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**Case Study
of Ethical Leadership
and Abraham Lincoln**

Revised Plan B Paper
MAL 580
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ABSTRACT OF PLAN B PAPER 1

Case Study of Abraham Lincoln and Ethical Leadership

Jarrold Englebretson

This paper consists of a case study examining the question of Abraham Lincoln and ethical leadership. The definition used in the case study for ethical leadership was a combination of the research of two men, George Shapiro and Peter Kostenbaum. This definition for ethical leadership was then used while looking at certain events, speeches, and writings of Abraham Lincoln both before and during his presidency. The conclusion derived from this analysis is that Abraham Lincoln was an ethical leader and that his leadership should be used as an example of an ethical leader.

Throughout the recent presidential campaign, many candidates spoke about their own personal leadership style and why we, as voters, should elect them to the office. But the leadership style Bill Clinton and Bob Dole found so hard to convince today's public they exhibited, Abraham Lincoln defined by example. By studying several key events of Lincoln's life and presidency, one is able to investigate a man whose actions and words define him as an excellent case study of ethical leadership.

An examination of Abraham Lincoln's life prior to being President and several events which took place during his Presidency, helps one discover to what extent he was an ethical leader. Some of these incidents include his speech at Gettysburg, his second inaugural address, the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus by the President, and the war campaign of General Sherman. Each of these events can be linked to the definitions and characteristics which George Shapiro and Peter Kostenbaum have provided in defining ethical leadership.

According to George Shapiro at the University of Minnesota, an ethical leader is best described by several common characteristics. He states that ethical leaders express a strong commitment to the mission, express a strong respect for and caring about the individual, are seen to be competent, informed people, express the belief that bad means cannot result in good ends, are seen as people with integrity, report that they experience periods of extreme lonely times, express as their core value their belief in the right to dignity of all persons, show a willingness to laugh at themselves, and report having role models early in their lives. While each of these characteristics is important, it is the collective presence of these traits embodied in the core of a leader which define him/her as an ethical leader.

Ethics as it relates to leadership is also defined by Peter Kostenbaum in his book Leadership: The Inner Side of Greatness. Although ethics is only one of four parts to Kostenbaum's Leadership Diamond Theory, his analysis does provide a good background to the study of ethical leadership. Kostenbaum breaks ethics into four levels: professional, social, psychological, and philosophical. Kostenbaum is looking at ethics on a professional level as teamwork or the ability to accomplish tasks through people working together. On a social level, Kostenbaum describes ethical leadership as meaningful or a sincere interest in work for oneself and others. Kostenbaum also describes this as making a commitment. Ethics, as it relates to Kostenbaum's physiological level, pertains to service, mentoring, making others successful, and showing compassion. Lastly, Kostenbaum describes ethics on a philosophical level as "integrity, morality, and principle. It is adherence to core values" (Kostenbaum 90 - 91).

Even though these two men have given us what seem to be very complete lists of the characteristics of an ethical leader, it seems that ethical leadership can often be best summarized as compassionate leadership. Ethical leaders are focused upon the overall mission and realize that the only way to meet that goal is to respect the process, not allowing unethical ways influence decisions along the way. They don't want other people getting hurt, even if it would mean reaching the goal faster. A compassionate leader focuses on the idea that all people should be treated fairly and equally. A compassionate leader understands that the best way to be a leader is through his/her own integrity. A compassionate or ethical leader will always put others and their rights before his or her own. Kostenbaum states "Credible leaders remember their promises, keep them, and expect the same of others. . . .an ethical leader is sensitive to people. That insight becomes part of the formula statement: that ethics means service."

(Kostenbaum 91-92) Abraham Lincoln is the type of leader whom both Kostenbaum and Shapiro describe through their analyses. By reviewing the honored president's life and work, the traits these two men outline in their respective research and analysis become even more apparent.

In examining Abraham Lincoln as an ethical leader, it is first important to look at his early life, which gives a general background to his character as an ethical leader. Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809 in rural Kentucky. He was the middle child of three children and his family moved several times in his early life. Lincoln finally settled in a small rural town near Springfield, Illinois in 1830. Lincoln lived a hard life, losing his younger brother in infancy, his mother in 1818, and his sister in 1828. He never really got along with his father and rarely mentions him in any of his writings. Lincoln had very little formal education and learned the things he needed as he went along in life. This is significant because it shows that he had to work hard for the things he accomplished in his life. It also gives us some insight that he may have had some lonely times in his life. Even though Shapiro mentions loneliness as a common trait of ethical leaders while they are in a leadership position, Lincoln's early life can also serve to support his ethical leadership.

In addition to his rather dysfunctional family background, Lincoln lived much of his early life in poverty. This is important because this became a symbol to the people who elected him to office in the Illinois legislature in 1834. The people trusted him because he was one of them, a common person. Lincoln served in the legislature until 1838 when he left to become a lawyer. Lincoln practiced law for many years in Springfield. He married Mary Todd in 1842 and, over the course of their lives together, they had four sons. Only one of these boys lived to be older than the age of 18. All of

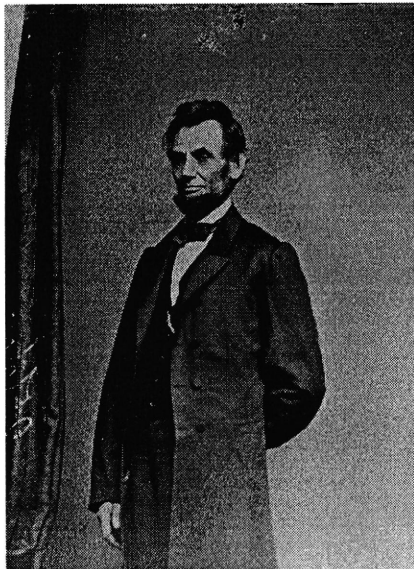
this shows again that his life was not one of wealth and prosperity and allowed Lincoln to connect to the everyday population when dealing with issues.

