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EXPLORING A DEFINITION OF LEADERSHIP
AND THE BIOGRAPHY OF DR. FRANK B. WYNN

By

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Dissertation

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract Title: Exploring a Definition of Leadership and The Biography of Dr. Frank B. Wynn.

Chairperson: Dr. Merle Farrier

Frank B. Wynn was a leader in the first decades of the 20th Century. In the process of establishing timeless leadership standards for reconstructing his biography, it became apparent that no such standard existed, owing to more than 300 definitions of leadership at the end of the 20th century. The central research question asked what elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, and if those elements can be illuminated in a specific example of a leader examined from holistic criteria? The study consisted of an etymology of leadership terms, an exploration of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Categories*, an examination of the criteria for accurate definition, and finally a reconstructed biography of Dr. Frank B. Wynn.

Keywords: Definition of leadership, etymology of leadership, Aristotle's ethics and virtues applied to leadership, leadership biography, Frank B. Wynn

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"To the God of the open air we dedicate this mountain summit. To us has been given the rare privilege of its attainment. Splendid and inspiring is the reward of the toilsome ascent! Its rugged course most trying was, but now triumphant visions greet us everywhere, symbolizing the blessings to the steadfast traveler along life's trail. The flame we here do kindle typifies the awakening of the inert dead into flaming life, rising far beyond our reach and ken, wafts upward the spirit of our aspiration toward the beneficent and Infinite One, whose presence and power we acknowledge with grateful hearts" (Frank B. Wynn, 1920).

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CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Leadership has been an intriguing and important part of human interactions for as long as people have lived and worked together in groups. Bass (1990) said that leadership is a “universal phenomenon” and that “the study of leadership is an ancient art” (p.5).

Alexander the Great, prior to becoming arguably the most successful military leader of all time, studied politics, ethics, physics, logic, metaphysics, and many other subjects related to leadership under the tutelage of Leonidas and Aristotle. Underscoring this point, Aristotle (350 BCE) in turn said that these leadership subjects were also studied before his time. In his work entitled *Politics*, Aristotle said,

Whoever would establish a government upon a community of goods, ought to know that he should consult the experience of many years, which would plainly enough inform him whether such a scheme is useful; for almost all things have already been found out, but some have been neglected, and others which have been known have not been put in practice. (ii, 5)

Logically, leadership would play a role in the workings of any group living together, no matter where the group was located and no matter what time period they were living in. Aristotle makes this same point, as evidenced in the following statement.

As we ought to think that most other things were found out in a long, nay, even in a boundless time ... so should we conclude the same with respect to a political state; now everything in Egypt bears the marks of the most remote antiquity, for these people seem to be the most ancient of all others, and to have acquired laws

and political order; we should therefore make a proper use of what is told us of them, and endeavor to find out what they have omitted. (vii, 10)

Aristotle's insights, when applied to the study of leadership, would suggest that leadership concepts that are now being rediscovered through modern research in present times were probably known and practiced previously by others. The difference would be in the unique settings, customs, and other variables that change with time and place. This suggests that leadership is comprised of objective elements that are common to the very nature of all leadership regardless of the historical period, while also containing subjective components reflecting specific times, cultures, and circumstances. These subjective components are often the means by which the objective element of leadership is operationalized. For clarification and precision in this research proposal, the terms objective elements and subjective components will now be defined. The terms objective elements or simply elements, as used in this proposal by the researcher, will reference aspects of leadership that do not change regardless of time, place, or context. The terms subjective components or simply components will refer to aspects of leadership that do change and are dependent upon time and context.

Over the past century, researchers employing the scientific method have observed, examined, and analyzed leadership activity in an effort to understand, explain, and define effective leadership. All this research has resulted in a considerable accumulation of very useful information. The majority of the research, however, has focused on subjective components of leadership such as specific behaviors and circumstances rather than on the objective elements of leadership that remain constant. This approach has resulted in considerable confusion. Half way through the 20th century, Bennis (1959) concluded that,

“Of all the hazy confounding areas in social psychology, leadership theory undoubtedly contends for top nomination. Probably more has been written and less is known about leadership than any other topic in the behavioral sciences” (p. 259). A quarter century later, Burns (1978) concluded that little progress had been made since Bennis, when Burns stated that, “leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth” (p. 2). By the end of the 20th century, Bass (1990) listed over 7,500 bibliographic references in his updated *Handbook of Leadership*. The ongoing interest and research on this subject at the end of the last century and at the beginning of the present, makes it quite evident that leadership is a phenomenon that is as perplexing as it is interesting and important.

Modern leadership theorists have been frustrated in the attempt to nail down a single definition for effective leadership behavior. Rost (1991), determined to find a definitive description of effective leadership, conducted a comprehensive study in which he reviewed 587 books, chapters, and articles in which the word “leadership” appeared in the title. He found that only 221, or less than half of them, offered a definition of leadership. Rost then compared all the definitions with the hope of combining them into one, all-inclusive definition. His findings will be discussed in more detail in the literature review. Rost concluded that perceptions of leadership appear to have been in a state of continual flux, changing according to context. The term, context, will be used by the researcher throughout this research to include all subjective leadership circumstances, such as time, place, culture, climate, participants, and tasks to be accomplished.

Aristotle, in his work entitled *Nicomachean Ethics*, discussed the difference between human virtues that are objective and constant, and human actions that are

variable and subject to change. He taught that in politics as well as in medicine, it was important to have an understanding of the objective principles of the discipline, in order to be able to carry them out subjectively at the right time and in the right way depending upon the circumstances. Using medicine as an example he said,

... to practice medicine and healing consists not in applying or not applying the knife, in using or not using medicines, but in doing so in a certain way...if a man had only this knowledge he would be none the wiser e.g. we should not know what sort of medicines to apply to our body if some one were to say 'all those which the medical art prescribes, and which agree with the practice of one who possesses the art. (vi, 1)

Similarly, with regard to the sport of sparring, Aristotle said, “a boxer presumably does not prescribe the same style of fighting to all his pupils” (X, 9). In other words, it is important to have a knowledge of the objective elements of medicine, boxing, or politics; and then to know how to subjectively apply the right medicine, in the right proportions to the right people at the right time, or to apply a particular style of boxing to a certain fighter in response to the opponent’s attack. Aristotle argued that the same would be true in politics. The science of medicine would not have been advanced if scholars had only looked at medicine in objective terms, or only in subjective circumstances. Applying what might have worked in one situation to all others would have been flawed. Likewise, prescribing all good medicine objectively to everyone regardless of specific needs would also be foolish. A boxer would be ineffective if he applied what worked in one subjective context to every other. The boxer would need to know the fundamental elements of fighting and then know how to apply those objective elements in just the right way in

each subjective circumstance. Applying this same logic to the study and practice of leadership illuminates a problem in the current field of leadership research.

Statement of the Problem

To summarize what has been discussed to this point, leadership has existed for thousands of years but those who study leadership theory today struggle to produce a comprehensive definition of leadership. The difficulty seems to be that definitions of leadership are often based on context, which leaves the meaning of leadership wanting or lacking when applied to a new context or time. As change occurs, a new leadership style is theorized reactively to the change but that theory succumbs, as did its predecessor, to the next change. Perhaps this is why leadership scholars, such as Yukl (1998), admit that leadership has existed for decades in a confused state. The field of leadership currently has hundreds of definitions that apply to specific circumstances, but does not have a common, working definition of leadership that addresses the fundamental, objective elements of leadership. The inability of leadership scholars to reach consensus on an objective definition of leadership is frustrating not only to those who study the leadership phenomenon, but also to those who wish to be effective practitioners. Recent scholars, such as Kodish (2006), lament the current state of affairs in leadership theory due in large part to the lack of a common definition. In describing the present situation, Kodish says “Playful metaphors and alluring ideas that underpin present-day leadership theory provide many insights into leadership, but seem to be unable to explain the complex and contextual nature of leadership” (p. 452). Kodish then proposes that “we need to view leadership from a much broader perspective than current leadership theory, for the most part, suggests” (p. 452).

The lack of a working, objective definition of leadership also makes it impossible to measure or even to estimate leadership achievement with any degree of accuracy or consistency. In such a state, leadership theory is unable to progress and the field is apt to generate another undetermined number of subjective definitions over the next several decades similar to the 221 definitions observed by Rost (1991) throughout the past century. While there will probably be no shortage of publications from leadership authors in the next few years, practitioners who look to scholarly research for better understanding of effective leadership may become more and more confused, and less and less confident. Clearly, as time goes on, the need to find an objective definition of leadership, independent of context, becomes increasingly urgent to both theory and practice.

The Research Question

This study will address the following research question: What elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, what principles are inherently operational within those elements, and can those elements and principles be illuminated in a specific example of leadership when examined from holistic criteria?

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study will be to unravel the tangled knot of confusing and conflicting definitions that presently confront the leadership community by drawing a distinction between the objective elements of leadership, that are present in all leadership cases, and the subjective components of leadership that vary according to context. The purpose of isolating and identifying the objective elements of leadership is to explore the development of an objective definition. The current body of knowledge in the field of

leadership studies includes hundreds of definitions based on subjective aspects but no commonly accepted definition of the objective elements of leadership appears to exist. The purpose of this research will be to approach the problem of defining leadership by adding to the body of knowledge on leadership, the objective, essential, timeless, or universal aspects of leadership that ground the concept from age to age.

Importance of the Research

The apparent inability of leadership theorists to reach a consensus of definition leaves the concept of leadership inadequately identified and thus creates the present situation where what is to be learned is always a moving target, constantly in flux, suggesting that what is learned now regarding practical leadership will soon become dated, and then will be replaced. To consider leadership only from its subjective components places the concept of leadership in a state of dependency upon context, that is merely a momentary, subjective perception of leadership, leaving the only possible understanding of such leadership in the context of those specific perceptions. The next generation finds itself in a different context, revamps the concept of leadership, and then judges the previous form of leadership as poor, based upon the modern context.

