholarship was created to provide educational opportunities for students of color for years to come.

The first recipient was Marisol Robinson, who attended Forum XXVI in 2021. Marisol is a senior at Carthage College majoring in business management and minoring in political science and religious studies. She is a resident assistant, and she serves as the treasurer of the Black Student Union. Marisol explained her interest in the Forum as follows: "Abraham Lincoln is someone who really interests me because I find his push for emancipation to be a major turning point that changed history and politics. As an African American pre-law student, a lot of Lincoln's actions while in office have helped drive my interests."

At a time when our nation is finally beginning to acknowledge deep systemic racism, it is a happy thing to create this educational opportunity. It is our sincere hope that you will agree and help fund the scholarship in perpetuity. I think Lincoln would approve!



Marisol Robinson

*(Patrick Anderson is a criminal defense attorney in northern Virginia. Kim Anderson is executive director of the National Education Association.)*

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## ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY FOUNDATION RELAUNCHES AS THE LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION



On March 7, 2022, The Lincoln Presidential Foundation, formerly known as the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library Foundation, announced that it was taking on a new role—leading and supporting efforts across the nation and perhaps the world to share the story of Abraham Lincoln's life, legacy, and leadership. As part of the relaunch, the Foundation has changed its name and adopted a new brand, which will allow it to achieve its new, broader mission.

With over two decades of fundraising prowess and expertise in public-private partnerships, the Foundation helped establish the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM) in Springfield, IL, in 2005. Over the years, the Foundation raised over \$42 million in support of museum programs, projects, and the Foundation's one-of-a-kind Taper Collection of Lincolniana, which is on loan to the ALPLM through October 2022.

Since 2006, the Foundation has annually bestowed its prestigious Lincoln Leadership Prize, which recognizes leaders in the Lincoln tradition. Prize recipients have included four heads of state and

numerous other internationally renowned individuals. To date, this award has raised millions of dollars in support of the Foundation's mission.

"This is an important step in our history and very positive expansion of the Foundation's mission," said Erin Carlson Mast, the Foundation's President & CEO, and a member of the Forum's board of advisors. "We are now responding to a broader need to preserve President Lincoln's legacy for the public benefit in a variety of locations. With our generous supporters, we will be able to participate in new projects with an array of enthusiastic new partner organizations."

In 2021, the exclusive partnership between the Foundation and the State of Illinois ended, creating an opportunity for the Foundation to lead its own projects and lend its expertise to new partners. Stakeholder discussions pointed to an existing need and a crucial role for the Foundation. Although there are hundreds of Lincoln historic sites, memorials, and monuments, there is no other national or international foundation focused on issues and resources affecting these historic places or the important documents and artifacts associated with our 16<sup>th</sup> president.

The Foundation's vision is to globally protect and expand freedom and democracy inspired by the life and work of President Lincoln. The Foundation will support, sustain, and provide educational and public programming, research, and access to historic places and collections with new partners and collaborators.

*continued on page 19*

# FRANK J. WILLIAMS STUDENT SCHOLARS FOR 2020-2021

By **Thomas A. Horrocks**

Due to the COVID pandemic and cancellation of the 2020 in-person Lincoln Forum, the Frank J. Williams Student Scholars for 2020 were invited to the November 2021 symposium. Two of the three student scholars, Nah'Shon Williams and Katherine Layne, were able to attend.

Nah'Shon Williams hails from South Bend, Indiana, where he is a senior at John Adams High School. He has received numerous awards at the state and regional competitions for Business Professionals of America and for Future Business Leaders of America. Nah'Shon is also very active outside of school, participating in Model UN, Quiz Bowl, African American History Challenge, and Civil Air Patrol. He also volunteers as a tour guide for the Northern Indiana Historical Society. Nah'Shon plans to pursue a career in Urban Planning and Design. He found the Lincoln Forum experience edifying and inspiring, and was moved by the encouragement he received from symposium attendees. He noted that the symposium "provided me with an extensive amount of knowledge about Lincoln by way of the numerous lectures I attended and conversations I held with various Forum members." The most lasting impression for Nah'Shon was that he "was welcomed with congratulations from many people. Among the kudos, many people commented on how they were impressed with my scholastic success and encouraged me further." "The Forum," he concluded, "furthered my belief that, with hard work, I can do anything."

Katherine Layne is from Justin, Texas, where she is in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade at the Gene Pike Middle School. In addition to studying Abraham Lincoln, she enjoys fostering kittens, writing, reading, roller-skating, and astronomy. Katherine wants to study aeronautics and become an aerospace engineer. Like Nah'Shon, Katherine was inspired by The Lincoln Forum symposium, observing that "the authors and other visitors who spoke on the panels offered many different insights, addressing things many of us likely never even considered. We were shown the points of view of a variety of extraordinary people. I felt inspired by the passion of every individual. Everyone I met was incredible and sincere. I was touched in my heart by all their kindness." As a result of attending the symposium, Katherine said, "I felt like I had come to better understand Lincoln, not only as the great man he was, but as



**Tiffany Reddick (mother of Nah'Shon), Maren Robinson (Franklin/Medford scholar), Benjamin Layne (father of Katherine), Tom Horrocks, Nah'Shon Williams, Katherine Layne**

an individual." Katherine also enjoyed visiting Gettysburg, saying that it "was truly a beautiful historical place, and I hope to return to the Forum in the future."

Unfortunately, our third Frank J. Williams Student Scholar, Jade Jang, could not attend the meeting. When she was awarded the scholarship in 2020, she was a senior at Edgemont Senior High School in Scarsdale, New York. She now attends Princeton University and was taking midterm exams at the time of The Lincoln Forum symposium.

The Lincoln Forum's Frank J. Williams Student Scholarship program, now entering its 10<sup>th</sup> year, recognizes outstanding elementary and high school students who have demonstrated academic excellence as well as an interest in the life and career of Abraham Lincoln and in the Civil War. The scholarships enable the winners to attend Forum symposia by covering registration, travel, and hotel expenses. I would like to thank those who serve with me on the student scholars selection committee: John Marszalek, Paul Ellis-Graham, Emma Benun, and Michelle Krowl. 📌

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## ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY FOUNDATION RELAUNCHES AS THE LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION

*continued from page 18*

"We are very proud of everything the Foundation accomplished for the ALPLM. The Foundation board and staff of the Foundation are now eager to make their impact and reach felt on a broader scale than ever before," said the Foundation's Board Chair Sergio ("Satch") A. Pecori. "The future of the Foundation simply could not be brighter."

In its ongoing effort to support President Lincoln's legacy, the Foundation announced that as of March 2022, the first of its new partnerships will be with the National Park Service

(NPS). NPS administers dozens of sites across the country connected to President Lincoln and his legacy. The Foundation's pilot agreement with NPS is philanthropic support of the Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, IL.

"Partnering with the National Park Service demonstrates our desire to support places of national significance, in ways that multiply benefit to the American people and global citizens," added Mast.

Learn more at [www.lincolnpresidential.org/](http://www.lincolnpresidential.org/) 📌

# FORUM AWARDS TEACHER SCHOLARSHIPS AT 26<sup>TH</sup> SYMPOSIUM

By Ruth Squillace

In March 2020, teachers nationwide faced an unprecedented challenge, as schools were shuttered to “flatten the curve.” Physical classrooms, once brimming with youthful vitality and intellectual curiosity, became dusty time capsules to a pre-Covid reality. In the face of such adversity, educators navigated a new academic landscape, which was akin to building a plane, while piloting it. However, even more pressing than the academic demands were the overwhelming social and emotional needs of students grappling with disrupted routines and inconsistent support systems. Compounding these hardships was a volatile election cycle and increasingly polarizing times that required steady, unbiased civic education. As such, the role of the social studies educator, in particular, was never more “necessary and proper.”



