F O R  T H E  P E O P L E
A Newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association

Volume 12 Number 4  Winter 2010  Springfield, Illinois

LINCOLN AND THE LEADERSHIP FOLLIES

By Allen C. Guelzo
Gettysburg College

Let’s say that you are responsible for hiring the president of a large but undercapitalized republic sometime after the middle of the 19th century.

You hire two search firms. One meets with prospects in Chicago, the other in Baltimore. They come up with two candidates. One of them is a former employee, a certified genius, with the best education. The other is a lawyer who’s been with the republic for four years, and has been responsible for major operations over the last four years, but has little to show for it.

Whom do you hire?

If you chose the second candidate, congratulations: you’ve just hired ABRAHAM LINCOLN. But you probably didn’t, because he doesn’t really look like the “leadership” types the latest “leadership” seminar taught you to look for. More likely, you chose the first candidate.

Congratulations: you’ve just hired GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN. Why? Because it’s the election year of 1864, and Little Mac is the guy with the golden resume, the hire that every executive search firm dreams of finding for their stable.

The other guy, however, turns out to be pure gold. He surmounts all the challenges in the next fiscal year, restores everything to profitability, gets the satellite campuses back to the core mission, and frees up four million or so capital units.

But you didn’t hire him, did you?

It’s one of the great truths of life, that everybody wants to go to heaven, but nobody wants to die. Similarly, everybody wants to be a leader, but nobody seems to have a very good handle on what leadership is. Wander up and down the bookstalls at Borders or Barnes & Noble devoted to business books, and count how many books are sitting there, struggling to explain leadership: servant leadership, transformational leadership, effective leadership, leadership skills, leadership lessons from Attila the Hun.

It was inevitable that, in all of this outpouring on leadership, people would eventually turn to Abraham Lincoln. And sure enough, there are no shortage of books on offer that promise to identify and package the aspects of Lincoln’s ‘leadership’ for use by ‘leaders’ who wonder how they, like Ray Bolger, can be seen “thinkin’ like Lincoln.”

Temperament leadership, on the other hand, is not about you developing a temperament. Temperament is not developed. It is a mysterious asset which comes hard-wired with the person, and the purpose of temperament leadership training is to teach you how to recognize it in others, not how you can develop it in yourself.

The problem with a great deal of the leadership literature – from Howard Gardner to Tom Peters – is that leadership is rarely this tidy. You can inculcate all the traits you like, but at

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end of the day, you may be doing nothing more than teaching a dog how to walk on its hind legs. The wonder, as Dr. Johnson said, is not that it’s done badly, but that anyone really thinks you should be doing it at all.

Somewhere, there is a mix – temperament, traits – and we need to hold on to both in understanding what leadership really is, whether we do the leading or whether we’re responsible for identifying those who do it. There is no equation that solves it all and produces a leader. Maybe that’s the lesson the leadership gurus need to learn. History does not, after all, repeat itself, except in a way so generalized that it’s useless for anticipating day-to-day situations. Yet there are certain aspects of Abraham Lincoln’s character which really did make him a great leader. Made him, for instance, the man whom James Longstreet, who fought against him, described as “without doubt the greatest man of rebellion times, the one matchless among forty millions for the peculiar difficulties of the period”...the man about whom one of his allies, George Boutwell of Massachusetts, said “Under him and largely through his acts and influence justice became the vital force of the Republic”...the man whom one of the humblest of his fellow Americans, an old man only newly-freed from slavery, could describe as indescribable: “No man know Linkum, Massa Linkum, he ebery whar; he know ebery ting; he walk de earf like de Lord.” It’s worth identifying the seven most salient of these characteristics, not because they’re guaranteed to turn someone into a ‘leader,’ but because they do help us understand how Lincoln tackled the great problem of his day, which was emancipation.

The first of these seven was knowledge. No one ever became a great leader because they were ignorant, or couldn’t remember things. Lincoln, despite having only the most meagre education, loved to learn. Anyone who could lend him a book was his friend. “A capacity, and taste, for reading,” he said in 1859, “gives access to whatever has already been discovered by others. It is the key, or one of the keys, to the already solved problems. And not only so. It gives a relish, and facility, for successfully pursuing the unsolved ones.” As a lawyer, he taught himself by reading law books. As a practicing attorney, he devoted himself to studying the details of cases. In one of his greatest cases, *Hurd v. Rock Island Bridge Company* in 1855, Lincoln defended the owners of the Rock Island Railroad from a suit filed by the owners of the sidewheel steamer *Effie Afton*, which had been wrecked after striking one of the bridge’s piers. Lincoln took the trouble to visit the site of the accident, measure distances and the volume of water flowing under the bridge, and get statements from witnesses the plaintiff had not bothered to look up, so that the boat’s owners found themselves resting, too late, on “the testimony of men who had made no experiment – only conjecture.”