This research is important because it has the potential of allowing the leadership community to finally obtain a common reference point for leadership studies and practice. An objective definition based on objective elements of leadership would give the field a stationary foundation so that scholars and practitioners understand that the essence of leadership does not change and, consequently, know what principles always remain within leadership, regardless of context. Fixed reference points in leadership studies should be as important to scholars and practitioners of leadership as the stars or

lines of latitude and longitude are to navigators at sea. Without common, agreed upon standards, measurement is impossible and progress is difficult to determine. Objective definitions are necessary to set such standards. To teach what cannot be defined is difficult, but to expect students or practitioners of leadership to master what cannot be described is asking the impossible.

Without an objective definition, the field of leadership study will inevitably continue to drift about, producing an infinite number of theories, models and descriptions, resulting in a continuum of confusion and counter-productivity. The dysfunctional fracturing of leadership theory has been going on for some time, with hundreds of definitions of leadership in circulation by the end of the 20th century. Finding a definition of leadership that is inclusive of the essence of leadership would be a contribution that would have the potential of uniting the leadership community and moving the field of leadership theory and practice forward. More importantly, the progress gained would not become the derision of the next change cycle.

Definitions

Specific definitions will be provided at the time respective concepts are introduced into this research, such as those already given for objective elements, subjective components, and context. In addition, a complete list of all words defined within the body of this research will be available in Appendix A for quick reference. The major purpose of this research will be to work toward an objective definition of leadership; however, selected existing definitions of leadership will be provided in the Review of Literature and also in Appendix B.

Chapter Summary

The problem identified for this research is that even though leadership has been practiced and studied for thousands of years, in modern times a consensus has not been reached regarding an objective, working definition of leadership. The present state of leadership theory reveals two major needs for further study and practice. The first of these is the identification and acknowledgment of objective elements of leadership that remain constant. The second is a definition of leadership that fully captures those elements in any context.

This research intended to discover what elements of leadership are historically and logically objective, what characteristics are inherently operational within those elements, and to determine if those characteristics can be illuminated in a specific example of leadership when examined from holistic criteria. The answer to this question has the potential to provide current leadership theory and practice with a definition of leadership that distinguishes between that which *is* and that which will *become* without confusing that which becomes with that which subsists.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The research addressed the problem that exists as a result of the leadership community lacking a working definition of leadership, despite many decades of research, and an abundance of scholarly publications on the subject. The problem of not having a single, clear, objective definition has complicated, confused, and fragmented the progress of leadership theory for quite some time (Bennis, 1959; Rost, 1991). Based upon the conclusions made by the current leadership authorities (Bass, 1990; Yukl, 1998; Kodish, 2006), the study reviewed the appropriate leadership theory by analyzing modern research on leadership with the aim of delineating subjective components surrounding leadership from the timeless, objective elements of leadership that remain constant in any context. Because subjective circumstances surrounding leadership are always changing, subjective definitions will likewise continue to change indefinitely. To address this problem, the research asked the following question: What elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, what principles are inherently operational within those elements, and can those elements and principles be illuminated in a specific example of leadership when examined from holistic criteria?

Ironically and paradoxically, the man on the street, who never studies leadership, will say he understands it, while those who seriously examine leadership, and attempt to define it, become more and more bewildered by its complexities. Thousands of research studies, books, and articles have been directed at comprehending and describing this phenomenon. This review synthesized the major trends and directions that modern

leadership research and theory has taken, and will describe the present status of leadership studies.

Leadership Prior to Modern Research

World history is replete with portraits of influential and motivational men and women, with examples of the rise and fall of empires, with stories of heroic deeds, and with tales of great accomplishments by individuals, teams, groups, troops, organizations, and nations. Various races and civilizations have assigned different words to the phenomenon underlying the leadership concept; and leadership has taken various forms over the years relative to different customs and cultures. In some cases, leaders have emerged due to circumstances, and in other cases, individuals have been prepared or destined to lead. King, queen, ruler, magistrate, emperor, captain, chief, and lord are just some of the many titles that have been associated with leadership throughout all ages, cultures, and peoples. Today the terms include president, governor, prime minister, mayor, principal, boss, supervisor, coordinator, superintendent, director, dean, teacher, coach, and CEO, just to name a few. While the concepts underlying the notion of leader and leadership are arguably timeless, the actual words we use to describe leadership in modern English are of much younger origin than the concepts that are being described. Stogdill (1974) included a short statement on the origins of the words leader and leadership in his *Handbook of Leadership*, but a thorough study of the etymology of the word leadership is needed.

Modern Leadership Theory Development to 1990

This review examined modern leadership studies that define leadership, especially looking for those that focus on a more timeless concept of leading or leadership. Most

modern conceptualizations of leadership have their origins in the early 1900's. Studies typically review the literature from Weber to Burns and then focus their investigation on some particular aspect of leadership in a modern context. Rost (1991) criticized modern leadership scholars for beginning their literature reviews with a tidy, logical, progressive description of how leadership theory has developed through the 20th century. He said that such reviews of leadership theory development often follow the same, familiar, pattern that gives the impression of orderly progress. An examination of the literature confirms Rost's observation. A typical literature review starts with Carlyle's (1907) "Great Man" theory, followed closely by trait theory, examining such things as IQ (Goddard, 1912), birth order, socio-economic status, and child-rearing practices (Barnard, 1938; Bird, 1940; Stogdill, 1948). The standard review then generally shows that researchers turned their attention from traits to the role and importance of situations on leadership. Often, the research deals with an examination of leadership style. Studies conducted by Lewin and Leppin (1938), for example, looked at two leadership styles described as being autocratic or democratic. Weber's (1949) exploration of bureaucratic leadership styles is nearly always included. Then Bales (1950) introduced the notions of tasks and relationships. Cartwright & Zander (1960) called these two aspects of leadership, goal achievement and group maintenance. Etzioni (1961) labeled them instrumental and expressive needs. Stogdill (1963) called them system-oriented behaviors or person-oriented behaviors. Reviews typically then point out contributions such as that of Fiedler (1967), who differentiated between leadership styles and behaviors. Next, the reviews describe the contingency model of leadership with origins in the 1970's and 1980's (Hencley, 1973; Hoy & Miskel, 1987). Reviews often include the work of House (1971),

who put forth his Path-Goal Theory and nearly all of them cite Burns (1978), who introduced the still popular concept of transformational leadership, in which “leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of morality and motivation” (p. 20).

Expanding on Burns’ ideas, new leadership paradigms emerged focusing on leadership shared throughout the entire organization or in teams (Barnes and Kriger, 1986; Slater and Doig, 1988). Vision is also shown to be an important part of the modern understanding of leadership. Vision was defined by Manasse (1986) as “the force which molds meaning for the people of an organization” (p. 150). Westley and Mintzberg, (1989) said that, “Vision comes alive only when it is shared” (p. 21). In *Leadership Is an Art* (1989), De Pree asserted “the first responsibility of a leader is to define reality.” Bennis (1990), who had many clever insights regarding the nature of leadership said, “All leaders have the capacity to create a compelling vision, one that takes people to a new place; and the ability to translate that vision into reality” (p. 46). Reviews of leadership theory development such as these sound convincing at first, but are criticized in the next section.

Milestone Leadership Works at about 1990

The foregoing is a brief overview of what a typical literature review of leadership theory looks like; and many similar versions can be found in numerous studies. However, Rost (1991) challenged the accuracy of this sequence of events in leadership theory development, referring to it as a myth or a story contrived to give order to something that was in actuality much more muddled and confusing. He claimed that the myth of leadership theory development gives the false impression that steady progress has been made over the years. Rost contended that a more thorough study of the literature reveals

that this sort of steady and progressive development of leadership theories did not really take place, but rather, theory development has actually been quite tumultuous and confusing. Rost, however, was not the first to recognize or admit the questionable progress of leadership theory development. Stogdill (1974) concluded “the endless accumulation of empirical data has not produced an integrated understanding of leadership” (p. vii). Bass and Stogdill (1981) collected and analyzed some 4,725 studies of leadership that they listed on 189 pages in the second edition of their *Handbook of Leadership*. When the review was completed, Bass came to nearly the same conclusion that Stogdill had come to earlier, but ended on a note of slight optimism:

Some disparage the thousands of research studies of leadership completed with the supposed lack of progress. Yet, when we compare our understanding of leadership in 1980 with what it was thirty years earlier, we can agree with T. R. Mitchell (1979) that ‘there seems to be progress in the field’. Theory and research are developing and much of what is being done is being used in practice. There is reason for controlled optimism. Yet, the challenges are still there for the years ahead. (p. 617)

Five years later, Bennis and Nanus (1985) did not communicate that same optimism. They expressed continued frustration with the progress or lack of progress being made in the field of leadership theory development with statements like, “thousands of empirical investigations of leadership have been conducted in the last seventy-five years alone, but no clear and unequivocal understanding exists as to what distinguishes leaders from nonleaders” (p. 4). They even made disheartening statements such as, “...books on leadership are often as majestically useless as they are pretentious”

(p.5). Bennis and Nanus stated that they did not want “to further muddle the bewildering mélange of leadership definitions” (p. 20) by offering yet another definition of their own. Rost (1991), facing the same mountain of research literature with overlapping and sometimes conflicting findings, argued that progress would never result without an agreed upon definition of leadership as evidenced in his statement below.