**Teacher Scholars: Janisha Musco, Robert Fenster, Robert Buccheri  
Harold Holzer, Ruth Squillace & Jonathan W. White**

Despite crushing workloads, applicants seemed to crave even more professional development and were inspired to apply for the unique experience provided by The Lincoln Forum. Patiently, they clung to the hope and awaited the time when we would gather in Gettysburg again. The scholarship selection committee consisted of Ken Childs, Esq. of Columbia, SC; Ruth Squillace, Lincoln Forum Teacher Scholarship Initiative Coordinator and high school social studies teacher from Long Island, NY; and Clark Zimmerman, who teaches at Hamburg Area High School in Pennsylvania. The committee recognized that these teachers applied at the height of the initial lockdowns and in the face of an unknown future. Though turbulence may have rocked the academic flight paths of many, intrepid educators chartered new courses of virtual, hybrid, and eventually, a return to in-person reality. The Virginia Williams Teacher Scholarship was awarded to three highly dedicated and deserving individuals.

**Robert Buccheri** is a 27-year veteran educator. He has both developed and taught in numerous programs as a Master Teacher for the Living History Education Foundation. Additionally, as a reenactor for the French and Indian War, Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and both World Wars, he uses his experiences in the living history electives he teaches at Carmel High School in Carmel, NY. In 2010, he was

awarded the New York State Excellence in Teaching Award by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Commenting on his Lincoln Forum experience, he stated, “I attended the virtual symposium in 2020 and although it was very informative, it was much more meaningful to finally be so close to the battlefield. I am a reenactor and I attend Remembrance Day celebrations every year. I was happily able to share my experiences with one of the student scholarship winners by giving her a quick tour of the battlefield in between lectures.” Another moment Buccheri enjoyed was the incredible performance of “Ashokan Farewell” by Jay Unger and Molly Mason. “Nothing stirs my heart more than live music. The haunting melody of that song really brings the emotion of the Civil War alive.”

**Robert Fenster**, who teaches at Hillsborough High School in New Jersey, remarked, “When Social Studies is getting such short shrift on the national stage, despite the obvious crucial need for more education in that area, it was heartening to be amid so many people who understand the importance of learning about history and who genuinely enjoy it.” Fenster added that some of his “favorite moments” included hearing attendees “talk to one another about their expertise.” Fenster was the 2019 New Jersey Council for the Social Studies Secondary School Teacher of the Year, as well as the 2019 American Lawyers Alliance Law-Related Educator of the Year. He maintains an educational blog and he represents the state of New Jersey in the National Education Association’s national representative assembly. This summer, he will be heading to China as a participant in a Fulbright-Hays Group Project Abroad. As one who continually develops his craft, he said, “I am positively teeming with ideas that occurred to me as I listened to a variety of expert speakers at the forum. For example, I am going to create a structured academic controversy focusing on whether the Constitution is a pro- or anti-slavery document. I’m going to use excerpts from Ty Seidule’s book (and fingers crossed, an interview) to talk about historical revisionism in connection to Reconstruction and the Civil War.”

**Janisha Musco**, who teaches 5<sup>th</sup> grade Language Arts and Social Studies at Summer Grove Elementary School in Caddo Parish, Louisiana, described her Lincoln Forum experience as “an opportunity to walk in the footsteps of our great leader, Abraham Lincoln. To have the opportunity to witness, understand, and discuss topics that he dealt with and understand the difficulties he had to face was truly an eye-opening experience.” After years in the private sector, Ms. Musco answered the call to teach. She has served on the Louisiana Department of Education Social Studies Item Content and Bias Review Committee and has spoken at leadership conferences in Baton Rouge on the topic of assessments and teaching standards. “Compared to other scholarships, I would like to describe this one as more enlightening and hands-on. The opportunity to see how the surrounding areas celebrate the Gettysburg Address and honor the events on the battlefield is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.”

If you or a friend or colleague is interested in applying for a teacher scholarship, please visit The Lincoln Forum website at [www.thelincolnforum.org](http://www.thelincolnforum.org) for additional information. Applications should be directed to Ruth Squillace, Coordinator, by June 30, 2022. Please consider making a tax-deductible financial gift to support the various scholarship opportunities available through The Lincoln Forum. 📌

# DEFENDING THE PROCLAMATION: LINCOLN'S ONE-TWO PUNCH IN THE CONKLING LETTER

By Burrus M. Carnahan

On August 14, 1863, Republican politician James C. Conkling invited President Lincoln to speak to a mass meeting in Springfield, Illinois. The organizers had invited “unconditional Union-men” of the State of Illinois, regardless of former party associations, to attend. Although Lincoln found himself unable to leave Washington, on August 26 he sent Conkling a long public letter to be read to the gathering.



Abraham Lincoln, Photographed by Alexander Gardner, 1863

To be unconditionally for the Union was not necessarily to be against slavery, so some of the audience would likely be hostile to the Emancipation Proclamation and the government’s decision to enlist African American troops. In part the planned meeting was also a response to an earlier mass meeting in Springfield that had called for the restoration of the Union as it was, with slavery intact. In this context, Lincoln used his letter to Conkling, which he knew would be widely reprinted, to respond to critics of these measures as well as of his general conduct of the war.

Given its popular audience, most of the letter reads like a folksy 19<sup>th</sup>-century stump speech. Lincoln appealed to emotion, most notably in his portrayal of a black soldier facing the enemy with “with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet,” contrasted with a disloyal white man seeking the government’s defeat “with malignant heart, and deceitful speech.” He invoked regional loyalties, praising the contributions of all sections to Union victories, including even the “Sunny South . . . in more colors than one.” With humorous exaggeration he described the navy as “Uncle Sam’s Web-feet,” active not only on the high seas but “wherever the ground was a little damp.”

In one brief paragraph, however, the tone changed markedly. To defend the legality of the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had to contend not merely with popular emotion but also with learned critiques from respected lawyers. In particular he had to respond to the 1862 pamphlet *Executive Power* by former Supreme Court Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, which claimed that the Proclamation was an unconstitutional attempt to confiscate property of U.S. citizens.

On this issue Curtis was a formidable opponent, whose views could not be dismissed as those of a disloyal Copperhead. One of two dissenters in the 1857 *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case, Curtis had resigned from the Court over his clashes with Chief Justice Roger Taney. In politics Curtis had been, like Lincoln, a Whig and then a Republican, and he had supported Lincoln’s election in 1860. Although others had replied to Curtis’s legal arguments, most notably War Department Solicitor William Whiting in the several editions of his work, *War Powers under the Constitution*, the President himself had not spoken on the issue.

More recently, the arguments in Curtis’s pamphlet have been revived by Noah Feldman in his book *The Broken Constitution: Lincoln, Slavery, and the Refounding of America*. The Conkling letter can therefore also be read as Lincoln’s posthumous reply to Professor Feldman.

After Curtis published his pamphlet, the President’s legal position had been strengthened by the Supreme Court’s 1863 decision in the *Prize Cases*, in which the Court had declared that Lincoln could use any means authorized by the laws of war to suppress the rebellion. Lincoln’s defense of the Emancipation Proclamation therefore began by analogizing the freeing of slaves to the destruction of enemy property in wartime.