In 1847, Lincoln was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served only one term. In 1856, Lincoln ran against Steven Douglas for the Illinois Senate seat. Lincoln lost this election but the debates between him and Douglas during the campaign made Lincoln a national figure. Lincoln eventually was nominated as the Republican candidate to run for the President of the United States in 1860.

One of the characteristics both Shapiro and Kostenbaum discuss is the importance of role models. While Kostenbaum suggests that being a role model is an important aspect of ethical leadership, Shapiro makes the argument that having a mentor is important. Abraham Lincoln was not unusual in this aspect as he did have several role models. One of the most prominent seems to be Henry Clay.

Throughout Lincoln's political career, he became an avid admirer of Henry Clay. In many senses, one could argue that Clay was a mentor to Lincoln. His admiration for Henry Clay is best shown in the eulogy Lincoln delivered for him. Lincoln spoke, "Mr. Clay's predominant sentiment, from first to last, was a deep devotion to the cause of human liberty - a strong sympathy with the oppressed every where, and an ardent wish for their elevation. With him, this was a primary and all controlling passion. Subsidiary to this was the conduct of his whole life." (Lincoln on Democracy 51-52) Lincoln continued, ". . .and cause he saw in such (the country), the advancement, prosperity and glory, of human liberty, human right and human nature. He desired the prosperity of his countrymen partly because they were his countrymen, but chiefly to show to the world that freemen could be prosperous." (Lincoln on Democracy 52)

Lincoln also spoke of Clay during one of his debates with Stephen Douglas in 1858 when Lincoln said, “. . . Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life - Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. . . .” (Lincoln on Democracy 126) These speeches are significant because they present an accurate picture of how Lincoln was inspired in his views and ideology of liberty for all people, one of the key traits outlined by Shapiro in his description of an ethical leader.



Integrity is another quality of an ethical leader that both Shapiro and Kostenbaum discuss. Integrity can be defined as doing the right and just thing in any situation. One of the most famous nicknames ever given Lincoln was the title “Honest Abe”. This nickname was derived when Lincoln was a younger man in the 1830’s. He and another man, William Berry, decided to own and run a general store. Within a couple of years “the store winked out” (Phillips 51)

as Lincoln put it.

In 1835, William Berry died leaving Lincoln with the responsibility of dealing with the \$1,000 debt Berry had acquired. Lincoln vowed to pay back every part of the money and he carried through with that vow until all the money was repaid. Kostenbaum states, “the moral person is motivated by what is right, and not by what feels good.”

(Kostenbaum 91) Through his actions in assuming his partner's debt, Lincoln demonstrates his integrity, a core value of ethical leaders.

Lincoln's integrity didn't stop simply with debt repayment, however. The nickname resurfaced during his career as a lawyer. About 1850, Lincoln wrote this statement regarding a feeling that lawyers are generally dishonest: "Let no young man, choosing the law for a calling, for a moment yield to this popular belief. Resolve to be honest at all events; and if, in your own judgment, you can not be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation." (Donald 149)

When he ran for President in 1860, the term was used as a campaign slogan. When he was elected and took over the office, Lincoln continued practicing this set of values. Lincoln once said, "Stand with anybody that stands right, stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong." (Phillips 54) What is most significant about Lincoln and his integrity focuses on his ability to not only talk about honesty, but also to live it. This was key to the respect that many people had for Lincoln. By him telling people the truth, no matter good or bad, he was able to earn the support of not only the persons who worked with him, but also the American public.

Another of the characteristics that Shapiro describes in defining ethical leadership is commitment to the mission. Kostenbaum also discusses this under the social level analysis of ethical leadership. Throughout his life, Lincoln continually had a purpose or mission he was working toward.

One of his first objectives was in the beginning of his career as a lawyer and legislator. Lincoln was always a big proponent of the common people. He felt that government was designed to protect and be a body for people to govern themselves.

He realized that, oftentimes, the more well to do often ran the country at the expense of the common people. An example of Lincoln's commitment to the good of the common people came in one letter he wrote in 1839 defending increased taxation for the wealthy. Lincoln wrote, ". . . the wealthy can not justly complain, because the change is equitable within itself . . . If, however, the wealthy should . . . complain of the charge, it is to be remembered, that they are not sufficiently numerous to carry the elections." (Lincoln on Democracy 24-25)

Lincoln believed that purpose of the government was to help and serve its people. He was fervently committed to this mission. This is apparent in a letter he wrote in 1854 which states: "The legitimate object of government, is to do for a community of people, whatever they need to have done, but can not do, at all, or not, so well do, for themselves - in their separate, and individual capacities." (Lincoln on Democracy 64) As his life continued to progress, Lincoln's mission evolved and changed. Even though his mission changed, however, his level of commitment never seemed to fluctuate.