Whether leadership studies is considered an academic discipline or a mythological story, the importance of understanding the true meaning of leadership-- having a clear understanding of the essential nature of leadership by agreeing upon an accurate definition-- is crucial to studying and doing leadership....The true facts are that in the 1990's, the concept of leadership does not add up because leadership scholars and practitioners have no definition of leadership to hold onto. The scholars do not know what it is they are studying, and the practitioners do not know what it is that they are doing. (p. 8)

Rost said in an interview with Volkmann (2005), 15 years after writing the statement above, that he considered the first four chapters of *Leadership for the Twenty-First Century* (1991) seminal and groundbreaking because it exposed the myth that steady logical progress was being made in the development of leadership theory. Rost's comprehensive study of the literature exposed some interesting misconceptions. The first is that the major theories represent the work of all academic disciplines. Rost claimed that, in reality, they mainly represent the mainstream ideas of social psychologists and management scientists. The second misconception is that the different theories, such as Great Man, Traits, Behavior, Contingency/Situational, and Excellence, are separate and distinct movements, when in reality the movements overlap and “are so intertwined that

they are indistinguishable except to intellectuals who study leadership as a profession” (p.23). The third misconception is that these movements had a distinct beginning and an end, when in fact most of the theories still have not died; “they have been living in leadership books, chapters and articles for years, and continue to live in them in 1990” (p. 23). Rost concluded that leadership theory development in the 20th century can be examined in layers that he called, cuts. On the surface the story or myth of steady progress produces a feeling of well being -- that all is fine and good with leadership studies as an academic discipline, and with the practice of leadership in general. He then argues that at a deeper level of examination, leadership theory development is in a deplorable state of affairs because without a clear and concise definition, leadership theory development is muddled and confused. Rost pointed out that a secondary myth is created when some leadership scholars discover that the research is contradictory and muddled. He explains that while the first myth gives the false impression that all is well with leadership research, the second myth gives the impression that it is so complicated and confusing that no consensus can ever be reached, concluding that leadership theorists might as well make up their own definitions and go their own way because there is no common ground on which to stand.

However, Rost did not stop there. When he delved deeper into the literature for the third and fourth cut, considering the ideas behind the wording of the several confusing theories, models, and definitions of leadership in the 20th century, he concluded that, fundamentally, they all said the same thing. Rost claimed that, ironically, all of the definitions and all of the major leadership theories from 1900 to 1990 basically reflected the industrial ideologies of the 20th century. Rost therefore combined all of the

previously existing definitions of leadership into one, which he believed summarized the meaning of leadership in the industrial age. He concluded that in the 20th century, “leadership is good management” or in more detailed terms, “great men and women with certain preferred traits influencing followers to do what the leaders wish in order to achieve group or organizational goals that reflect excellence defined as some kind of higher order effectiveness” (pp. 94 -95). Having made this discovery, Rost then articulated a new definition of leadership that he proposed should be adopted by leadership scholars and practitioners for the 21st century. His new definition stated, “Leadership is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes” (p. 102). Rost confessed in the previously mentioned 2005 interview with Russ Volkemann that his combination of all leadership models and theories into the one statement, “leadership is good management,” was not well received. He believed it was because very few people are actually scholars of leadership theory, and that the four chapters that reviewed the confusing literature on leadership theory development were difficult to read. Rost admitted that many may have found that portion of his book confusing or even boring. He also expressed disappointment that his proposed definition of leadership for the 21st century had only generated limited interest in the 15 years since publication. Perhaps part of the reason Rost’s new definition had such limited impact on the leadership community was because Bass (1990), at about the same time, also published the third edition of Bass and Stogdills’ *Handbook of Leadership*. This publication was praised by Santora (1991) in a book review stating that the monumental publication was “sans doute, the most comprehensive publication on leadership and is a must for anyone interested in acquiring

a polymathic understanding of leadership” (p.170). Bass’s 1,182 page volume undoubtedly stole the limelight from Rost’s relatively smaller, 200 page book on leadership definitions. After consolidating 7,500 references on leadership, Bass provided his authoritative definition:

Leadership is an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and the perceptions and expectations of the members...Leadership occurs when one group member modifies the motivation or competencies of others in the group. Any member of the group can exhibit some amount of leadership. (pp. 19-20)

The nearly simultaneous publication of these two major leadership works make it very clear, that up until 1990 there was no consensus on a single or objective definition of leadership. Also, the fact that these two authors proposed different definitions for leadership at the same time, apparently left the leadership community still uncertain and without consensus regarding a single, concise definition of leadership. Bass’ definition came with the weight of 7,500 references in his *Handbook* to back it up. Rost’s definition pointed to the future century based on experience from the past. Rost’s fundamental approach to finding a definition was clearly to design it for the social, cultural and economic context of the 21st century, in opposition to the context of the past. In both cases the definitions offered are subjective in nature, and based on specific times and social circumstances. Neither definition at about 1990 can be considered objective or timeless.

Leadership Theory Development from 1990 to 2008

In the nearly 20 intervening years, since Rost and Bass, there was no further evidence in the literature that anyone had again tried to combine or summarize various leadership definitions into a single definition, or to identify common elements in any context. On the contrary, each leadership author seems to want to find something different about leadership rather than to find its commonalities. For example, Sergiovanni (1990) and Leithwood (1992) focused their studies upon expanding the notion of transformational leadership. They explained that transformational leadership goes beyond individual needs, focusing on a common purpose, addressing intrinsic rewards and higher psychological needs, such as self actualization, and developing the commitment of the followers to the good of the organization. Yukl, Wall and Lepsinger (1990) listed 14 elements of effective leadership including, planning and organizing, problem solving, clarifying, informing, monitoring, motivating, consulting, recognizing, supporting, managing conflict and team building, networking, delegating, developing and mentoring, and rewarding. While some of the elements which Yukl and his associates list may be objective and timeless, it should be noted that their use of the word *elements* is their own term and does not necessarily share the same definition as *objective elements* defined in this research proposal. Similarly, Mendez-Morse (1992) focused her research on leadership characteristics that leaders need to effect change in schools, including: vision, valuing human resources, stressing student centered schools, communicating and listening, being proactive, and taking risks. Characteristics such as vision and being proactive may be objective elements of leadership, in any time period, but Mendez-Morse did not make such a claim, or identify them as such.

In the decade following 1990, approaches to leadership study certainly took on more collaborative and democratic tones. Perhaps because of the popularity of Burns' transformational approach. Perhaps it was due to the concept of *interaction* in Bass' 1990 definition. Perhaps it was due to the notion of *relationship* put forth in Rost's 1991 definition. Perhaps it was a natural result of the social and political changes at work in the world at that time. The reason is not clear. Regardless of the cause, approaches to leadership in the 1990's clearly began to take a more collaborative and democratic tact. Gastil (1994) for example coined the term *democratic leadership* and defined it in this way: "democratic leadership is behavior that influences people in a manner consistent with and/or conducive to basic democratic principles and processes, such as self-determination, inclusiveness, equal participation, and deliberation" (p. 968). Collins (1994) produced a dissertation that focused on the virtues delineated by Aristotle. The study is listed here not because it provides an objective definition of leadership, but rather because it deals with leadership from the distant past, which could be informative later in this study in identifying timeless leadership elements. The appearance of this study at this time is very interesting, because it suggested contemporary applications of leadership concepts from the ancient world only a few years after Rost provided a definition of leadership that he claimed was specifically suited to the 21st century.

Hogan, Curphy, and Hogan (1994) offered yet another definition: "Leadership involves persuading other people to set aside for a period of time their individual concerns and to pursue a common goal that is important for the responsibilities and welfare of a group" (p. 1). Gronn and Ribbins (1996) did not offer their own definition of leadership. They did, however, provide an argument for the use of biography for

leadership studies. They reasoned that biographies overcome some of the validity issues inherent in self-report leadership behavior surveys, due to the inevitable misunderstandings that participants have with the definitions, models, and theories of leadership. Barker (1997) still lamented the lack of a working definition of leadership, and said that "...the study of leadership as an academic discipline is in shambles" (p. 346), but argued that obtaining a definition from empirical studies of the complex phenomenon of leadership was not likely. He said that, "Leadership, like music, has experiential qualities that defy deductive analysis" (p. 347). Barker further argued that it is very difficult to teach leadership without knowing what leadership is. He confirmed that further qualitative study was yet needed, suggesting that, "aspects of individual behavior are readily measurable, and so have become the locus of leadership studies....But there have been no consistent results that have lead to anything like a solid theory of leadership" (p. 356). Gini (1997) recognized the great contributions of Burns and Rost in articulating a working definition of leadership, but argued that to fully comprehend the complex nature of leadership, it would be necessary to consider at least three dimensions of leadership: the process, the person and the job and how they all work together to create the leadership phenomenon. To illustrate, Gini says,

...leaders, good or bad, great or small arise out of the needs and opportunities of a specific time and place. I believe that great leaders require great causes, great issues, and most importantly, a hungry and willing constituency. If this were not true, at least in part, would any of us have ever heard of Lech Walesa, Martin Luther King, Jr., or Nelson Mandela? (p.325)

Gini's use of the phrase, *at least in part*, is noteworthy, because it recognizes that while situations play an important part in the leadership phenomenon, there is still something else in all leadership cases. Gini states, "Leadership is a delicate combination of the process, the techniques of leadership, the person, the specific talents and traits of a/the leader, and the general requirements of the job itself" (p. 324). Gini's circular use of the words leadership and leader within the definition compromises his attempt to define leadership. Later in the article, under the subheading of *Process*, Gini provides the following definition, that is marked with a footnote reference to Rost (1991). "Leadership is a power and value laden relationship between leaders and followers/constituents who intend real change(s) that reflect their mutual, purpose(s) and goal(s)" (p. 324). In comparison with the definitions of Burns (1978) and Rost (1991), Gini replaced the word *influence*, with the words, *power and value laden*. He also included the word *constituents* as an alternative to *followers*, which Rost believed was unacceptable because of its strong political connotations. Gini also put back in the word *goals* which Burns preferred but Rost did not because he felt that *goals* was a word suited to the industrial age and that *purposes* was a broader term and more suited to the post-industrial world of the 21st century. Clearly, Gini was influenced by and respected both Burns and Rost, and therefore tried to satisfy both of them in his own modified 1997 definition. It should be noted that Gini uses the word *leaders* in his definition of leadership.