You dislike the emancipation proclamation; and, perhaps, would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional—I think differently. I think the constitution invests its commander-in-chief, with the law of war, in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is, that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it, helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies’ property when they can not use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy.

By this time, however, critics of the Proclamation had pointed out that legal title to enemy property could not be acquired under either federal or international law until the property was in the government’s control. Curtis had also insisted that the Proclamation was little more than a promise of future action, since the government was not in control of the areas or persons to which it applied.

In the last two sentences of the paragraph Lincoln therefore shifted his focus from law of war rules on property to a more general legal principle, what 20<sup>th</sup>-century scholars would term the “prohibitive nature” of the law of war. Under this principle, sovereign states may resort to any measure necessary to defeat an enemy except for acts prohibited by specific legal rules.

Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves, or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes, and non-combatants, male and female.

There was no rule that prohibited emancipating an enemy’s slaves, even while they were still under enemy control. Under the law of war, slaves and other oppressed people could be treated as oppressed persons, not just as property, and the government could recognize and support their claims to immediate freedom. Within the Conkling letter, a document that was largely a popular polemic, Lincoln inserted a sophisticated legal justification for his position that, after January 1, 1863, the Confederacy was illegally holding millions of free persons in slavery.

(Burrus M. Carnahan is the author of several books on Abraham Lincoln, including *Act of Justice: Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation and the Laws of War [2007]* and *Lincoln on Trial: Southern Civilians and the Law of War [2010]*.)

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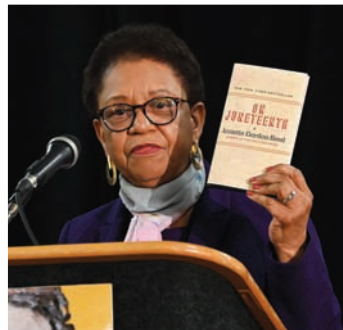
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# Abraham Lincoln

By William H. Taft



IT seems to me, as I study the life of Lincoln, that in his development and the position to which he attained there is more inspiration for heroism and usefulness to the country than in the life of any other one man in history. He had his weaknesses, like others. His education was faulty. But by a certain sort of intellectual discipline, by self-education, he clarified his methods of thought and expression so that he was able to meet every problem presented by a solution as simple as it was effective. The responsibility which he had to assume when he came to the presidency was awful to contemplate, and the proverbial sadness of his features it is easy to understand. The criticism and abuse to which he was subjected in the crises of the Civil War one is ashamed to review as a matter of history. And yet it is of the utmost value in the encouragement of others that they may not be borne down by the weight of hostile and persistent criticism.

Mr. Lincoln's biographer and partner, Judge Herndon, raises a question as to whether love made up a part of Lincoln's nature. He suggests that his consideration and charity resulted rather from his sense of justice. I don't know that such a discussion is profitable. Certain it is that we have never had in public life a man whose sense of duty was stronger, whose bearing toward those with whom he came in contact, whether his friends or political opponents, was characterized by a greater sense of fairness. And we have never had in public life a man who took upon himself uncomplainingly the woes of the nation and suffered in his soul from the weight of them as he did, nor in all our history a man who had such a mixture of far-sightedness, of understanding of the people, of common sense, of high sense of duty, of power of inexorable logic, and of confidence in the goodness of God in working out a righteous result as had this great product of the soil of our country.

One cannot read of Abraham Lincoln without loving him. One cannot think of his struggles, of his life and its tragic end, without weeping. One cannot study his efforts, his conscience, his heroism, his patriotism, and the burdens of bitter attack and calumny under which he suffered, and think of the place he now occupies in the history of this country, without a moral inspiration of the most stirring and intense character.

Source: *Cosmopolitan Magazine* (February 1909), submitted by Walter Stahr.



# WINTER IN MANASSAS: A CAPTIVATING COLLECTION BY ACCLAIMED PHOTOGRAPHER MELISSA A. WINN

*Melissa A. Winn is a photographer, writer, editor, and collector of Civil War images. She's the Director of Photography at Historynet, publisher of nine history-related magazines, including Civil War Times and America's Civil War.*