One of his most publicized commitments during his Presidency related to the issue of slavery. Lincoln felt that the real debate was not based on the moral issue of slavery, but that it centered around the question of whether slavery be allowed to continue to expand outside the Southern states. One of the most powerful speeches Lincoln gave on this subject was given in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Lincoln said "I wish to MAKE and to KEEP the distinction between the EXISTING institution, and the EXTENSION of it, so broad, and so clear, that no honest man can misunderstand me, and no dishonest one, successfully misrepresent me." (Lincoln on Democracy 65) He continued, "Whether slavery shall go into Nebraska, or other new

territories, is not a matter of exclusive concern to the people who may go there. The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these territories. We want them for the homes of free white people. This they cannot be, to any considerable extent, if slavery shall be planted within them". (Lincoln on Democracy 73) Lincoln continued to be committed to the mission to end the expansion of slavery for the next four years.

The issue finally reached a crisis level in Lincoln's famous speech on June 16, 1858. He said, "We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free." (Lincoln on Democracy 105)

When Abraham Lincoln was sworn in as the sixteenth President in March of 1861, he immediately had to redirect his attention to the issue of several southern states seceding from the Union and forming the Confederate States of America. His mission of ending slavery was put on hold, but never forgotten, while he focused on a more immediate concern. Now his primary mission was to reunite the country under one government as established by the Constitution. The new mission was not one of choice, but was given to him by the events of the times.

Lincoln, who believed in the strong ideas of the Constitution and principles of the founders of the country, believed that the only way for the United States to survive as a country was for all the states to be as one again. He stated this in his first inaugural address in March of 1861;

"I take the official oath today with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional." (Lincoln on Democracy 203)

He also believed that the Constitution of the United States did not allow states the right to leave the Union. Lincoln continued in his first inaugural address:

"It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that Resolves and Ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it WILL Constitutionally defend and maintain itself." (Lincoln on Democracy 204)

As such, Lincoln wanted to make sure that the Southern states knew exactly how he felt and that he would try to get them back into the Union through a compromise rather than a war. In this address, Lincoln adamantly stated his support of following the letter of the law as written in the Constitution in not allowing individual states to disconnect themselves from the Union. Lincoln again said in his first inaugural address:

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to

their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them." (Lincoln on Democracy 201-202)

Unfortunately, Lincoln was not able to avoid a civil war. By July of 1862, war was in progress and Lincoln's mission once again changed from simply getting the Southern states to rejoin the Union, to winning the war and thus forcing the Southern states to become part of the Union once again.

Another significant event which gives a clear example of Lincoln and his commitment to the mission of reuniting the country was his second inaugural address. In this speech, Lincoln focuses on what comes after the war. He is attempting to gain support from both sides in embracing his mission, for a peaceful reunification of the states. His address states:

"Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered--that of neither has been answered fully. . . . Fondly do we hope--fervently do we pray--that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away." (Lincoln on Democracy 341-342)

Lincoln's message is a transition from war to peace. It stresses that regardless of which side people were on, they needed to remember that they were fighting for the same thing, their right for freedom.

One of the most compassionate mission statements ever made by Lincoln in an effort to gain support for his goal of reunifying the states was part of his Gettysburg address. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania was the sight of one of the most significant battles of the Civil War. The battle took place from July 1-3, 1863 and by the end, nearly 50,000 men were dead or missing. After the battle ended, the dead were buried in shallow graves where they lay rotting in the July heat.

Over the course of the next few months, it was decided to develop an honorary cemetery to bury the men who died in this battle. Once the spot was selected and plans developed, the gruesome task of digging up the corpses and reburying them began. Soldiers were buried according to the state they represented, with one big grave for those whose identity was unknown. The effect this scene held on the people of Gettysburg, as well as others in the North, was traumatizing. People were truly horrified by the results of war.

Finally, by November, the cemetery was coming towards completion and plans were being developed to put together a ceremony to dedicate the new cemetery and honor the men buried there. An invitation was sent to Abraham Lincoln under the assumption that he would not accept the offer. But during this period of time, much dissent was coming from the people of the United States looking for justification for the continued slaughter of so many people. Lincoln's popularity and the public's support for the war were slowly declining. Lincoln decided that this might be the right opportunity for him to try to rally support once again for the war effort and he agreed to speak at the dedication ceremony.

Lincoln was given a summary of the events taking place in Gettysburg and the reaction of the people to them. Lincoln struggled with his speech. He wanted to keep

the speech to a minimum length and focus the speech around the commitment to the mission of the war and the future of the country. His speech was organized into four sections, past, present, renewal, and future in order to best accomplish his goal of giving a purpose for the war, the reunification of the country. The Gettysburg Address states:

(Past)

Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation: conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

(Present)

Now we are engaged in a great civil war. . . testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated. . . can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that this nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

(Renewal)

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate. . . we cannot consecrate. . . we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us. . . that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion. . . that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain. . .