At the turn of the century, John Burns (2000) wrote an interesting article in the *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, which outlined a river metaphor that he used to teach students about the development of leadership theory. The article argues that leadership theory development has been chaotic in its progress, much like a river that

consists of the churning, blended ideas from various tributaries of thought that enter the stream, and have an influential effect, but do not greatly change the nature of the river as it rolls forward. The metaphor illustrates why defining leadership in a manner that meets logical scrutiny has been difficult. Hunt (2000) uses the following definition of leadership, which clearly indicates that he also had not adopted Rost's post-industrial definition, but was using one that incorporated components from several schools of leadership thought. "Leadership is, therefore, a reciprocally negotiated relationship between leader and follower that is contingent, situational, transactional and, at times, transformational for both leader and follower depending on the common goals" (p. 94). Hunt continues to demonstrate the difficulty in providing a logically sound definition, in that, he too depends upon assumptions of the meaning of *leader* in order to define *leadership*. Hunt's article explores the variable of travel experience in the development of leadership qualities, and then gives three examples of how world travel impacted the development and personality of some historical leader figures. Chemers (2000) gives yet another definition of leadership, making it more and more apparent that consensus in the field is difficult, illusive or possibly even undesirable. He defines leadership as, "a process of social influence in which one person is able to enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task" (p. 27). Alvesson and Deetz (2000) agree that the frustrating difficulty of defining leadership might be holding the research back. They therefore suggest that more might be learned by asking, "what can we see, think, or talk about if we think of leadership as this or that" (p.52)? Taking such an approach to the study of leadership relieves the pressure of finding a single definition and allows various interpretations or scenarios to be explored, but it goes counter to the

development of an objective knowledge base regarding the concept and practice of leadership.

Just into the new millennium, Yukl (2001) published the fifth edition of his book, *Leadership in Organizations*, first published in 1981. In this latest edition Yukl defined leadership as an influence process and listed the “big five” personality traits that are always needed for effective leadership: surgency, conscientiousness, agreeableness, adjustment and intelligence. These are listed in this review because they suggest elements of leadership that might be universal to any time period. Beyond these five, Yukl also discussed the importance of personality traits such as energy level and stress tolerance, self-confidence, internal control orientation, emotional maturity, and integrity. Yukl criticized the research for lacking in measures and being weak on research design. Northouse (2001) pointed out that some researchers view leadership as a trait or a behavior; others view leadership from a political perspective, and still others define it from a humanistic approach. He identified four components (Northouse’s term) that he believed to be central to all leadership approaches: (a) process of leadership, (b) influence, (c) group content, and (d) goal attainment.

In a doctoral dissertation Stanley (2001) examined charismatic leadership in ancient Israel. While Stanley’s focus was different than the proposed research, his dissertation informs the present proposal, because it explores elements of leadership in an ancient time period, suggesting that certain elements of leadership may be common in leadership settings in any time period. To conduct his study, Stanley used Weber’s (1949) definition of a charismatic leader, which is stated below.

...set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least...exceptional powers and qualities which are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. (p. 358)

While Stanley did not offer a list of objective leadership elements, his research may be worthy of further analysis. Pye (2005) explained that Patricia Hewitt, Secretary of State for the Department of Trade and Industry in the UK, criticized management in her country in 2002, and hired consultants to do something about it. As a result, leadership programs were created or expanded in nearly every sector. With so much emphasis on leadership development in so many sectors of society, Pye made three interesting observations:

1. We have known for some time that understanding leadership is problematic.
2. If we have spent so many years in search of the Holy Grail and still not yet found it, that perhaps we may be searching for the wrong thing.
3. Leadership as a form of social influence is hard to distinguish from many other influences in relationships between people. (p. 32)

Muczyk and Adler (2002) presented a list of personal qualities that they believed to be essential for any leader: courage, integrity, vision, charisma, and perseverance. The authors refer to Collins' (2001) Good to Great studies to help make their case for these essential personal leadership qualities. Ciulla (2003) reexamined Rost's findings on past leadership definitions and concluded that they "generally say the same thing, Leadership is about a person or persons somehow moving other people to do something" (p. 306).

Ciulla also points to Aristotle as perhaps being able to provide a broader understanding of leadership and the personal qualities needed to make it happen.

Shamir, Dayan-Horesh and Adler (2005) argue convincingly for the use of life stories as a valid way to explore the complexities of leadership. Shamir et al, take this approach one step further, by suggesting that the writing or telling of a leadership story is a leadership activity in itself, because the story, apart from the individual being told about, influences followers. Stories show how people can behave in various situations and illustrate how leadership skills or qualities can be developed and used in real life settings. In the literature, Gronn (2005) challenges some points that Shamir et al make; and argues that biography is better than autobiography for the study of leadership simply because it is more reliable and less subject to the leader's personal bias. Shamir (2005) responds to Gronn's criticism by further clarifying and arguing that life-stories "emphasize interdisciplinary, diverse and critical analyses of leadership processes in order to encourage new ways of researching and conceptualizing leadership" (p. 499).

Observations by Murphy (2005) send a kind of warning message that should not be overlooked or casually dismissed by this researcher. He cautions that, "Leadership is a complex and context-dependent activity. To attempt to envelope the concept with a definitive list of indicators is a fool's errand" (p. 174). His warning is duly noted. Pye (2005) makes it fairly clear that the confusion and difficulty involved in understanding and describing leadership still persists five years into the new millennium.

"Conceptualizing leadership presents a challenge which is akin to capturing the ethereal qualities of 'the moon on the water:' you know it when you see it, but it absolutely defies capture" (p. 33) Prince. (2005) opens her recent article on leadership stating that,

“Despite many thousands of studies, there are still no generally agreed definitions, and the mountains of accumulated data and ideas seem to have brought us no nearer to a detailed understanding of what the concept means” (p. 105). After reminding the reader of the difficulties involved in defining leadership, or creating models to explain it, Prince does not attempt to provide a new definition. Instead, she suggests that further understanding of the phenomenon might result by stepping out of our traditional mindset of Western thought and exploring leadership from an Eastern perspective such as that found in Taoism. The quote below gives an idea of what Prince suggested.

Perhaps we should set aside momentarily our cherished models and heroes of leadership altogether, and look again with fresh eyes attuned to experience, basking in the less structured but more congenial flow of existence. We need to learn to relax, to let what can't be defined hang in the air, and enjoy the paradox while we try to grasp holistically the truths that elude us. (p. 120)

Lawler (2005) argues from an existential perspective that it is inappropriate to seek to understand the essence of leadership, stating, “This search for an essence of leadership promotes the danger of homogenizing leadership. Through essentialist views of leadership we lose the unique quality of relationships” (p. 221). Lawler warns against going too far by either stripping away context until there is nothing left or by burying leadership in context so completely that we can no longer tell what it is. In reviewing the findings of Collins's (2001a) comprehensive *Good to Great* study, Kodish (2006) explained that Collins's unexpected findings, “for the most part, left the leadership community unresponsive despite their potential implications for conceptualizing leadership” (p. 451). The proposed research is important because it does respond to the

findings and challenge of both Kodish and Collins. Ashman (2007) sheds more light on the existential perspective, but also points out the difficulties between the existentialist perspective and the scientific method of inquiry.

While undoubtedly provoking interest, it is apparent that the existentialist position creates problems for the research community. Having a moment ago suggested that certain approaches to research may be preferable to others it has to be acknowledged that there is a danger that if every leadership act is situated, concrete and particular then there is no hope of generalization, which is the impetus and justification for most investigations in the field. Of course, that is a somewhat narrow view of the purpose of research, but where resources are scarce it is difficult to sell a research project on the premise that any lessons learned about leadership, although potentially insightful, are not easily transferable (if at all). (p. 98)

In a recent dissertation, Liao (2006) reviewed again the history of leadership theory development, and concluded that, “Based on the literature reviewed by this researcher...no conclusive consensus could be reached” (p. 42). Liao did not provide his own definition of leadership but quoted Tannenbaum’s 1987 definition, Kotter’s 1990 definition and ended with Northouse’s (2001) definition, “Leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal” (Liao, p. 23). Madsen (2006), in an interview with John Zenger, asked what he felt distinguished great leaders from good managers. Zenger answered that in his book and in training programs with corporate clients he uses a tent metaphor to illustrate the importance of five elements of leadership, which are: character, personal capability, focus

on results, interpersonal skills, and leading organizational change (Zenger, 2002). The research behind these apparent elements may be informative to the proposed study and worthy of further analysis later. This supports the contention that interest in personal leadership traits did not end in the early part of the last century, but continues into the present. Even though many studies focus on collaboration and shared leadership activity, Armistead, Pettigrew, and Aves (2007) conducted a study in which they interviewed participants in multi-sectoral partnerships and came away with an unexpected finding.

For many of our participants the concept of leadership was confusing and troublesome, almost being beyond definition. However, it was interesting that the predominant metaphor for leadership, and thus the focus of much of the dialogue, was embodied in observable human traits and behaviours.... Discussion about leadership tended to be couched predominately in terms of first person traits and behaviours, suggesting that our participants thought about leadership as almost synonymous with 'leaders.' (pp. 222-223)

The fluctuating focus in leadership studies back and forth between personal attributes and group relationships is apparent in the alternating approaches taken by current research studies and leadership thought. For example, Uhl-Bien (2006) articulated the Relational Leadership Theory (RLT) as a framework for the study of leadership as a social influence process. RLT views leadership as a process of social construction where relationships become the basic unit of analysis, not individuals. She explains that RLT and Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) complement each other in understanding the complexities of leadership relationships. Warner and Grint (2006) suggest yet another approach to understanding leadership arguing that American Indians view leadership in

unique ways and that there are perhaps many other approaches also that could be taken.