Manassas from Buck Hill



Groveton Confederate Cemetery Memorial



Cannons on Henry Hill



Stone House Entrance

*continued on page 18*

# WINTER IN MANASSAS: A CAPTIVATING COLLECTION

continued from page 17



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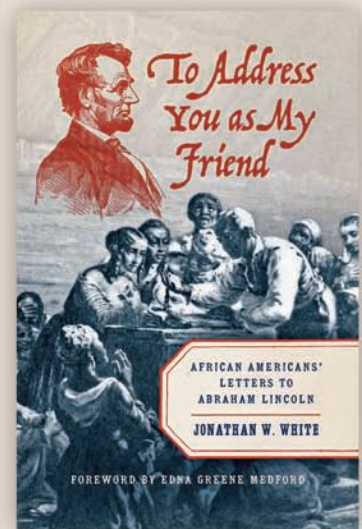
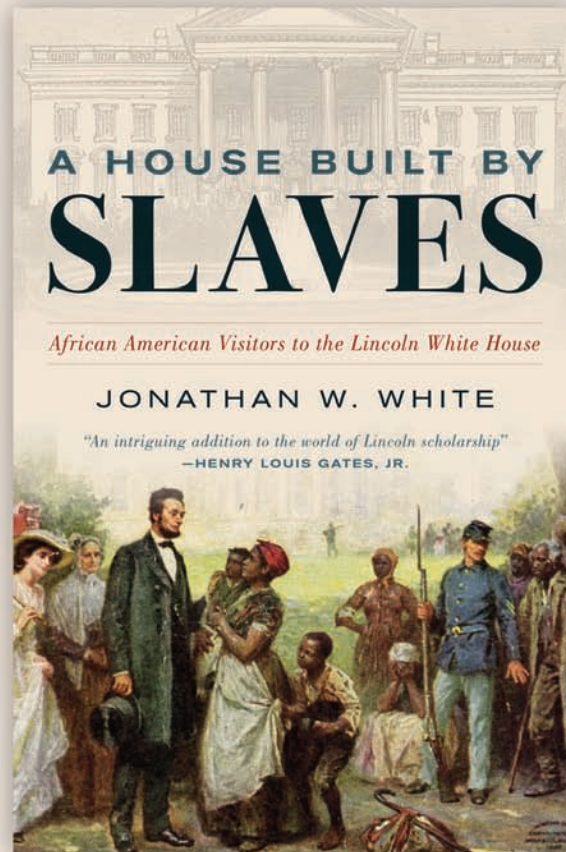
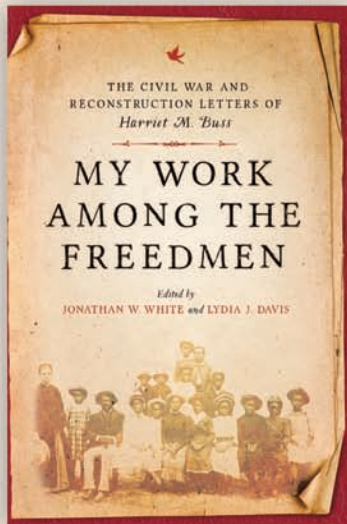
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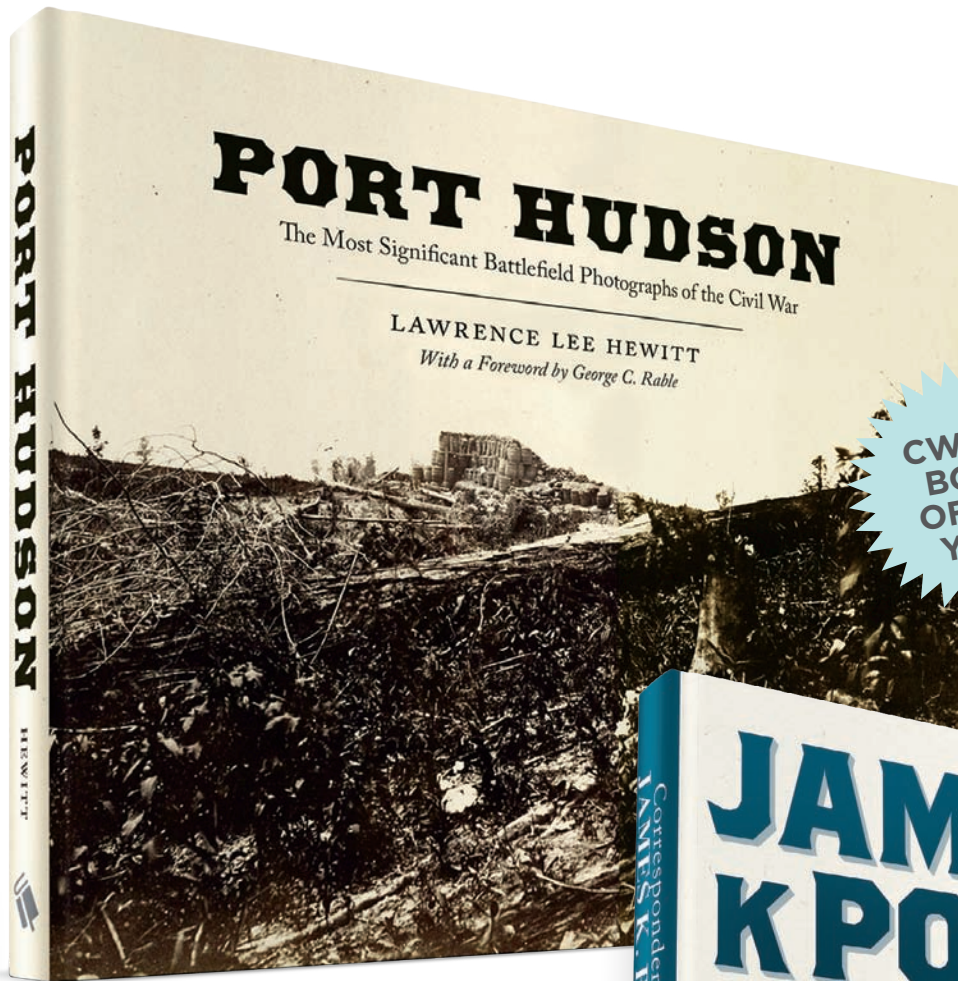
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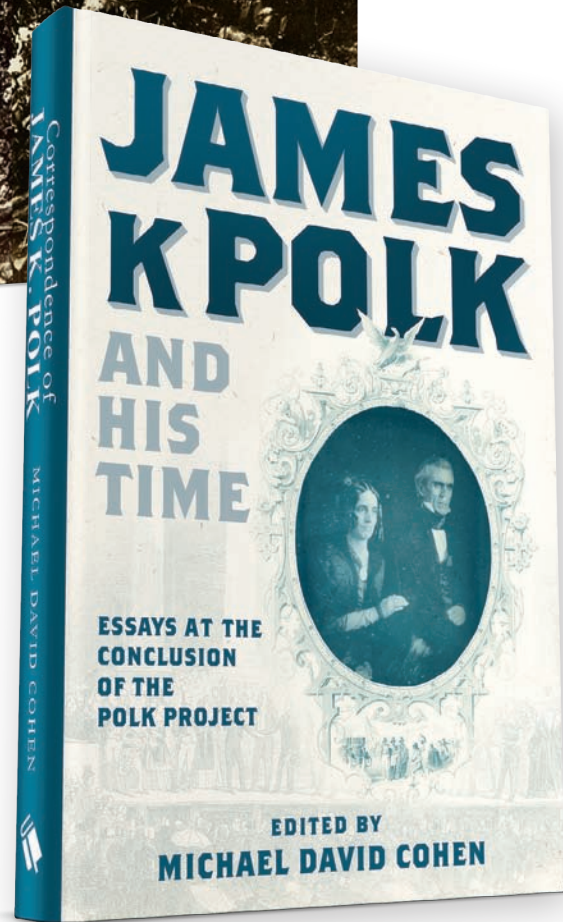
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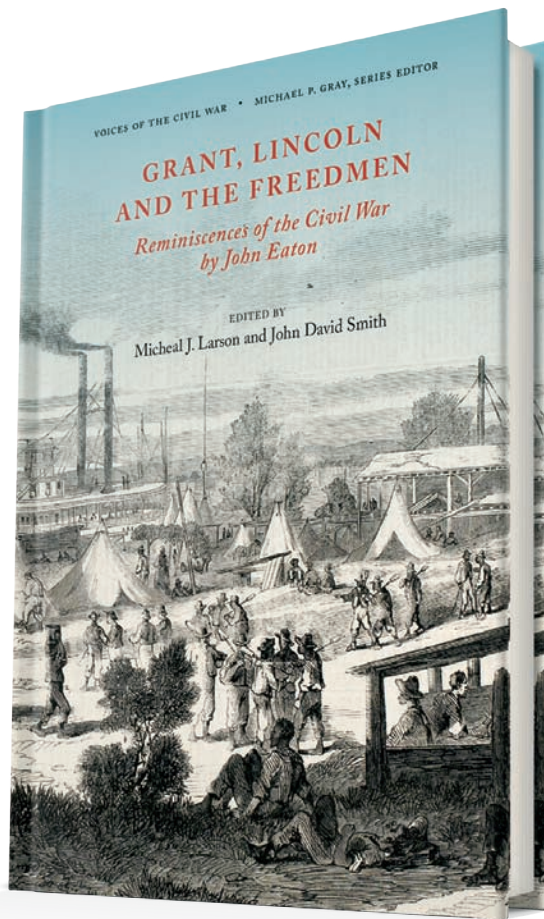
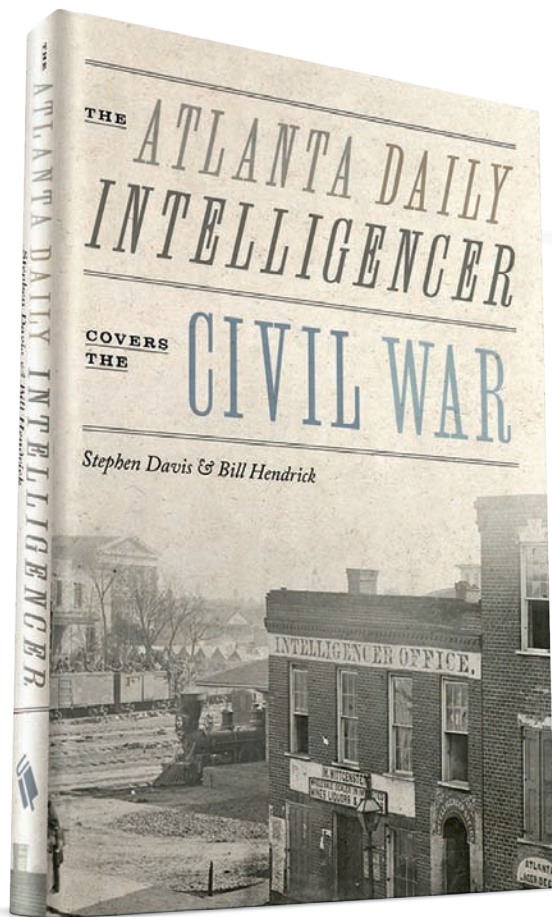
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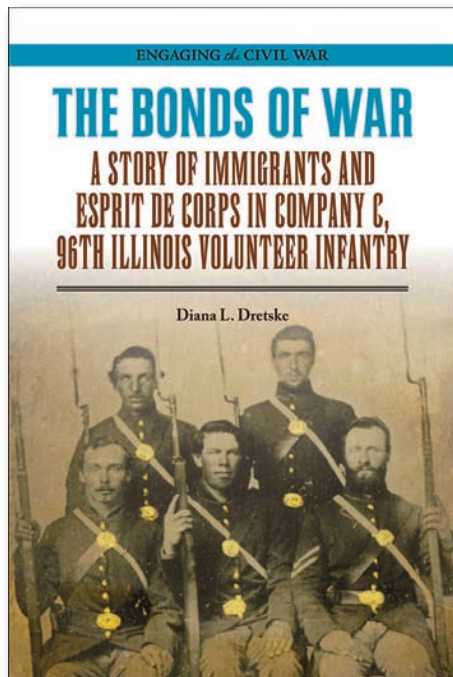
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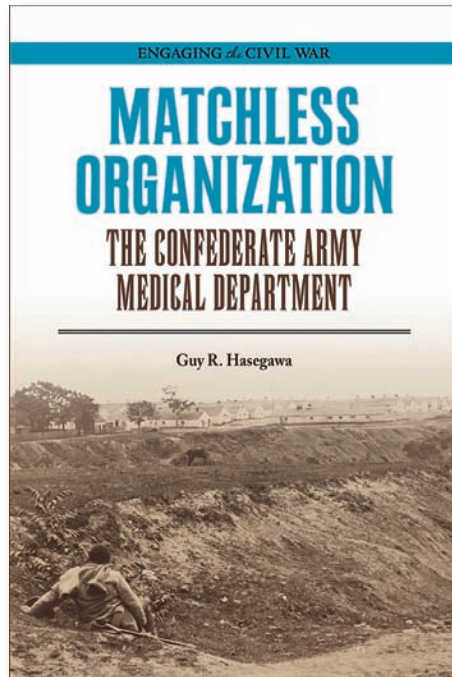