(Future)

that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom. . . and that government of the people. . . by the people. . . for the people. . . shall not perish from this earth. (Lincoln on Democracy)

In the beginning of his speech, Lincoln refers the founders who developed the form of democracy that is being tested by the war. From this point, he goes into the reason why they are all gathered at this place, the civil war which still rages on. Lincoln continues by talking about dedicating these men to the cause of liberty and freedom. But in a larger

sense, he talks about how the men and women of this society must not only remember the dead, but must also remember the living who fought at these places as well.

Lincoln discussed that the men fought to keep the idea of democracy alive and that they fought very honorably, to the point that they would rather die for the cause than be considered cowards for not fighting. He continued by saying that the living must also learn from these men and to use this burial site as a source of learning. The living must never forget what these men have done in order to save their freedom. The last part of Lincoln's speech delves into the concept that the reason for which these men died would not be in vain. Rather, the country would not subside but would continue onward in the ideal of freedom for its citizens. Lincoln was successfully able to use the grieving for dead men as a symbol of the fight for the freedom of democracy and his vision of a reunited country.

There is another important aspect of this speech, however, as it relates to being an ethical leader: the characteristics of respect and caring for the individual and the right of dignity of all persons. Throughout his address, Lincoln refers to the people, those who died and those who must continue the fight for freedom. The most striking thing about his speech is that, in the beginning, his references to people are very gender specific. Using such words as "fathers" and "men". But by the end of the speech, he uses a gender neutral word, "people". He is clearly keeping all persons, regardless of race or gender, in mind as the group that will make up the new country. In addition to the gender words, Lincoln consciously never used any words referring to the Union, Confederacy, the North, or the South. Lincoln wanted his speech to be a symbol for peace and a symbol of respect and dignity for all people.

Probably the most notable example of this is Lincoln's views on slavery. At the beginning of his political career, Lincoln sided with many people early in his life, which

felt the only way to resolve the slavery issue was to deport all slaves to the country of Liberia and rid the United States of the slavery problem once and for all.

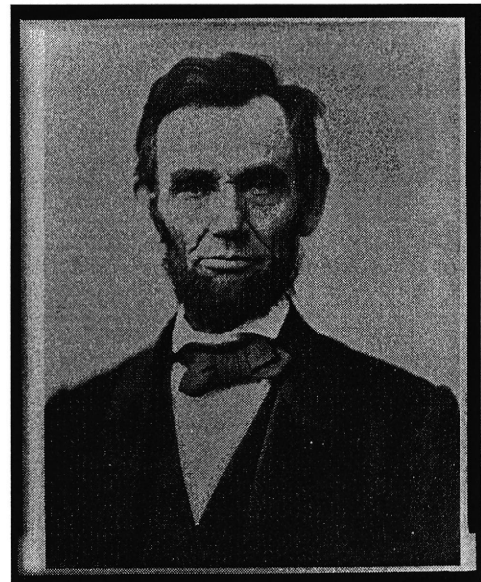
Regardless of whether or not the slaves stayed in the United States, Lincoln didn't believe that men should own other persons, which he made very explicit in a letter he wrote in 1854. Lincoln stated:

“If A can prove, however conclusively, that he may, of right, enslave B - why may not B snatch the same argument, and prove equally, that he may enslave A?

You say A is white, and B is black. It is color, then; the lighter, having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with fairer skin than your own.

You do not mean color exactly? - You mean whites are intellectually the superiors of blacks, and , therefore have the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own.” (Lincoln on Democracy 63)

Lincoln's opinion of slavery continued to evolve as he progressed through his life. Many years after Lincoln's death, a hand written piece of paper was found with these words on it: “As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.” (Lincoln on Democracy 121) It is thought that this was written by Lincoln in the year



1858, but the date has never been confirmed. Central to his ideas on slavery was Lincoln's dignity for all humanity, a key characteristic of ethical leadership.

That respect and dignity for all persons led Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 in which he states:

“And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense” (Lincoln on Democracy 271-272)

One of the major reasons Lincoln issued the proclamation freeing the slaves was to change the focus of the war. Lincoln felt that the only way he had the authority to free the slaves was to consider them as property “seized” by war. Even though he saw them as property, it appears that Lincoln truly thought that, because of his belief in God and his belief in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, equality included all people regardless of color. He considered equality of all the foundation of the United States, a right established by the Constitution. Lincoln said “ I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence.” (Phillips 53) Through these events, Lincoln shows his deep respect for all individuals which is another attribute of an ethical leader.

Another example of Lincoln's respect for the individual came during his second inaugural address in March of 1865. By this time, the war seemed to be coming to an end, and it looked more and more like the Union would win. Lincoln now needed to change his focus to reconstruction of the country. In his speech, he makes it very clear that he does not intend to punish the South for its actions, but rather forgive them in the hopes that the country can move forward. He states: “With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall

have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan--to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.”(Lincoln on Democracy 342) With these words, Lincoln shows he cared about the well being of all people in a troubled time. This shows he is a very compassionate leader.