Lincoln not only knew, but loved the knowing. Logan Pearsall Smith, the American-born British essayist, once said that “The test of a vocation is the love of the drudgery it involves.” He might have been thinking of Lincoln in that regard, because Lincoln not only knew both law and politics, but rejoiced in the nuts-and-bolts of it. “The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence,” Lincoln wrote in lecture to aspiring lawyers. There were no shortcuts around the drudgery of the law, and if you could not embrace that drudgery, you had better not plan on being a lawyer. Lincoln warned: “If any one, upon his rare powers of speaking, shall claim an exemption from the drudgery...his case is a failure in advance.” Lawyering, he said in 1860, “is very simple, though laborious, and tedious. ...Work, work, work, is the main thing.”

Seward quickly found out that Lincoln not only had a very tight learning curve on political affairs, but also had a determination to keep responsibility and accountability in the same hands. “If this must be done, I must do it,” Lincoln replied to Seward. And within a year, Lincoln had asserted his mastery over both the Cabinet and the rest of the government.

By 1863, John Hay thought that Lincoln had become a “backwoods Jupiter” who “sits here and wields...the bolts of war and the machinery of government with a hand equally steady & equally firm... He is managing this war...foreign relations, and planning a reconstruction of the Union, all at once. I never knew with what tyrannous authority he rules the Cabinet, til now. The most important things he decides and there is no cavil.” And yet, Hay added, “there is no man in the country, so wise, so gentle and so firm. I believe the hand of God placed him where he is.”

Lincoln certainly hoped so. But he also wanted to be certain that he had the people on his side, too, and it was out of the need to persuade the people that Lincoln’s greatest gifts emerged, as a public advocate for his own policies. He understood, in other words, the need to be visible to the people. The sheer size of the republic prevented him from actually taking to the hustings to explain the directions he wanted to go, but it did not prevent him from resorting to print to do so. In 1863, Lincoln composed four so-called “public...
PRESIDENT’S GREETING

Dear ALA Members:

We are pleased to give you further details about the Lincoln Symposium, the Annual Birthday Banquet and the many excellent events scheduled for the celebration of Abraham Lincoln’s two-hundred and second birthday in his hometown of Springfield, Illinois.

I also want to thank the Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in Lincoln City, Indiana for sponsoring the 25th annual Lincoln Colloquium in September. I attended this event with several other ALA members, and we all enjoyed the two days of speakers and activities very much. The ALA is pleased to be a co-sponsor of the Lincoln Colloquium. If you have not yet had a chance to visit the Boyhood Home Memorial I highly recommend it.

We are pleased to have Dr. Allen Guelzo as our featured banquet speaker this year. Dr. Guelzo is not only a professor at Gettysburg College, but is a member of the Board of Directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association. He will be the first speaker of our five year sesquicentennial series and will talk about Lincoln becoming president.

I hope to see many of you at the February birthday events.

Robert J. Lenz
President

A CONVERGENCE OF PURPOSE

*A Convergence of Purpose.* This unique bronze sculpture by Andrew Jumonville of Bloomington, Illinois, depicts Abraham Lincoln and two of his closest friends, Jesse Fell of Normal and David Davis of Bloomington. The setting is an 1858 Bloomington street with Fell and Davis in animated conversation urging Lincoln to run for President. Fell and Davis were key leaders in Lincoln's winning the 1860 nomination and the subsequent election. The statue stands in Bloomington’s Lincoln Park and was dedicated on October 23, 2010. Photograph by Pat Schley.

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letters,” which though addressed to specific individuals, were intended to be published and read across the country as policy statements. They were an immediate hit. To a convention of Democrats who criticized him for sanctioning “certain military arrests and proceedings” and other civil-liberties violations, he simply asked: “Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert?” And in a letter sent to a mass Union meeting in his hometown of Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln didn’t mind embarrassing half-hearted whites with the courage of black soldiers in blue: “there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while, I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it.”