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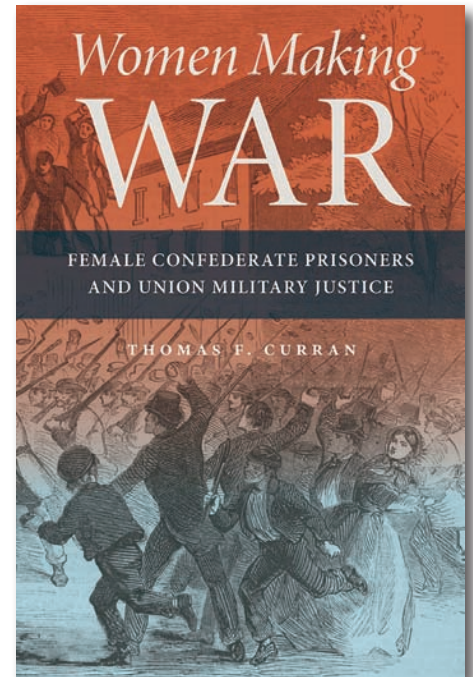
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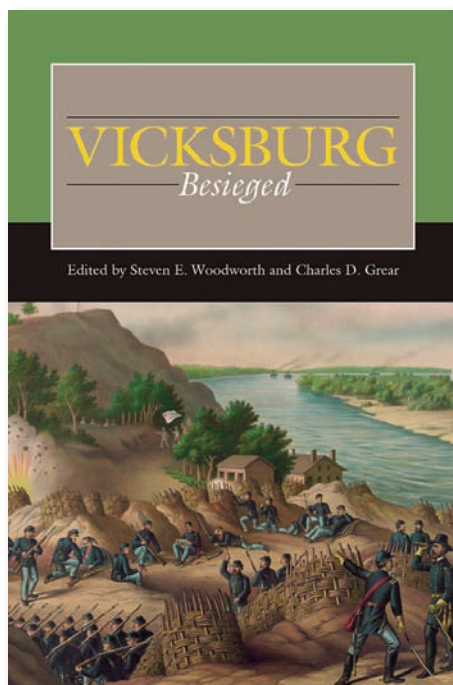
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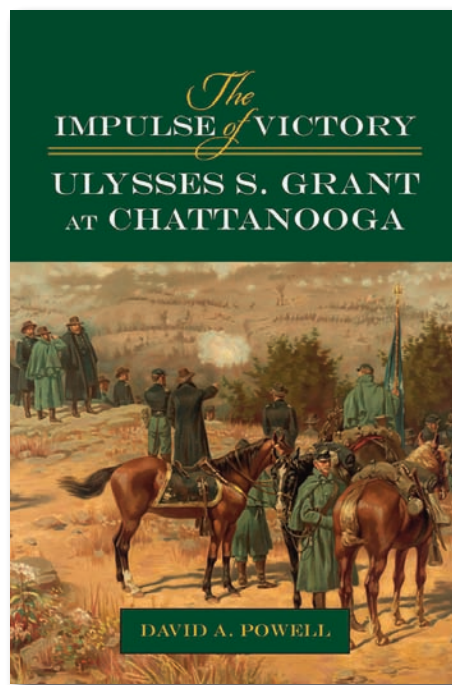
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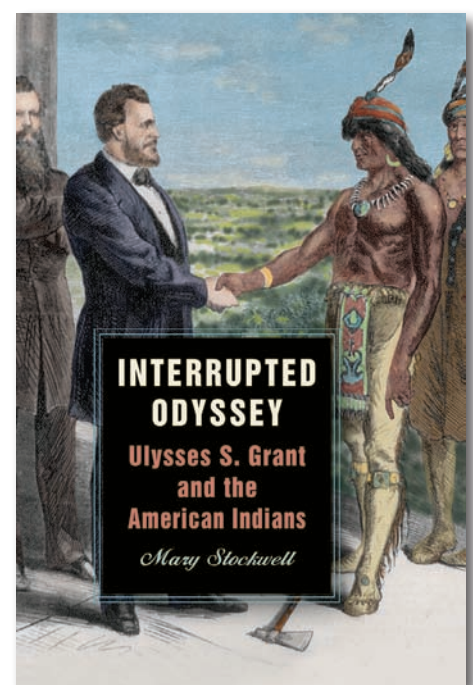
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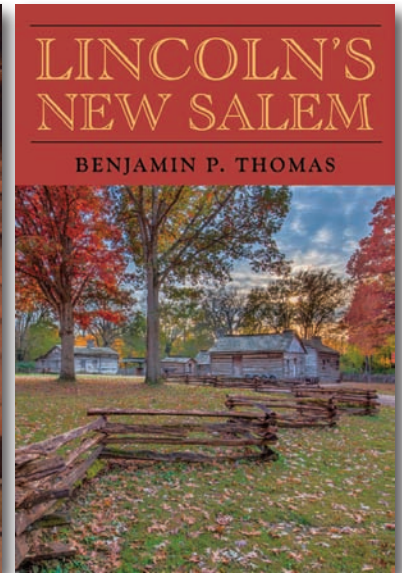
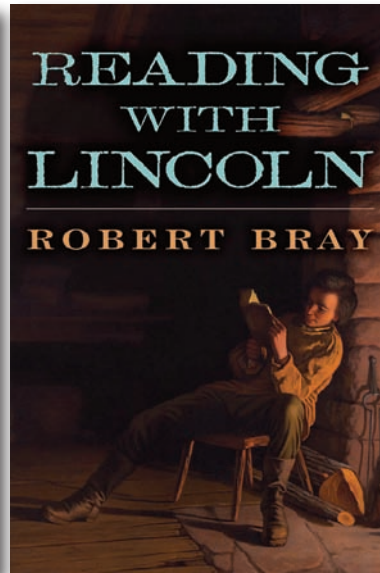
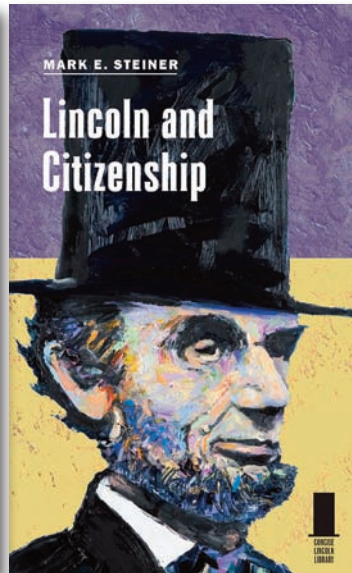
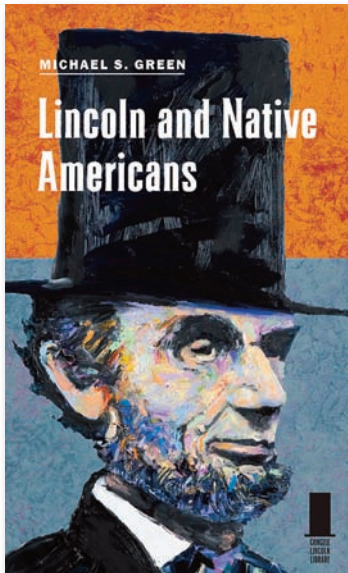
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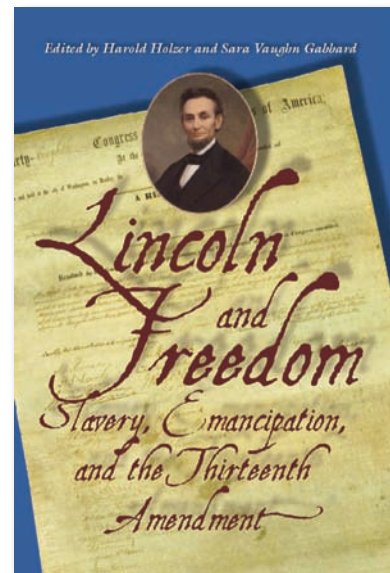
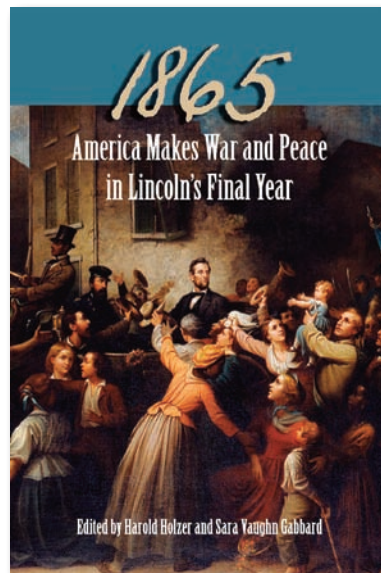
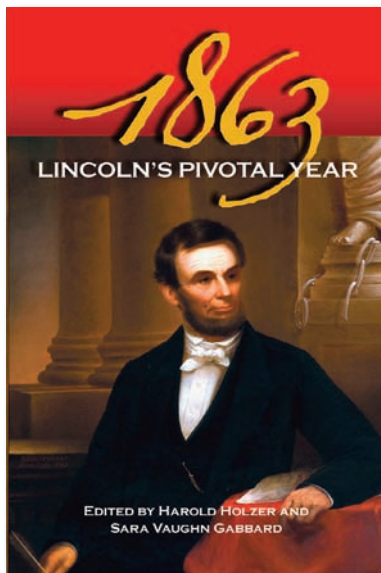
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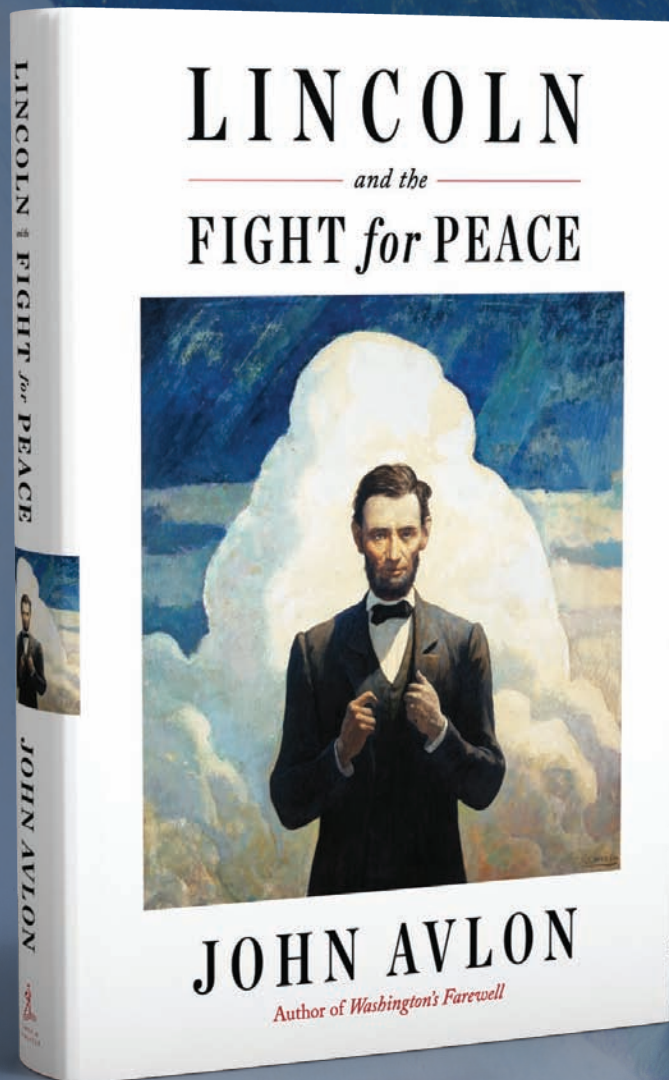
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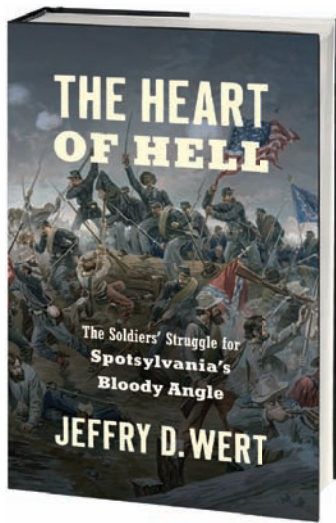