“Our claim is that a review of American Indian leadership, ...can both displace the imperialist foundations of the American way of leadership and open up the study of leadership to alternative models and understandings” (p. 226). This study informs the current proposed research that if an objective definition of leadership is to be explored it must necessarily also include all unique forms of leadership such as American Indian leadership.

As further evidence that leadership studies still tend to go around in circles, Ladkin (2006) revisited charismatic leadership, referring often to ideas from sociologist Max Weber and philosopher Immanuel Kant. Ladkin’s re-examination of charismatic leadership suggests that some elements of leadership have common application in various times and across cultures, even though many of the recent studies focus on the importance of culture and context to define leadership. Also, Van Breukelen, Schyns, & Le Blanc (2006) revisited recently the Leader Member Exchange Theory, which had its origins in the 1970’s and 1980’s.

English (2006) does not dispute the notion of common, objective elements of leadership, but he warns of the possible problems that could result if such core elements are used inappropriately to create standards for programs that prepare educational leaders. For example, the Interstate Leadership Licensure Consortium and the Educational Leadership Constituent Council (ISLLC/ELCC) have set standards, which are used by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) to evaluate and accredit graduate leadership programs. English argues that setting such standards tends to

immobilize these programs making them unresponsive to necessary and inevitable change over time.

French and Simpson (2006) conducted a study recently of leadership in companies with more than 500 employees and were surprised when they found a considerable amount of downplaying of the importance of leadership. The researchers were cautious not to draw premature conclusions, but indicated that the data they collected warranted further study regarding this unexpected phenomenon. Parry and Hansen (2007) conducted research in which they intentionally *decoupled* leadership from the leader to explore the notion of leadership inspiration or influence coming from stories rather than from the leader or story teller. They used the examples of the boy who cried wolf and the goose that laid the golden egg as simple examples of the notion that stories can influence certain desired behavior apart from whoever tells the story. They then explored more complex corporate and organizational stories that work in a similar manner, such as a FedEx worker who dove into cold water to rescue a package and safely deliver it to the customer. Parry and Hansen tied their research into that of Shamir (2005), which has already been cited, indicating that the life-story of Gandhi is another example of using story as a form of leadership or inspiration separate from the leader himself. Parry and Hansen (2007) said that, "Perhaps people in leadership roles need good stories, but good stories do not need 'leaders' in order to be told" (p. 290). The authors suggested in their article, "management should focus efforts on building better stories just as much as on building better leaders" (p. 293).

Recent literature continued to agree that little progress had been made in defining leadership. For example, Victor Vroom and Arthur Jago (2007), both of whom have been

highly regarded in the field of leadership research for many years, recalled, in a recent article, the same statement cited earlier by Bennis and Nanus (1985), and then added their own comment thereafter,

Literally thousands of empirical investigations of leaders have been conducted in the last seventy-five years alone, but no clear and unequivocal understanding exists as to what distinguishes leaders from nonleaders, and perhaps more important, what distinguishes effective leaders from ineffective leaders. (p. 4)

Vroom and Jago (2007) give this commentary to the foregoing statement, “Although this assertion is over 20 years old, our position is that any serious review of the more recent literature would reveal that the quote is as relevant today as it was then” (p. 17). Vroom and Jago affirm that nearly all current definitions of leadership involve the process of influence. They further argue that leading is influencing and that leadership refers to the capacity to influence. They state that leadership includes the traits of the source, the cognitive processes in the source, the nature of the interaction, and the situational context that make influence possible. Next they concede that the processes by which successful influence can occur include a myriad of possibilities such as, threats, reward, arguments, and inspirational appeals. Consistent with hundreds of other modern leadership authors, Vroom and Jago give their own working definition of leadership rather than accepting any other previously constructed definition. Well aware of the importance of defining what is studied, but also of the difficulty in articulating a common definition, they confess that their definition was not intended for general acceptance but simply stated that it, “will at least serve the objectives of this article” (p. 18). The Vroom and Jago definition states that, “leadership is a process of motivating people to work

together collaboratively to accomplish great things” (p.18). Vroom and Jago also refer to Zaccaro (2007) who made a case for resurrecting the study of leadership traits, arguing that their rejection was premature and based on something other than an unbiased appraisal of the evidence. Hackman and Wageman (2007) agreed and called the premature dismissal, of the importance of leadership traits, the *attribution error*. Avolio (2007) affirmed that the importance of leadership traits still constitutes the prevalent view held by the general public. Speaking of both trait theory from the 1950’s and situation theory thereafter, Vroom and Jago concluded “neither of the two approaches to the study of leadership addressed so far has produced a solid body of scientific evidence sufficient to guide practice” (p. 19). Vroom and Jago’s logic, based on the careful consideration of major, modern research studies, makes it difficult to focus future research strictly on leadership traits or characteristics without consideration of situation. Both seem to be important to understand leadership. In their concluding statements, they warn that, “perceptual distortions have resulted from a failure to recognize the important role that situation or context plays in leadership” (p. 23).

In an article on the development of leaders in colleges and universities, Ricketts (2008) said, “While there is no clear definition of leadership, it still stands as one of the most desired traits for new graduates” (p. 25). Following a century of analysis of leadership, Schweigert (2008) returned once again to Aristotle for sense-making of the leadership phenomenon with this statement,

Leadership and citizenship require the kind of knowledge that the ancient Greeks called *phronesis*, practical wisdom: knowing what to do and how to do it, at the right time and with the right people, with the right mix of persuasion and

challenge....Phronesis always involves a twofold knowledge of the good: the good expected of humans in general, and the good that is possible in the concrete situation....The Greeks distinguished phronesis from the knowledge of skills and crafts (techne) and from the theoretical knowledge to name and explain, which can be written down and easily transferred from person to person and place to place through teaching and instruction (episteme). Skills and theory are important to good leadership, but the crucial knowledge for leading is knowing which facts and theories matter, when to use which skills, and who should perform the actions needed. Unlike episteme and techne, phronesis cannot be easily transferred from person to person. Indeed, Aristotle was convinced it could not be taught at all, but could only be learned by doing the right thing at the right time and thus gradually internalizing the right way of doing things, guided always by the effects of the action and by the responses of people in the social situation. (pp. 339-340)

These comments, by a leadership scholar in 2008, bring our review of the literature on leadership full circle, back to the notion that leadership has existed and has been practiced throughout all ages but remains an imperfect concept today owing to the lack of definition. Some conclusions drawn from the review of modern leadership studies will now be given.

Conclusions Drawn from Modern Leadership Research

The most recent studies continued to acknowledge the concept of leadership remains undefined. Having no criteria delineated by definition to meet, leadership studies remain free to characterize any kind of process, relationship, or act as leadership. Thus, for the purposes of this research, it became evident that it would be superfluous to

continue to review leadership research conducted prior to establishing an objective definition of leadership. Successful, effective, or any other type of leadership cannot be defined until leadership is defined. Leadership traits, styles, or circumstances cannot be evaluated until the definition of leadership is agreed upon in the first place. The literature review is informative in that it affirmed the lack of an overall definition of leadership that serves to identify that which is to be theorized, taught, and practiced. However, it also showed that modern research in the field has put the cart before the horse in that it has researched leadership without defining that which is to be researched. This has opened the doors to research findings as numerous as there are contexts in which leadership exists. When a particular research study offers an operational definition of leadership, the findings are meaningless to anyone who does not share the same definition for leadership. The lack of a common, objective definition of leadership negates the possibility of common findings or understanding regarding leadership.

Chapter Summary

Men and women have played influential roles in great and small events since the history of the world began. Logically the leadership phenomenon has existed throughout the ages in all cultures. The review of modern literature, however, indicated that the thousands of books, articles, and studies on leadership in the past century have contributed little to validate what can be said to be true of leadership. Of all the authors, Rost argued most strongly for the need of having a common definition for leadership. However, the definition he articulated was time sensitive by construction. While Rost expected his definition to serve a century, it didn't last more than a few months.

Interest in leadership has continued in the two decades with even more definitions and more research being conducted than ever before, but still, no single, satisfactory definition of leadership has yet been found. The literature also showed that while some research has focused on what might be considered objective elements of leadership, the overwhelming majority of modern research has focused on subjective components relative to particular context. Another noteworthy observation from the review of the literature is the periodic return to Aristotle or some other ancient authority. The overall conclusion then, is that no objective definition of leadership currently exists, and finding one may require starting farther back than the past century.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The problem that the research addressed was the inability of the leadership community to reach consensus on a working definition of leadership and the confusion that such a state of affairs has caused. As shown in the literature review, Vroom and Jago (2007) recently reaffirmed that the study of traits and situations has been inconclusive, "...neither of the two approaches to the study of leadership addressed so far has produced a solid body of scientific evidence sufficient to guide practice" (p. 19). The literature, for the most part, focused on subjective variables within leadership, thus rendering the possibility of arriving at a common definition of leadership as difficult as expecting all scholars of leadership to have the same tastes and preferences. Any science or body of knowledge having its subject poorly defined will, by necessity, have the content proportionally disjointed. Law, for example, would fail to reach objectivity, practicality, or even usefulness if multiple speed limits were posted for the same stretch of highway.

The Central Research Question

To explore an objective definition of leadership, this research asked the following question. What elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, what principles are inherently operational within those elements, and can those elements and principles be illuminated in a specific example of leadership when examined from holistic criteria? However, before the central question was addressed, a proper study of the words leader, leading, and leadership were conducted. This was necessary because the literature review showed that no author had comprehensively

examined the etymology of these words. Once these words were thoroughly studied and explained, the elements and principles of leadership were identified, historically and logically, by re-examining ancient and modern writings on leadership. The identified elements and principles were then illustrated in a specific leadership example. Finally, the form, method and purpose of definition was explored.