Lincoln’s speeches got him admiring audiences; but Lincoln’s public letters got him visibility for his message. He could not speak everywhere, but his letters could. The New York politician Chauncey M. Depew thought that Lincoln’s “series of letters were remarkable documents. He had the ear of the public; he commanded the letters were remarkable documents. He had the ear of the public; he commanded the

People, however, kept on doing this; and Lincoln, even as president, kept on flattening their backs in ditches. His over-ambitious Treasury secretary, Salmon Chase, hatched a scheme in December, 1862, to eliminate his chief rival in the Cabinet, William Seward (and thus position himself to eliminate Lincoln for the 1864 presidential nomination) by whispering in Congressional ears that Seward was manipulating Lincoln and lording it over the Cabinet. A congressional delegation demanded an interview with Lincoln, and he granted it – but he also invited all the members of his Cabinet, and invited them to inform the delegation whether or not Seward was bullying them. They, of course, denied it, leaving Salmon Chase cut neatly down to size – the size, that is, of a ditch.

The sixth of Lincoln’s characteristics was persistence – not mere stubbornness, but a determination based on his ability to foresee the likely long-term results of his decisions. “Lincoln's whole life was a calculation of the law of forces, and ultimate results,” said Leonard Swett, and he proved it to Swett “whenever I would get nervous and think things were going wrong.”

He kept a kind of account book of how things were progressing for three, or four months, and he would get out his estimates and show how everything on the great scale of action – the resolutions of legislatures, the instructions of delegates, and things of that character, was going exactly – as he expected. ...It was by ignoring men, and ignoring all small causes, but by closely calculating the tendencies of events and the great forces which were producing logical results.

Persistence, though, is costly. No matter how determined you are, no matter how righteous your enterprise or compelling your goal, no one is so thick-skinned that they are proof against all the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. What saved Lincoln from consuming himself in resentment was his resilience, his willingness to absorb punishment, and then walk away from it. When he was slighted by George McClellan in 1862, John Hay was amazed that Lincoln didn’t pull his over-mighty general’s chain: “I would hold McClellan’s horse,” Lincoln replied, “if only he would give us victories.” Nor did he nurse grudges. An amazed John Hay wrote in his diary, “It seems utterly impossible for the President to conceive of the possibility of any good resulting from a rigorous and exemplary course of punishing political dereliction. His favorite expression is, ‘I am in favor of short statutes of limitations in politics.’” III-will was a luxury for moral spendthrifts, not leaders. “I shall do nothing in malice,” Lincoln wrote in 1862, “What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing.”

It was from these seven characteristics – understanding the issues, loving the drugery, mastering the organization, promoting visibility, persistence, and resilience – that Lincoln rose to address the supreme challenge of his presidency, the event he called “the central act of my administration and the great event of the nineteenth century,” the ending of slavery. There have been, over the last generation, a growing chorus of critics who have taken particular aim at Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, questioning whether Lincoln really lives up to his fabled status as the ‘Great Emancipator.’

Why, they ask, did Lincoln take so long to issue it? The Civil War broke out in 1861; why does Lincoln wait until January 1st, 1863? Justice deferred, after all, is justice denied, and Martin Luther King Jr. taught us from his Birmingham jail cell in 1963 about the injustice of making people wait for justice.

Why is the language of the Proclamation so dull? This is a man capable of giving us the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural; but the Emancipation Proclamation drones on with whereas-es and therefore-es like a probate inventory. The Proclamation, said the American historian (Continued on page 5)
Richard Hofstadter, had “all the moral grandeur of a bill of lading,” and from that Hofstadter and others have concluded that in fact, Lincoln’s heart really wasn’t committed to emancipation, except as useful political window-dressing.

Why are there so many exceptions in the Proclamation? The four slave states of the upper South which had not joined the Confederacy – the so-called ‘border states’ of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and Delaware – were exempted; so were large chunks of Virginia and Louisiana which were under Federal military occupation. Doesn’t that underscore the window-dressing aspect of the Proclamation, since in the places where Lincoln is still in charge, he leaves slavery alone, while freeing slaves in the Confederate states, where he can’t make anything happen? What kind of leadership is that?

Actually, it turns out to have been very good leadership, and this is why.

There is no reason to doubt Lincoln’s longstanding and principled opposition to slavery. “I am naturally anti slavery,” he said in 1864, “If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel.” Slavery cut across everything Lincoln held dear: slavery was a contradiction of the most basic principles of liberty on which the American republic was founded…slavery made working men ashamed of laboring with their hands, because that was ‘slave work’…slavery violated the natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which every creature had hard-wired into their nature by their Creator…and slavery turned decent men into hypocrites, as they tried to explain why in a nation of liberty, four million of its people could be held in forced labor, merely because of their race.