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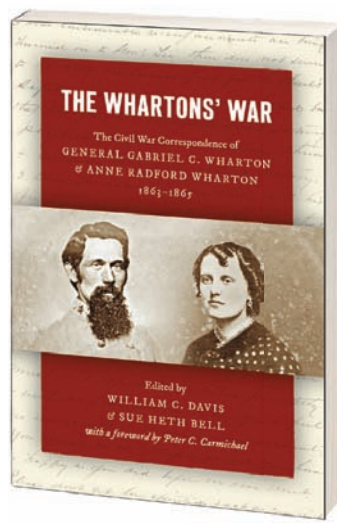
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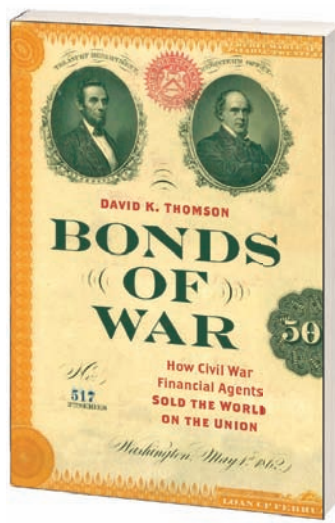
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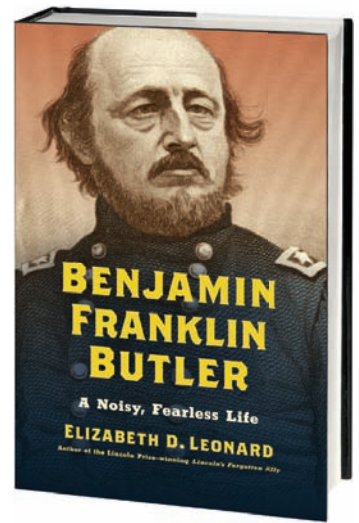
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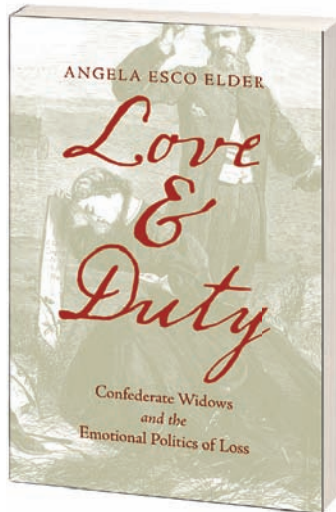
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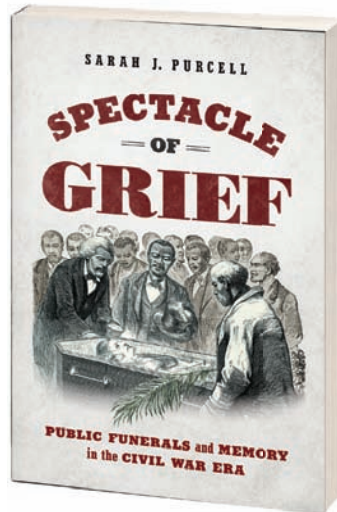
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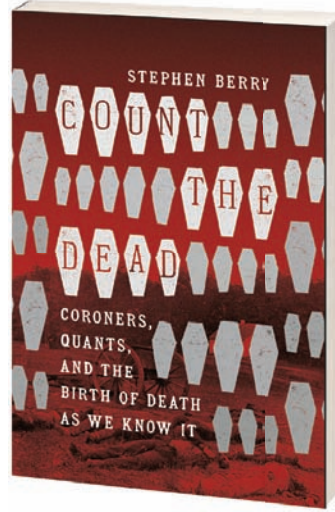
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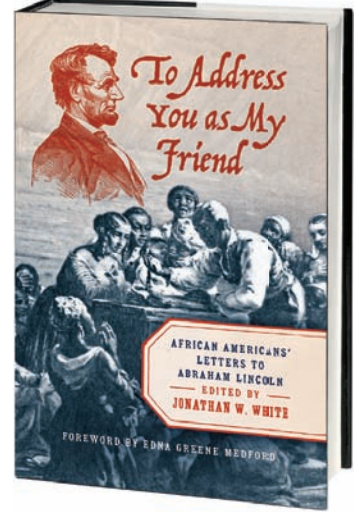
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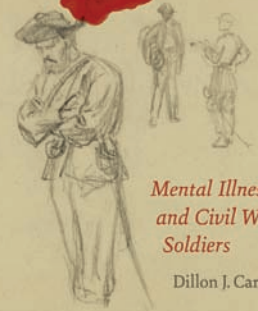
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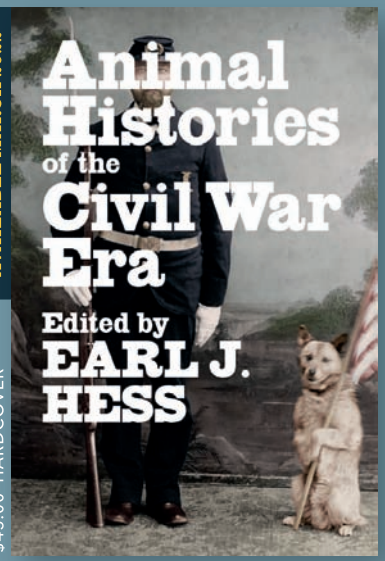
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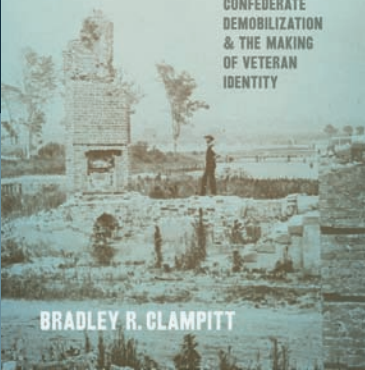