Research Design

According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975), research design refers to the entire research process, not just the specific methods of data collection, and analysis. This broader conceptualization of design was used in this study, because the research question was compound in nature; and because additional research was required before the research question could be answered. Yin (1989) explained that good research design is simply a logical method that links data to the question and leads to a conclusion. The design for this research was more complicated because it involved four distinct phases of data collection and analysis to explore a definition of leadership. The four phases were:

1. Conducting an etymology of the words leader, leading and leadership.
2. Historical and logical exploration of the essence of leadership independent of context.
3. Construction of the biography of a leader in another time period to test for the elements of leadership.
- 4) Exploration of the proper formation of a definition.

A combination of qualitative methods were used to suit the particular nature of each phase of the proposed research. The application of qualitative methods in this research are described in more detail in the following sections.

Phase One

This research focused on the importance, form, and purpose of definitions and applied the appropriate findings to a thorough study of the history and meaning of the words leader, leading, and leadership. The literature review showed that these terms are often used interchangeably, adding to the confusion and contributing to the lack of mutual understanding of the terms. In phase one, the researcher studied, analyzed, and reported on the etymology of these words, to establish what is known about the origin of each of these distinct concepts. The researcher also examined the words used in other cultures and time periods to convey and describe the concept of leadership.

Phase Two

The second phase addressed the first portion of the central research question that asks what elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context; and what principles are inherently operational within those elements. To answer this, the researcher investigated the leadership concepts found in the teachings of ancient writings to logically identify objective elements that would be common to any time period or setting. As a result of the findings in the review of literature, the researcher began by examining the writings of Aristotle with particular emphasis on *Nicomachean Ethics*, and *Politics*. The fieldwork included several readings and return readings of these complex works.

Phase Three

The last part of the central research question asked if the objective elements and principles identified in phase two, could be illuminated in a specific example of leadership when examined from holistic criteria. To answer this part of the question, the

life of a selected leader was researched from primary sources to see if the identified elements of leadership were evident in his leadership activities. This portion of the research involved the reconstruction of an interpretive biography for the selected leader.

Phase Four

The final goal of the research was to explore the rules for the formation of an objective definition of leadership based on the findings of the first two phases. To do this, the researcher studied the criteria necessary to formulate a proper definition. The criteria established a kind of blue print for forming a valid definition. The multitude of definitions that presently proliferate the field of leadership studies are often presented without acknowledgement of any criteria appropriate to definition, thus allowing for endless attempts to define leadership.

Qualitative Methods

Throughout the four phases, a combination of qualitative research methods were employed. For example, the grounded theory method was used to collect and analyze data without a preconceived end in mind and the researcher watched for objective elements of leadership to emerge from the collected data. This approach also allowed the researcher to return to the field when necessary to examine more texts until sufficient data was collected. The researcher was allowed to follow the data, relative to leadership elements, in directions different from what might have been expected at the outset. Horizontalization, a method used in phenomenological research, was also be employed, so that various perceptions of leadership were considered on equal grounds, as they appeared in different time periods and cultures. The data was then be clustered into themes or categories, and the researcher tried to understand the essence of the leadership

phenomenon in multiple contexts. The illumination of leadership elements in the sample leadership case employed the interpretive biography method detailed by Denzin (1989). Brandon (2002) stated his belief that biography has an important place in Educational Leadership theory because it helps to examine the science of leadership in the particular rather than solely in the general.

Educational leadership theorists, by training and inclination, look to the general, while biography deals with the particular. Biography can be moved beyond narration and storytelling to the construction of case studies to test or evaluate theories. And it can be argued that to understand a system, we need to look at leadership both "close up" and from a "long view." ... Biography can restore the "wholeness" of the entire act of leadership. (p. 2)

The process of formulating a theory based on the findings of the research, is a grounded theory approach that was employed in this research. This was accomplished by taking the findings from the first two phases of the research and listing the elements and principles of leadership that proved to be independent of any context.

Delimitations

Language

The leadership phenomenon has operated for thousands of years in many cultures and has been recorded in many languages, therefore, the texts involved in this research were delimited to those written in English. The researcher needed to rely upon the accuracy of translations from ancient languages into modern English.

The Research Subject

The illumination of identified elements of leadership in a specific leadership example were delimited to the leadership case of Dr. Frank B. Wynn. This candidate was chosen for the biographical phase of this research because his leadership was recently discovered by the researcher. Dr. Wynn is not well known to the public, and thus his example is free of preconceived expectations of any particular leadership style, behavior, qualities, or traits. The research was based on the assumption that any leadership sample from virtually any time period or context could be used for this study. Therefore, a delimitation to one candidate was necessary for design purposes.

Limitations

The greatest limitation to the exploration of leadership in any context was the inability to travel back in time to collect data from all the possible eras and settings in which leadership has occurred. This study was understandably limited by the necessity of interpreting the essence of leadership in other times and places from the documented accounts of the original leadership activity. This limitation must be acknowledged in all phases of the research project, but most critically in phase two when a study of leadership activity from Aristotle's time was considered, and in the phase when the life of Dr. Wynn was examined for evidence of elements of leadership. Every reasonable effort was made to work objectively within this limitation.

Some of the same facts that made Dr. Wynn a good candidate for the leadership sample in this study also introduced limitations that require some explanation. Very few people have ever heard of Dr. Wynn or know anything about his leadership. This provides an uncontaminated sample, free from prejudice or historical bias. However, it

also means that information on his leadership was mainly limited to original documents that were good primary sources of information, but were usually limited to only one copy and restricted to archives and special collections in one location. A few of Dr. Wynn's leadership activities in Montana are recorded in guidebooks for Glacier National Park. A limited number of personal family articles and records reside in the possession of Dr. Wynn's only living descendent in Monterey, California.. The leadership information on Dr. Wynn was therefore limited to the availability and accessibility of the specified documents.

Data Collection and Analysis

In contrast to the use of interviews, self-report surveys, or researcher observations for data collection, this research relied mainly on the re-examination and analysis by the researcher of leadership works and historical documents already in existence. Employing phenomenological data collection methods, the researcher became immersed in the historical leadership data and through constant reflection constructed a narrative intended to enlighten the reader on the deep, essential structures entrenched in the historical record of leadership in multiple times and contexts (Thorne, 2000). Documents examined for historical and logical identification of objective elements, principally included the works of Aristotle that deal with objective aspects of leadership. Documents used to reconstruct the specific leadership example of Dr. Wynn came from archives and library special collections mainly located in Indiana and Ohio. The analysis of the data in these documents incorporated standard methods of qualitative inquiry outlined by Creswell (1998), such as cyclical review of the data, coding, and memos. Handwritten field notes and a computer database were used to track and record the themes and categories of

essential, objective elements of leadership as they emerged. Bracketing, was incorporated also during the analysis of the data, which is a strategy used in phenomenological studies to separate the researcher's preconceptions of leadership from those that emerge during the research investigation. Gay and Airasian (2003) noted that qualitative data analysis requires the systematic search, categorization, integration, and interpretation of study data; and further stressed that, "Analysis involves describing what is in the data; while interpretation involves making sense of what the data mean" (p. 254). The method for analyzing and interpreting the data on elements of leadership is indicated in the wording within the first part of the research question, *What elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context...?* The analytical test that was applied to all aspects of leadership was to ask if it would be logically applicable to leadership in any historical context. The researcher looked for the elements of leadership that are *sine qua non*, or absolutely necessary for leadership to exist. Without these elements, the activity would cease to be leadership.

Data collection in the biographical phase, on the leadership activities of Dr. Wynn, included field notes, jottings, daily logs, photographs, and digital files necessary, as outlined by Denzin (1989), to construct a biography of Dr. Wynn. A rich, thick narrative was written at the conclusion of the data collection, in the form of an interpretive biography to answer the question regarding whether or not Dr. Wynn's leadership example exhibits the *sine qua non* elements of leadership.

Approval to Collect Data

Approval for the study of human subjects was obtained from The University of Montana; and the regulations of the Institutional Review Board were followed. A

completed check list was provided to the IRB assuring that the study complied with all regulations. The study did not involve minors, nor members of a physically, psychologically, or socially vulnerable population. Data collection involved the examination of public and private documents and records, but none of this data, if it became known outside the research, could reasonably place any subject at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subject's financial standing or employability. No written consent form was required for this research to go forward, as no subjects other than Dr. Wynn, who died in 1922, were involved in the data collection. Other leaders or leadership samples included in the study will also come from past time periods. No subject in this study was personally video taped, and no video or audio recordings are presented in the dissertation, but numerous historical documents, artifacts, landmarks, and locations were photographed or photo copied for analysis or reporting purposes. Copy rights were honored for any documents used in the study for research purposes. Access to special collections, museums, and archives that require permission or special appointments were properly arranged to gain authorized access to the documents.

Locations of Data

The historical data on objective elements of leadership were accessed from physical libraries and digital data collections, including translations of the ancient writings of Aristotle and modern publications by leadership authors in present day. The leadership activity data on the subject, Dr. Frank Wynn, rests mainly as primary sources of information in private and special collections, as well as professional journals, newspapers, and yearbooks. The researcher also undertook personal visits to actual, pertinent locations including Indianapolis, Indiana; Lincolnville, Indiana; Akron, Ohio,

and Monterey, California to gather data. In addition to online searches and perusal of the hard copies of archived records, data gathering visits were made to such historic places as Wynn's two residences in Indianapolis; the original location of his down-town office; the pathology building where he worked and lectured to medical students; the Ruth Lilly Medical History Library at the Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis; the Special Collections Archives of the IUPUI main campus library; the offices of the Indiana Historical Bureau; the Indiana State Library and Museum in downtown Indianapolis; the Archives of the History of The American Psychology Association at the University of Akron; the Lincoln Boyhood National Park, near Evansville, Indiana; and finally to Glacier National Park where Dr. Wynn died in 1922. The data collected were organized and managed into "data displays" as described by Hubberman and Miles (1994). The displays were then used to construct the interpretive biography.