But Lincoln was keenly aware that, even as president of the United States, he had very little real leverage over slavery. Slavery was a product of state laws and state jurisdictions; and in these days before the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, a jurisprudential firewall separated the spheres of state and federal authority. He might hate slavery, “yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling.” In fact, had he taken some form of unilateral action as president against slavery, he would have awakened the following morning to find slaveowners in Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and Delaware crowding the federal courts with demands for injunctions. These suits would, in turn, work their way up the federal court system to the U.S. Supreme Court, where a Marylander, Roger B. Taney, sat as Chief Justice. Taney is notorious to us today as the author of the infamous Dred Scott decision of 1857, denying that black people (much less slaves) could ever be citizens of the United States; and Taney was already rumored to have an opinion pre-written to use against emancipation if Lincoln ever tried it.

Lincoln, however, had two other strings to his anti-slavery bow. One was the state legislatures of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and Delaware. If he could persuade them to adopt an emancipation plan, then the elimination of slavery in those states would remain a strictly state affair, and there would be no opportunity to appeal to the federal courts; and if an emancipation plan could be put into play there, it just might deflate the Confederate war effort and, once the Confederate states were brought back into the Union, become the template for emancipation there, too. Far from waiting in indifference, Lincoln was already pressing an emancipation plan on Delaware as early as November of 1861.

Lincoln’s other string was his constitutional role as ‘Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States.’ It was presumed that this responsibility carried with it the usual military authority to declare martial law, as well as other ‘war powers,’ which might include emancipating slaves if it could be shown that slave emancipation would weaken an enemy militarily. The problem here, though, was that there were no precedents in American constitutional law spelling out these ‘war powers’ or martial law. Tempting as the ‘war powers’ were, it would be judicially safer to appeal to the states to act.

The hitch, of course, was that they refused. And not only did they refuse, but his own armies and generals – especially George Brinton McClellan – were indiscriminately loud in their opposition to any notion of emancipation. By the fall of 1862, it had become apparent that the state plan had stalled, and that the army was becoming, under McClellan, an increasingly unstable political force. So, in September, Lincoln took his political life in his own hands and issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, following it with the full-dress Proclamation on January 1, 1863.

It is precisely because he was on such constitutional thin ice, that Lincoln wrote the proclamation in the most precise legalese he could summon – which also happens to make for some deadly boring prose. But Lincoln could afford no flights of literary eloquence with the prospect of Chief Justice Taney hanging over the whole affair, so boring it is. This also explains the broad swath of exceptions: whatever martial-law authority he might have under the Constitution as ‘commander-in-chief,’ it certainly had no application to areas which were no longer, or never had been, at war with the United States. He had to make the Proclamation air-tight to have any hope of making it stick, and that meant he had to jettison the Border states and the occupied zones.

Lincoln was as aware as anyone else that this was imperfect, from the standpoint of justice. But he was also aware that a purely emotional response to injustice was merely to fly into a brick wall, and perhaps (if Chief Justice Taney got his way) to set back the cause of emancipation even further into the future. Which is why, in the end, he kept working at perfecting emancipation, until finally he was able to persuade Congress to adopt what he called “the king’s cure for the evil” in the form of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, which put slavery beyond the reach of both the states and the courts forever.

If there are any ‘leadership lessons’ to be had from Abraham Lincoln, they will begin with how much Lincoln was guided, not by passion or vision or any of the buzz-words we use to evade the much harder task of thinking, but by knowledge, by mastery of the organization, by persistence, by resilience. And if there really are such ‘lessons,’ chief among them will be how infrequently we find these tools in a single personality like Lincoln’s and how amazing it was that, in the moment of what was unquestionably the nation’s greatest leadership crisis, that there was one American who did have them all.

And if we ever do get any others like this, do me a favor: hire them.
2011 BANQUET SPEAKER

ALLEN C. GUELZO

Dr. Allen C. Guelzo is the Director of Civil War Era Studies and a Professor of History at Gettysburg College in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He was born in Yokohama, Japan, in 1953, and grew up in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. He holds the MA and PhD in history from the University of Pennsylvania.

He is the author of Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President, which won both the Lincoln Prize and the Abraham Lincoln Institute Prize in 2000; Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America, which also won the Lincoln Prize and the Abraham Lincoln Institute Prize, for 2005; Lincoln and Douglas: The Debates That Defined America, which won the Abraham Lincoln Institute Prize for the third time; a volume of essays, Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Ideas, which won a Certificate of Merit from the Illinois State Historical Association in 2010; and Lincoln: A Very Short Introduction (in the Oxford University Press 'Very Short Introductions' series).