Being a competent, informed leader is another attribute of ethical leadership according to Shapiro. Lincoln was noted as one of the most hard working men to have ever held the office of President. A large portion of this work came from Lincoln’s quest for information. He prided himself on knowing what was happening in the war as well as what the people throughout about him and his leadership. This is evident in the beginning of his presidency when Lincoln was reported to “scan and digest all the morning paper that reached the White House. Finding that too time consuming, he instructed his secretaries to prepare a digest of the news for his perusal.” (Donald 310)

Lincoln continued his pursuit for information in other ways as well. One of these was to allow visitors to the White House on a random basis to speak to the President. These “public opinion baths” (Donald 390) as Lincoln said, allowed him to get a strong feel of how the public was reacting to the policies and actions he was executing. The final part of Lincoln’s day was often spent working late into the night in the telegraph office of the War Department. Here he would read all the latest intelligence being transmitted from the battle lines. Because of this hard work and never ending search for information, Lincoln was able to be a very competent and informed leader.

Another characteristic of ethical leadership according to Shapiro and Kostenbaum is the ability to find meaning in ones work and life. Kostenbaum describes this further as the ability to accomplish many tasks through teamwork. Lincoln also believed in teamwork when it came to government. Lincoln believed that the

government belonged to the people and as such the people should work together to help run the government. This was never clearer than in his first inaugural address where he said:

“This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their CONSTITUTIONAL right of amending it, or their REVOLUTIONARY right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.” (Lincoln on Democracy 208)

What Lincoln is saying in this section of his address is that it is up to the people to collectively decide when an issue with the government arises. In addition, it is up to the people to work within the laws to accomplish that change, but by doing so, make it a joint effort of all people.

Lincoln continued to express this view in his first inaugural address by saying:

“In YOUR hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in MINE, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail YOU. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. YOU have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to “preserve, protect, and defend it.” I am loathe to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.” (Lincoln on Democracy 209)

Lincoln calls to action the entire public, making them all accountable in helping him choose the mission of his four years in office. He truly wants them to decide if the

country can resolve the issue of slavery peacefully, or if it must be decided by a civil war.

An additional characteristic Shapiro uses to describe an ethical leader is the belief that bad means cannot result in good ends. This trait can be examined as it relates to two instances from Lincoln's presidency during the war. Even though it was not Lincoln's choice alone to use war as the method of resolving the slavery issue, this is one time he did not appear to exhibit ethical leadership. There are two specific examples where Lincoln uses bad means to justify the ends. The first dealt with Lincoln's immediate suspension of the privilege of Habeas Corpus.

The writ of Habeas Corpus guarantees protection against unwarranted arrest by the military or police and against detainment without a fair trial. Suspension of Habeas Corpus can only be done through approval of Congress, according to the Constitution. This suspension of Habeas Corpus was exercised as a result of one of the first major problems Lincoln encountered, involving the states of Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and Delaware. These states lay on the border between the North and the South, and Lincoln felt it was imperative to keep these states in the Union. His first major initiative moved troops through Maryland. But opposition to Lincoln and the North arose in Baltimore. In order to avoid unnecessary tension, Lincoln and the governor of Maryland made an agreement to route troops around Baltimore, if Maryland remained in the Union. The plan worked, but during this diversion, many citizens from Baltimore, including John Merryman, spoke out against the Union and against Lincoln and were arrested by the military and detained without a trial.

John Merryman was arrested and held prisoner in Fort McHenry under General George Cadwalader. During this time, Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney was

working the circuit in the District Court in Baltimore. Taney, a Jacksonian appointment from Maryland, was outraged by Lincoln's actions and immediately issued a writ of Habeas Corpus to bring Merryman before him in court. General Cadwalader refused to obey the writ by the authorization of the President.

Taney became infuriated with Lincoln and in his decision, Ex Parte Merryman, wrote that under no circumstances could he justify the President's actions. He stated specifically that only Congress had the power to suspend Habeas Corpus and that the President had over stepped his Constitutional boundary. One analogy Taney made in his opinion stated "a power which the Queen of England cannot exercise at this day and which could not have been lawfully exercised by the sovereign even in the reign of Charles the First." (Ex Parte Merryman). When word of this decision reached President Lincoln, he ignored Taney and his argument and continued to order the holding of Merryman. It is this action by Lincoln which does not fit the definition of an ethical leader or the character exhibited by Lincoln up to this situation.

During the next few months, the arrests and suspension of Habeas Corpus continued to many of the people who spoke out against the Lincoln and the Union. After hearing more and more opposition to his actions, President Lincoln did attempt to get Congress to officially suspend the privilege. In an extra session of Congress on July 4, 1861, a message was read to Congress on behalf of President Lincoln. In his message, Lincoln very carefully argued that the situation which the Union faced was a rebellion, which threatened the public safety. He said, "To state the question more directly, are all the laws, but one, to go unexecuted, and the government itself to go to pieces, lest that one be violated? Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken, if the government should be overthrown, when it was believed that disregarding the single law,

would tend to preserve it?" (Lincoln on Democracy 280) Clearly Lincoln justifies his actions by claiming the Southern states which seceded have disobeyed the law far more than he and that the ends justify the means in this case.

Congress' explanation of Lincoln's actions did not come as easily as Chief Justice Taney's, however. It took Congress two years before coming to a conclusion about whether the actions of the President stepped beyond Constitutional limits. During that time, several bills were introduced to both Houses giving the President the authority to suspend Habeas Corpus. The bills lost support of the Congressmen during the extra session and failed to be passed. During the next session of Congress, another set of resolutions was introduced, but again the session came to a close without any action on this important issue.