Validation and Verification

Denzin (1989) explained that all stories are subject to teller bias. Therefore, it must be conceded that some bias may be present in the numerous historical documents examined throughout the various phases of the study. The researcher, therefore, made every reasonable effort to validate the authenticity and reliability of leadership records used for all phases of the study. Creswell (1998) suggested that scholars conducting qualitative research should ensure that at least two of the following eight validity checks be used to validate their research:

1. Prolonged engagement
2. Triangulation
3. Peer Review

4. Negative case study,
5. Clarification of Bias
6. Member checks
7. Rich, thick description
8. External audit

In this study, validation was achieved by using seven of the eight checks that Creswell suggested: Prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer review, negative case study, clarification of bias, rich, thick description, and external audit.

Prolonged Engagement

The researcher remained immersed in the historical data relative to ancient and modern leadership, gathering data, analyzing the data, and returning to gather more data until saturation was achieved, when no new themes or categories of leadership elements emerged. The data was not collected from one round of interviews or by the completion of a single survey instrument. Through prolonged immersion in the works of Aristotle regarding leadership, the researcher gathered not only information on the leadership phenomenon, but will also watched out to avoid misinformation from distortions introduced by the researcher or the informing documents (Creswell, 1998, p. 201).

Triangulation

Helling (1988) suggested that validity can be increased through triangulation that occurs as the researcher treats various cases individually and separately. Triangulation of perspectives naturally occurred as writings from Aristotle were examined and compared to leadership authors in the literature review. The data gathered on Dr. Wynn csme from a number of separate sources, providing triangulation for that data also. Associates of Dr.

Wynn, such as Henry Goddard, of Ohio, who corresponded and traveled with Dr. Wynn, will also provided another perspective on Wynn's leadership for further triangulation. Dr. Goddard was well known in his day for his studies of mental illness and it was he who coined the term "moron" as a technical designation for persons with a mental condition referred to as feeble mindedness. Dr. Goddard accompanied Dr. Wynn on several outdoor expeditions and was the only eyewitness when Dr. Wynn perished on Mount Siyeh. Goddard's unpublished memoirs are held in The Archives of the American Psychology Association at the University of Akron, in Ohio. These memoirs were used by the researcher and studied for triangulation in applying the objective elements to Dr. Wynn's leadership.

Peer Review

Because this research was conducted in connection with a doctoral dissertation, peer review was naturally built into the process. Members of the dissertation committee provided feedback to the researcher at certain points in the research process, keeping the researcher honest, asking hard questions about methods, meanings and interpretations, and even playing devil's advocate when appropriate (Creswell, 1998). The dissertation committee required the researcher to defend all aspects of the proposal, the design, the data gathering, the analysis, the findings, and the conclusions of the research. Requirements of the Institutional Review Board can also be considered a kind of peer review required by the institution associated with graduate research. Peer review, in this case, was therefore a natural part of the entire research and dissertation process.

Negative Case Study

Preconceptions, misconceptions, or preferences initially held by the researcher were corrected by objectively welcoming non-conforming cases that emerged during the research process. To be specific, the researcher may have begun the investigation believing that certain aspects of leadership would emerge as objective elements when in fact the data gathering process resulted in some unexpected leadership elements. To ensure validity in the study the researcher bracketed his personal inclinations and let elements emerge from the data. Some outliers are to be expected in any research, but the researcher in this study was careful to make sure that unexpected leadership elements that appear in the data were used to “revise initial hypothesis until all cases fit” (Creswell, 1998, p. 202).

Clarification of Researcher Bias

The researcher is an outdoor enthusiast who enjoys mountain climbing and believes it has certain applications to leadership. The researcher also has an interest in the history of geographical exploration. The researcher has an appreciation for the leadership stories of exploration leaders such as Ernest Shackleton, who led several exploration efforts including his famous Endurance expedition intended to cross the Antarctic. The researcher therefore finds the study of Frank B. Wynn, an educator, conservationist, explorer, and a contemporary of Shackleton, an interesting subject for study. The researcher disclosed at the outset of this study that he shared Dr. Frank B. Wynn’s apparent love of nature and the outdoors. Denzin (1989) made the case that it is very difficult or nearly impossible for researchers to avoid personal experience or perspective when writing a biography about another person’s life and experience. He cited Merlou-

Ponty (1964) indicating that no writer can ever step outside history and objectively view his or her own or any other person's life. Having disclosed this potential bias, the researcher made every reasonable effort to provide an accurate reconstruction of Dr. Frank B. Wynn's life story; and to "bracket" personal bias so that it had minimal impact on the illustration of objective elements in Dr. Wynn's leadership activities. Creswell (1998) said that the qualitative researcher "systematically reflects on who he or she is in the inquiry and is sensitive to his or her personal biography and how it shapes the study" (p. 182).

Rich, Thick Description

Rich, thick narrative was used in the reporting of all four phases of the research. The etymology of the words leader, leading, and leadership was reported in a narrative format that will provide the reader with a greater understanding of the history and evolution of leadership terminology in various ages. The biography of Dr. Wynn was written in a rich, thick narrative in book length form to allow the reader to determine whether or not the findings can be transferred to other cases and contexts (Creswell, 1998, p. 203). In seeking for validity, Helling (1988) warned that the true lived experiences of the subject cannot completely be captured in the text, because there are so many subtle events in a lifetime of experience. In the interpretive biography, the researcher does not claim to capture the entire life of Dr. Wynn, but simply uses the biography as a means of illustrating whether or not elements of leadership identified in the second phase of the research are to be found in Wynn's life example.

External Audit

At the conclusion of the study, the researcher invites and welcomes external audits of the research. Because of the difficulty in establishing common definitions of leadership, evident in the review of the literature, the researcher does not expect immediate acceptance of the list of elements identified in this study nor the immediate inclusion of them in definitions of leadership. The researcher is well aware that consensus can not be reached in the field of leadership studies until numerous scholars can agree upon or replicate findings. Replication and corroboration of finding is missing in many current leadership studies. This research intends to pave the way for external checks by providing an auditable etymology of leadership terminology currently missing from the field, an auditable list of objective elements of leadership for any context, an auditable example of those elements in a real life leadership subject. The researcher also offers auditable rules or guidelines for definition of leadership built upon an auditable blueprint of definition criteria.

The only validity check, recommended by Creswell, not be applied to this research are member checks. In other forms of qualitative research, subjects in the study can be allowed to review the preliminary findings of the researcher to offer clarification or correction if the researcher has misinterpreted their input. This would be difficult or impossible in this study, mainly because the the leadership subjects included in the study are not be available to provide feedback. Aristotle and Frank Wynn are not be able to comment on the findings, but feedback from modern leadership authors whose work may be cited in the study would be welcomed and appreciated.

Data Reporting

Because of the four distinct phases in the research design, and the compound nature of the central research question, reporting the findings of this research also takes more than one form. Chapter four includes findings from all four phases of the research and is therefore more lengthy and complex than that found in some more typical studies. The biography of Frank Wynn is also found in this single chapter. The reporting on the etymology of the leadership terms takes place before the exploration of leadership in multiple contexts commences. The identified *sine qua non* elements of leadership and the principles that make them operational are reported as findings in rich narrative in chapter four, and summarized as a list in chapter five. Dr. Wynn's leadership example is reported in chronological order and, as Creswell (1998) indicated, includes images as well as text. Finally, the exploration of forms of definition are reported in narrative format along with an explanation of the criteria used to formulate the definition.

Chapter Summary

To accomplish the objectives of the proposed study, the researcher needed to incorporate a combination of qualitative research methods. Before any research is conducted on leadership, a solid definition of what is being researched should be established. This was particularly challenging in this case, for obvious reasons. The research needed to be broken down into separate phases that had to be carried out sequentially. A study of the terminology of leadership was required before the exploration of leadership elements could begin. Before the elements identified could be applied to the specific leadership example of Dr. Wynn, the task of exploring the purpose, function and form of definition was necessary.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Introduction

The problem this research focused on was the confusion and difficulty that results from the lack of an objective definition of leadership. To address this problem, the research question asked what elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, what principles are inherently operational within those elements, and can those elements and principles be illuminated in a specific example of leadership when examined from holistic criteria? To answer this question, the research involved data collection in five phases or five areas of focus: an etymology of leadership terms; a historical and logical survey of leadership elements; an exploration of the form of definition, proposed definitions; and an application of the proposed definitions with respect to the leadership of Frank B. Wynn, whose biography was presented in that process.

Etymology of Leadership Terms

A thorough etymology of the term *leadership* included a study of the derivation of the word in its various parts, forms, and tenses. Also included was the earliest known use and history of the word in the English language, and its linguistic changes through Old English, Middle English and into modern English usage. The etymology was considerably facilitated by online dictionaries and Internet resources that even in the recent past were not available to researchers, which included the following: The Oxford English Dictionary Online (2006), The American Heritage Dictionary (2008), and the WorldNet (2006). Dictionary.com Unabridged, based on The Random House Dictionary

(2006). The etymology also traced the transmission of the word and its parts from one language to another, and identified its cognates in some other modern languages. During this study it was found that many dictionary definitions of *leadership* were circular in that they used a form of the word leader such as *lead*, *leader*, or *leading* in the definition. This necessitated the examination and etymological study of those terms also. The findings from the complete etymology of all related leadership terms is given below.

According to the Early English Texts Society (2008), the English language can be generally divided into three periods, Old English, Middle English and Modern English. Briefly summarized, Old English dates back to about the 5th century when German speaking people migrated into what is now called England. Old English words were mainly written as they were pronounced, but spellings varied from author to author and from one region to another. Though Old English was one of the first vernacular languages to be written, the writing was done originally in Futhoric runes that descended from Scandinavian Futhark rune systems, making it virtually unrecognizable to readers of modern English. Below is an image of Futhoric runes used to write Old English words.