He lives in Paoli and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with his wife, Debra.

FEBRUARY 12, 2011 RESERVATIONS

Make your reservations now. Use the easy online reservation method or send your check.

Luncheon: $25 per person. 1:00-2:00 p.m. Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library
Endowment Reception: $75 per person 5:00-6:30 p.m. Winter Garden Room 14th Floor Crowne Plaza Hotel
Banquet Reception (6:00 p.m. Lobby) and Dinner (7:00 Plaza Room): $85 per person. Crowne Plaza Hotel

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Attention: 2011 Banquet Reservations

Questions? Contact Mary Shepherd,
Executive Manager at:
maryshepherd.ala@gmail.com
Or call toll free: 866-865-8500

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LINCOLN BECOMES PRESIDENT
ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE CIVIL WAR

February 11
6:30 p.m. Keynote Address
Brookens Auditorium, University of Illinois, Springfield
Michael F. Holt, University of Virginia
Lincoln's Mistakes as President-elect

February 12
8:30-10:30 a.m. George L. Painter Looking for Lincoln Lectures
Visitor Center, Lincoln Home National Historic Site
Sponsored by the Lincoln Home National Historic Site and Looking for Lincoln
Guy Fraker, Abraham Lincoln and Bloomington, IL
Wayne Temple, Abraham Lincoln and Pittsfield, IL
Staff of Lincoln Log Cabin State Historic Site
Abraham Lincoln and Charleston

11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. ALA Symposium
House of Representatives, Old State Capitol
Jonathan Earle, University of Kansas
The Election of 1860
Jonathan White, University of Maryland
Lincoln, Civil Liberties, and Dissent

1:00-2:00 p.m. Luncheon
Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library
Russell McClintock,
St. John's High School, Shrewsbury, Massachusetts
Lincoln and the Coming of the War
Luncheon reservations required: $25
For reservations go to abrahamlincolnassociation.org or Contact Mary Shepherd 866-865-8500.

2:30-4:00 p.m. Round Table: Lincoln Becomes President
Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library
Jonathan Earle, Michael Holt, Russell McClintock, and Jonathan White
Moderator: Brooks D. Simpson

Evening Events at Crowne Plaza Hotel

5:00-6:30 p.m. Endowment Reception
Winter Garden Room, 14th Floor
6:00 p.m. Banquet Reception, Lobby
7:00 p.m. Banquet, Plaza Room

All lectures free and open to the public, no reservations required.

Additional Sponsors of the ALA Symposium:
Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum
University of Illinois, Springfield
The Old State Capitol
Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

February 13
10:30 a.m. First Presbyterian Church, Springfield
Stewart Winger, Illinois State University
for more information please go to http://lincolnschurch.org

Michael F. Holt
Michael F. Holt is the Langbourne M. Williams Professor of American History at the University of Virginia. He is a political historian with a particular interest in political parties. He is the author of six books, including the award-winning The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party and By One Vote: The Disputed Presidential Election of 1876.

Jonathan Earle
Jonathan Earle is associate professor of American History at the University of Kansas, where he also directs programming at the Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics. He is author of the Routledge Atlas of African American History (2000); Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil (2004), which won the Byron Caldwell Smith Award and the Best First Book Prize from the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic; and John Brown's Raid: A Brief History with Documents (2008). His research interests focus on the antislavery movement and the political events leading up to the Civil War.

Russell McClintock
Russell McClintock earned his Ph.D. from Clark University. His graduate research won the Hay-Nicolay Dissertation Prize from the Abraham Lincoln Institute and the Abraham Lincoln Association, and his recent book, Lincoln and the Decision for War: The Northern Response to Secession, was a Main Selection of the History Book Club, whose readers voted it the best Civil War book of 2008. Dr. McClintock teaches history at St. John's High School in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. He is currently at work on a biography of Stephen A. Douglas.

Jonathan W. White
When one compares the photograph of Abraham Lincoln taken on August 13, 1860, with that taken 6 months later on February 9, 1861, it is apparent that Lincoln’s appearance went through a remarkable transformation. His hair is longer and rather than being combed across the forehead is combed back making a higher forehead. There is hair showing below his right ear at the back of his neck. The beard he began to grow on about October 19, 1860, has begun to fill the lower part of his face, giving it a longer frame. He has become Father Abraham.

Richard E. Hart