Finally during the next session, Congress agreed on a joint resolution and on March 3, 1863, Congress passed the Habeas Corpus Act. In this act, Congress was very careful to not make the rightfulness of Lincoln the issue. Instead, they centered the issue on the question of who had the power to suspend the right. Congress asserted its right to suspend the right, but gave the President the authority to carry out the action since that was the specific role of Executive Branch. Lincoln finally had the authorization by Congress which made his actions ethical. The ironic part of this situation with Congress is that, during the time Congress debated and failed to settle the issue, Lincoln continued to suspend the right himself.

Another case involved a man by the name of Cletet Vallandigham from Ohio. Vallandigham was a member of a group known as the Copperheads, a group opposed to the Lincoln administration and the war, who expressed their opinions openly and frequently. Vallandigham was arrested, tried by a military commission, and found guilty in

early 1863. When Vallandigham's lawyer requested a writ of Habeas Corpus be issued by the District Court in Cincinnati, Justice Leavitt took an unusual route in denying the writ. Rather than simply issuing the writ following normal judicial procedure, he contacted General Burnside who arrested Vallandigham under the authority of President Lincoln. Justice Leavitt asked the General why he arrested Vallandigham and if he could release the man if a writ was issued. Although Burnside had no specific orders to arrest Vallandigham, he stated that the country was at a state of war and that he would not release the man to the court due to public safety.

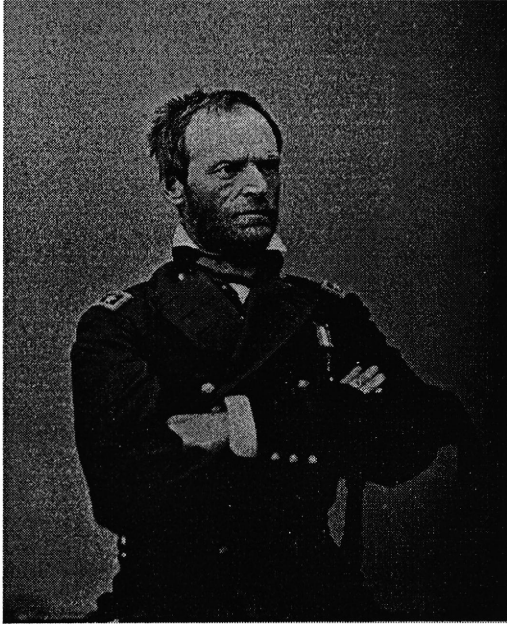
Because of the Vallandigham incident, public concern began to rise. On May 19, 1863, a committee of Democrats from New York met in Albany and adopted several resolutions in regard to the Vallandigham arrest, along with other arrests which were taking place. In a letter to President Lincoln, the committee wrote “. . . that being of a patriotic manner and not committing treason against the United States, we disagree with the actions of the military”. These resolutions specifically pertained to the arrests and suspension of Habeas Corpus by the government. What is interesting about these resolutions is how the committee doesn't directly accuse Lincoln about the suspension. This appears to come largely because of the impact these arrests had on the people of the country. Again these actions do not fit the description of Lincoln as an ethical leader.

President Lincoln responded personally in a letter to the committee dated June 12, 1863. In the letter, Lincoln explained the reasons behind his actions. More specifically, he outlines the clause of the Constitution which relates to Habeas Corpus and gives his interpretation. His main argument is based on the premise that this is a time of war and is a case of rebellion and that it endangers the public safety. Lincoln also goes on to explain

that he is by no means changing the Constitution, but only interpreting it differently to secure the public safety.

In his first inaugural address Lincoln stated “I do not forget the position, assumed by some, that Constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government.” (Lincoln on Democracy 207) In a larger sense, Lincoln was explaining that he still held the constitution in the highest regard but the war was a threat to public safety and as such the higher goal, to win the war, takes precedence over certain rights even though the way he went about it was technically unlawful.

The Vallandigham Case reached the Supreme Court of the United States in 1864 and by this time Chief Justice Taney, who was the main opponent to Lincoln on this issue, was ill and unable to be on the court. In their decision handed down on February 15, 1864, the Supreme Court reported that they had no authority to issue a writ of review of the proceedings of a military commission. Thus they denied the review of the military decision. The opinion of the court was written by Justice Wayne and Justices Nelson, Grier, and Field concurred notably, but there is no record of any Justices dissenting. It appears that this decision came mainly to settle the issue. There seems to be no real leadership on the court and in order to prevent a rift between the President and the court, they simply said they had no jurisdiction. The whole suspension of Habeas Corpus and the circumstances which follow make it seem as though Lincoln knew he was not being ethical or lawful and yet neither Congress nor the Supreme Court was willing to challenge Lincoln on his actions.



Another event that took place during the Lincoln administration which also suggests that Lincoln was not concerned so much with the way the war was won, but rather that the war was won. This event centered around the actions of Major General William Tecumseh Sherman. The year was 1864 and Lincoln was facing reelection. He wrote "I am going to be beaten and unless some great change takes

place, badly beaten." (Ward 321) As such, earlier he made General Grant the commander of all the Union's forces with the express goal of ending the war. As part of his strategy, Grant knew he would have to hit hard into the heart of the confederate South. He also knew that he would have to weaken the Confederate Army by destroying any resources the South provided them. Grant knew Sherman was just the person for the job.