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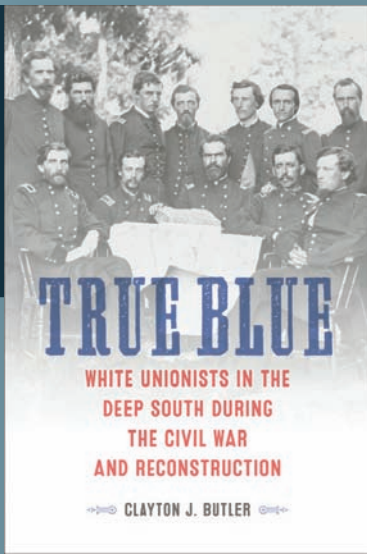
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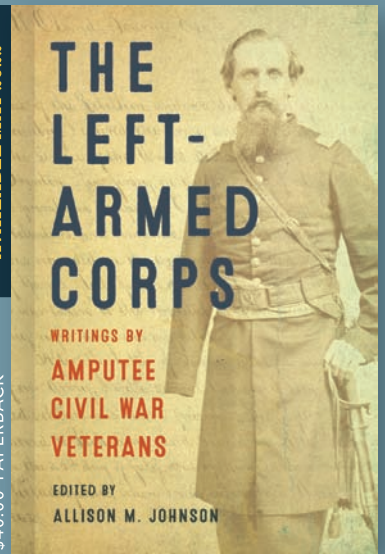
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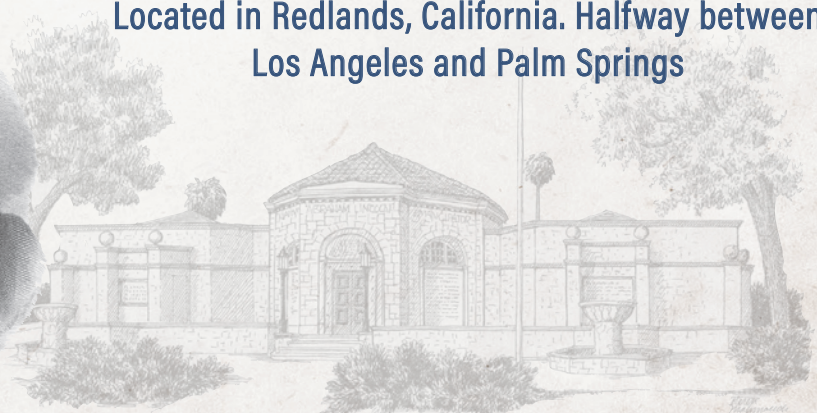
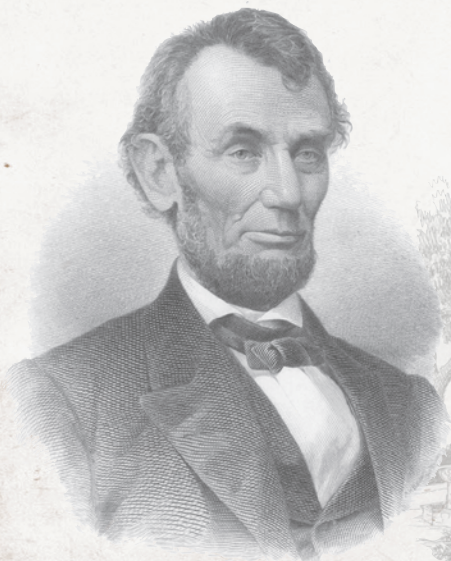
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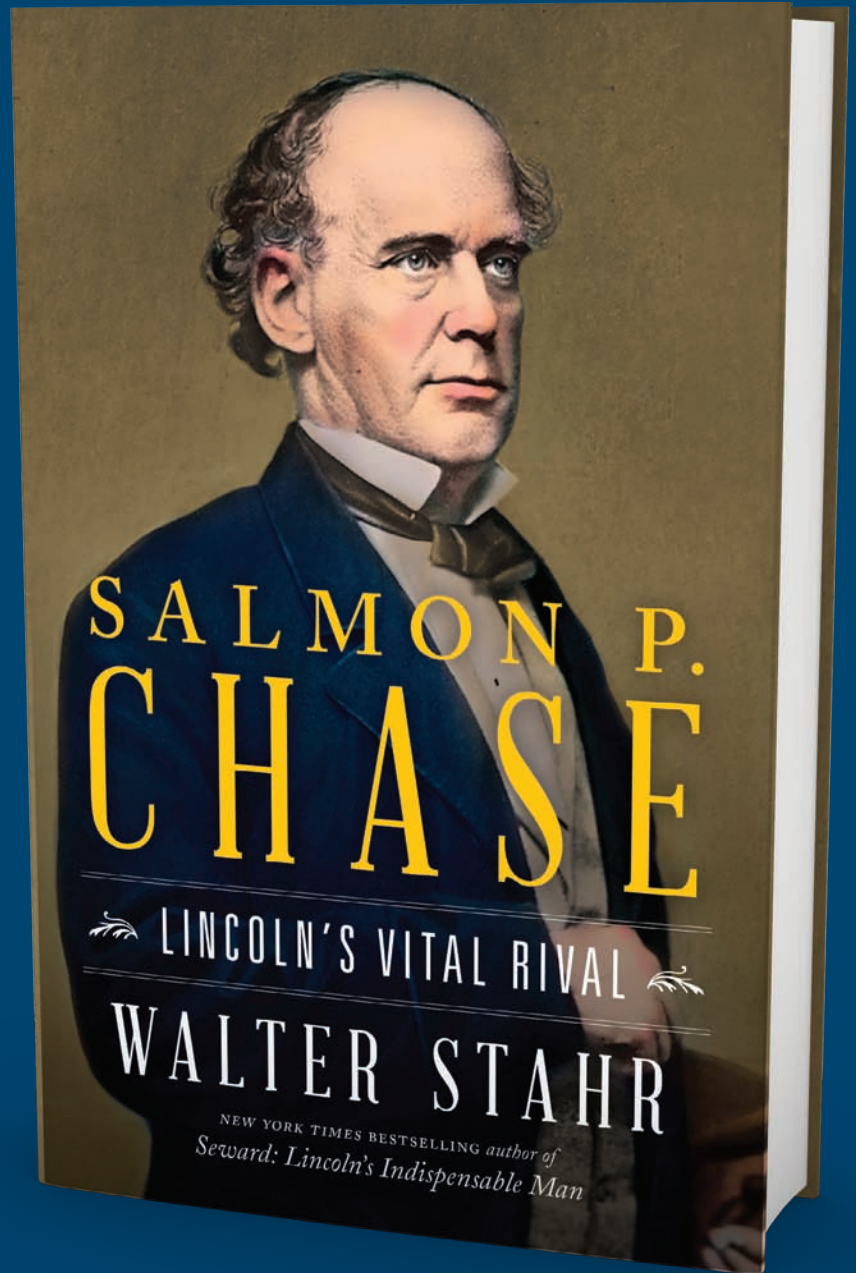