The first of Sherman's target was the city of Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta was seen as a prize just a little less valuable than Richmond, Virginia, the capital city of the Confederacy, and actually offered more to the war cause than Richmond. Atlanta played a significant role during the war. It was one of the most fortified cities in the South and served as a distributor of resources for the Confederate army. Supplies were shipped into Atlanta from various ports in the South by way of railroad. From Atlanta, nicknamed "Gate City of the South", supplies could be sent to any army needing supplies around the area. In addition, Atlanta served as the second most important manufacturing city for the South.

Sherman began his offensive from Chattanooga, Tennessee and followed a major railroad line which connected Chattanooga and Atlanta. As Sherman and his army moved farther and farther south, he continued to order the destruction of anything which could conceivably aid the Confederate army. This included railroad tracks which were heated and bent into a bow, nicknamed the "Sherman tie". In addition to the destruction of industrial sites, Sherman also ordered the burning of crops and the death of livestock only after his men got the supplies they needed. The plan was to leave nothing for the Confederates to have.

The plan worked, and Sherman's army took Atlanta on September 1, 1864. It is this victory which swung support back for Lincoln and caused him to win reelection. But Sherman's contribution to the war did not end in Atlanta. Grant and Sherman decided that one way to really hurt the Confederate will was for Sherman to march from Atlanta to Savannah and pillage the land as he went. Before Sherman left Atlanta, however, he ordered all citizens to evacuate the city. A soldier writes "the roads were filled with loaded wagons of old and decrepit people, who had been hunted and hounded from their homes with relentless cruelty." (Ward 340). After the people left, Sherman and his men burned one third of the city and destroyed any and all industrial factories and railroads. Atlanta was left as a smoldering shell of a city. Sherman said as he left Atlanta, "Behind us lay Atlanta, smoldering and in ruins, the black smoke rising high in the air, and hanging like a pall. . . ." (Ward 340).

Sherman left Atlanta on November 16, 1864 and headed toward Savannah, Georgia. "We have devoured the land and our animals eat up the wheat and cornfields close. All the people retire before us and desolation is behind. To realize what war is one should follow our tracks." Sherman said in June 26, 1864 (Ward 322) Sherman's

methods of warfare were not done until his time. He believed that the only way to defeat the South and the Confederate Army was to crush the will of the civilian population. Sherman stated "We cannot change the hearts of these people of the South, but we can make war so terrible . . .and make them so *sick* of war that generations [will] pass away before they again appeal to it." (Ward 342)

What resulted was a free for all among the men who followed Sherman's orders to march to Savannah. One soldier remembered "We had a gay old campaign. Destroyed all we could not eat, stole their niggers, burned their cotton and gins, spilled their sorghum, burned and twisted their railroads and raised Hell, generally." (Ward 342) A woman left to run a plantation while her husband fought in the war recalled how the Union army acted:

"Like Demons they rushed in!. . . To my Smoke House, my dairy, pantry, kitchen and cellar, like famished wolves they come, breaking locks and whatever is in their way. The thousand pounds of meat in my smoke house is gone. . .my flour, my meat, my lard, butter, eggs, pickles. . wine, jars and jugs are all gone." (Ward 343) Another woman stated "the lurid flames of burning [houses] lit up the heavens. . .I could stand out on the verandah and for two or three miles watch [the Yankees] as they came on. I could mark when they reached the residence of each and every friend on the road." (Ward 343)

Account after account mirrors much of the same kinds of events during Sherman's march. One Union soldier wrote "The cruelties practiced on this campaign toward the citizens have been enough to blast a more sacred cause than ours. We hardly deserve success." (Ward 344) On December 22, 1864 the Union army arrived in Savannah after crossing 425 miles of land from Atlanta. Sherman sent Lincoln a telegram which stated "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition; also, about 25,000 bales of cotton." (Ward 348) The cost of this

present to Lincoln came at cost of about \$100 million of damage. One woman, Mary Chestnut, wrote "They say no living thing is found in Sherman's track, only chimneys, like telegraph poles, to carry the news of [his] attack backwards" (Ward 344)

It appears that if Lincoln was a truly ethical and compassionate leader, he would not have allowed these types of actions by Sherman to occur, or at least not to the magnitude they did. Sherman didn't stop at Savannah, however, and on January 17, 1865 moved north to Columbia, South Carolina. In less than one month he took the city of Columbia and, like Atlanta the city was set ablaze. Both sides blamed each other for starting the fires but, nonetheless, Sherman was not sorry. He stated "Though I never ordered it, and never wished it, I have never shed any tears over the event, because I believe that it hastened what we all fought for, the end of the war." (Ward 359)

The ironic part of Sherman's capture of Atlanta, the march to Savannah, and the seizure of Columbia which followed was that, in Lincoln's first inaugural address, he endorsed not hurting people's personal property during the war. Lincoln spoke about defending the Constitution and the Union, "In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none unless forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me, will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property, and place belonging to the government. . . but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion - no using of force against, or among the people anywhere." (Lincoln on Democracy 204-205) It is this campaign and the suspension of Habeas Corpus which seem to demonstrate the use of bad means for achieving good ends, the end of the war. These events appear very out of character for Lincoln, who was very much supportive of the rights of the people and always concerned about their well-being.

While showing his commitment to the mission of ending slavery and encouraging reunification of the states as one nation, he somewhat lost sight, as an ethical leader, of the means he supported to achieve his noble goals. The one area that became unclear is when one looks at the characteristic of ethical leadership and whether the means justify the ends. One could argue that the higher goal, the unification of the Union, was significant enough to warrant Lincoln's actions with Habeas Corpus and Sherman's campaigns in the South. Unfortunately, little is written, either by Lincoln or others, as to what the President thought or felt about these two events. This could definitely warrant further examination.

But even though Lincoln was not always perfect in his execution of ethical leadership, he clearly exhibited a great majority of the qualities an ethical leader possess. Lincoln took over the presidency at a time when the country was facing the biggest crisis of its history, the civil war. Lincoln was able to keep his ethics in mind when it came to dealing with the issues surrounding the war. It appears from his speeches and writings that he felt very torn managing the extreme hardship the war put on all people, both North and South. In fact, based upon his first inaugural speech, Lincoln would have preferred a peaceful compromise to the issue of slavery and secession, rather than war.

Unfortunately this was not to be. The Civil War was the most costly of any war in which the United States has ever participated. It took over 620,000 lives, all of which were Americans. But human life was not the only casualty. By the end of the war, the South lost one-quarter of white men, two-fifths of its livestock, and two-thirds of its wealth. This country, especially the South, was in terrible shape. The wounds, both physical and psychological, ran very deep in the people who endured the long war.

The Lincoln presidency has been studied by many people over past 130 years. In that time, numerous books have been written on Lincoln as a person and the policies he endorsed in public service. While there are many books on Lincoln's life and presidency, a good, thorough examination of Lincoln's leadership has yet to be written. His leadership style, particularly his ethical leadership, should be a source of study for all those looking at leadership as a whole. Lincoln proved that even in the face of the destruction of that about which he cared most, the nation and democracy, being an ethical leader could be done.

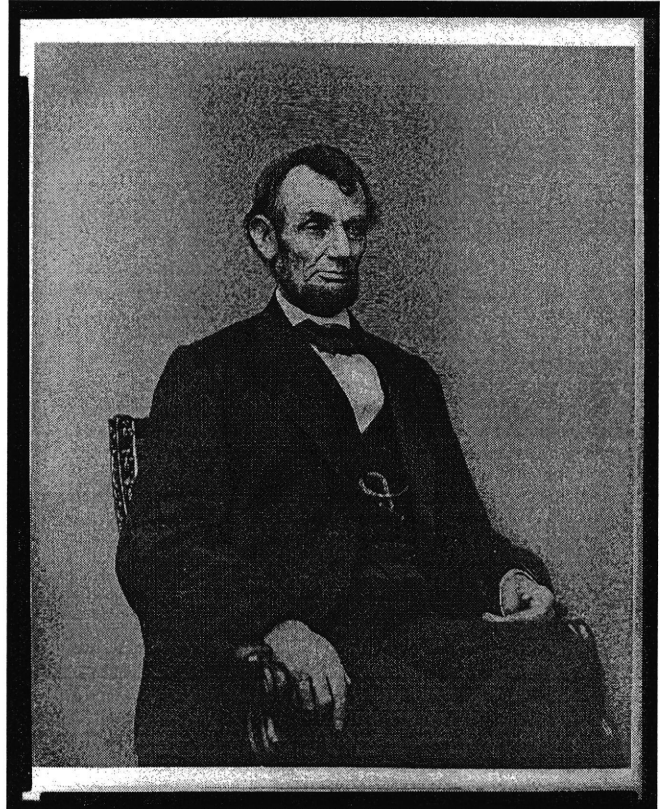
Lincoln had many opportunities to sway from his ethics, yet he chose not to stray from them very far. He continued to address his commitment to the mission, no matter what that goal was through his life and the war. Lincoln also held the highest respect for the individual and maintained his compassion for all persons, regardless of color, whether others agreed or disagreed with him. Only during a couple of instances did Lincoln appear to forget his compassion and ethics for his fellow man and woman.

Abraham Lincoln was a very complex man in many ways, even though on the surface he appeared to be simplistic. One thing that can be credited to him as president is that he always thought things through very thoroughly. Lincoln was the type of person who seemed to always put others and their needs before his own. Lincoln appeared to genuinely value life and the people he served in public office. As part of that service, Lincoln's ethics always put him above those around him. Only in a few cases can it be shown that he was not an ethical man.

Lincoln tried to inspire the people closest to him and across the country whenever possible. His numerous speeches stated and restated the purpose for the war. These messages continued to give a purpose to the fighting. But even as the war continued, Lincoln looked beyond the fighting to see a reunited country, one where all people got

along once again. It is because of these events and characteristics Lincoln exhibited, that a study of Lincoln and his leadership serve as a good example of ethical leadership.

Horace Greenly, a newspaper man, summed up Lincoln's leadership best when he wrote after Lincoln's death, "He was not born king of men . . . but a child of the common people, who made himself a great persuader, therefore a leader, by dint of firm resolve, patient effort, and dogged perseverance. He slowly won his way to eminence and fame by doing the work that lay next to him - doing it with all his growing might - doing it as well as he could, and learning by his failure,



when failure was encountered, how to do it better. He was open to all impressions and influences, and gladly profited by the teachings of events and circumstances, no matter how adverse or unwelcome." (Thomas 524)

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