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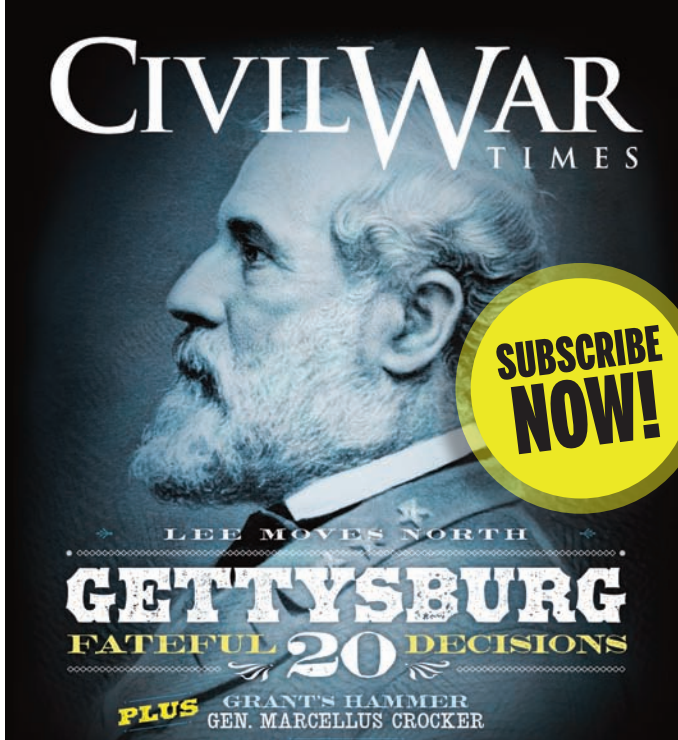
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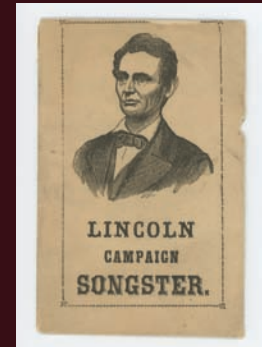
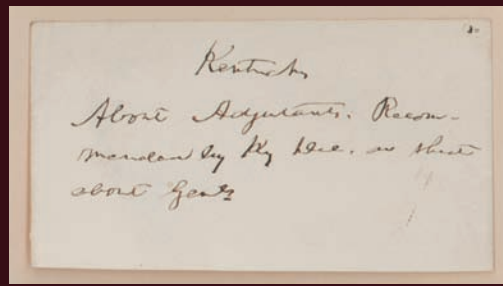
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