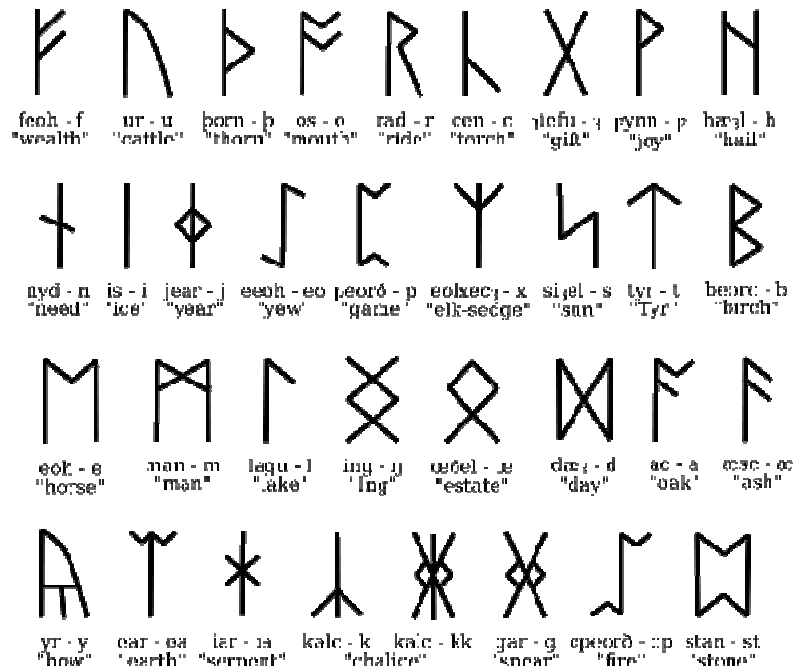


Figure 1: Futhoric Runes

The Norman invasion of England in 1066 marked a major point of change in the English language. As a result of the invasions, and additional Scandinavian migrations, many words from Old Norse and some Celtic dialects entered the language. Alfred the Great had many religious texts translated into English. The increased circulation of these documents in the 10th and 11th centuries, also had a great transforming influence on the English language. Priests who spoke and wrote Latin introduced the Latin based alphabet and many Latin words into English. As many Anglo-Saxons converted to Christianity they were taught from Latin based texts. All these combined factors brought about the change from Old English to Middle English by the mid 12th century. Changes in the spelling of words such as lead, leader and leadership can be traced through Old English, Middle English and into modern English. Below are just two lines from an Icelandic poem rendered from the original Futhoric runes using the Latin alphabet. The entire poem

is a sort of acrostic, with the first word in each line being the name of one of the Futhoric runes, similar to an A B C poem today. The full poem is available on the Northvegr Foundation (2004) web site. The modern English translation is also provided below each line. These two lines from the poem are shown in this study to give the reader an appreciation for the difficulty in reading Old English, and also because these two lines relate to leadership concept from this period.

áss er aldingautr / ok Ásgarðs jöfurr / ok Valhallar vísi.

god is ancient Gautr / and Ásgarð's king / and Valhöll's captain.

Týr er einhendr áss / ok úlfs leifar / ok hofa hilmir.

Týr is the one-handed god / and wolf's leavings / and temple ruler. (Northvegr Foundation (2004))

These lines, dealing with the names of two futhoric runes, contain three terms related to leadership, *jöfurr*, *vísi*, and *hilmir*. In non-Scandinavian Germanic languages, cognates of *jöfurr* refer to a wild boar. Therefore, this poem, metaphorically, refers to a king or warrior leader who fights with the ferocity of a wild boar or possibly wearing a boar-helmet. In the poem, *Vísi* is a captain, and *hilmir* is a ruler. Old Scandinavian has a number of other words related to leadership such as those shown below. The existence of such words is evidence that the concept of leadership has existed and was important in these time periods.

fylkir = folk ruler, similar to sheriff from shire-reeve, the ruler of a shire.

oddviti = a leader

þengill = a thing-leader (an animal leader, or cart leader)

ræsir = a host-captain

konungr = a king

allvaldr = a sovereign king

hildingr = a warlord

siklingr = a king

tiggi = a king

buðlungr = from bygð meaning leader of a county or district, or from búð meaning *booth* or someone important enough to have their own booth at an event.

Lead

As will be shown later in this etymology, one common definition of leadership is the ability or capacity to lead. Therefore, a study of leadership must begin with a study of the root word lead. Below are the findings from consulting several authoritative dictionaries and etymological resources to trace the origins, usage and various meanings attached to the term, *lead*.

Oxford English Dictionary

According to this dictionary, the word *lead* has always been used for translations of the Latin word *ducere*, and this has influenced the development of its meaning in English. The modern English verb *induce* is an obvious descendent of the Latin *ducere*. However, the following study will show several additional usage definitions and senses for the term *lead*. This dictionary provides 11 usage senses for the term *lead* as a noun, and 23 senses as a verb. This explains, to some extent, why leadership has been so hard to define. Findings of the verb usages will be presented first. As will be seen, the older context sentence samples are more difficult to read than recent context samples.

To Conduct

The first sense given in this dictionary is: *to conduct*. As a transitive verb, two meanings are provided: to cause to go along with oneself, and to bring or take (a person or animal) to a place. The word *lead* is also used with other prepositions such as *lead away*, *lead down*, or *lead toward*. The first appearance of *lead* in English is indicated by Sweet (1885) as occurring in about the year 825, almost 12 centuries ago. The phrase is found in the Vespasian Psalter (c825), which is the oldest extant English translation of the Book of Psalms from the Bible. The phrase is spoken in Old English but is written here using mainly Latin characters to make it easier for modern English speakers to read. “Astiðende in heanisse ðehefte lædde heftned” (Vesp. Psalter lxvii[i]. 19). In this early sample, *lædde* is about the only recognizable word in the sentence for modern English speakers, and the context is difficult to decipher. Around the year 1000 King Ælfric, or Alfred, translated a biblical verse as follows: “Ond of eallum nytenum ealles flæsces twegen gemacan ðu lætst in to ðam arce mid ðe, ðæt hi libban magon” (Gen. vi, 19). This sample is only slightly more readable. For comparison, the Authorized King James Version (1611) reads “And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female” (Gen. 6: 19). In place of the word *bring* in the later version, the King Ælfric translation used the word *lætst* meaning *to lead* into the ark. This suggests that *to lead* means *to bring along*. Genesis Chapter 42 tells the story of Joseph dealing with the brothers who sold him into Egypt. The Old English translation of verse 20 reads “Læde eowerne ðingstan broðor to me” (Gen. 42: 20); meaning, lead your youngest brother to me. Again the word *læde* is rendered *bring* in modern English versions of the text, suggesting that *to lead* and *to*

bring are comparable. Cotton (1175) translated a line into Old English as follows. “God 3eledde to him niatenu...and adam ham alle namen 3esceop” (p. 221). Again, the King James version is helpful, “...and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name” (Gen. 2:19). In this case, *3eledde*, or *did lead* is rendered *brought* in the modern translation.

The Oxford provides many more examples, some of which include citations. Trevista (1387) records “That the kyng schulde be lad away prisoner in to Babilon” (p.97). Maundeville (1839) records a translation dating circa 1400 that reads “The Jews ladden him upon an highe Roche” (I. 395). Berners (1533) provides another sample of this usage as follows. “The other prysoners, whom we see yonder ledyng to the dethe warde” (Huon cxliv: 539). Hearne (1698) employs this usage in the following sample. “The Pannonians...he successfully subdued, leading away the younger sort into other countries” (x, 113). Another sample is found in a letter published by Griffith (1757) “Suppose a criminal leading forth to execution” (ii. 87).

This usage also includes the more literal meaning, to carry or to convey, such as in a cart or other vehicle. Examples of this usage are to lead coal, corn or stones along in a cart. Actual samples of this usage include the following. Barbour (1375) “Vith this Bunnok spokin had thai to leid thair hay” (x. p. 195). The Oxford English Dictionary Online (2008) gives further samples of this usage. The Liber Cocorum (1862) records a sample sentence dated c1420: “Whenne thou hast covered hit [venison] so, Lede hit home” (p. 33). And another recorded by Henry (c1470) “A drawcht off wod to leid” (p. 610). Palsgrave (1530) records “He was ledde thorowe the towne upon a hardell and so to the galowes” (604/2). A line from Shakespeare (1601) reads “Faith, sir, ha's led the

drumme before the English Tragedians” (All's Well IV. iii. 298). An entry in Vestry Books written in 1683 records “...two load of lime and leading it” (Surtees 341). Robertson (1799) writes “In no case to reap when they ought to be leading in their grain” (p. 195). Stonehouse (1839) records “One shilling a load is the price generally paid for leading a cart-load of warp” (p. 43). Caine (1887) says “Dan was sent for the pair of oxen to where they were leading manure” (xvi. 800). Finally, Atkinson (1863) writes that “The people of the farm in question...had been leading, that is, carting hay in a ‘catchy’ time” (p. 64). This last sample suggests that this usage might be unfamiliar enough by 1863 to warrant the *carting* clarification provided in the sentence.

The Oxford English Dictionary Online (2008) gives the following usage samples showing that *lead* means to convey, cart, or carry, not only by humans or in vehicles but also that the wind can lead, or carry a ship home or that clouds can lead, or carry water. The samples given begin with Robert of Gloucester (1297) “He ariuede at south hamptone as the wind hom adde ylad” (2023). And from 1300: The wind him ledd a-pon the flodd. And from 1633: Causing the Clouds to lead in store of rain.

Using *lead* to mean *carry* or *convey* also appears in many legal documents provided by the Oxford Dictionary. For example, a case involving Sir W. Hamilton in 1852 contains this line: No evidence has yet been led to show.... Another dictionary sample from 1884 reads: ...the parties were allowed and led proof of their respective averments. And another from 1887 reads: Proof was led to-day in this action of separation and aliment.

To guide, or to go in advance.

The second of the 23 usage senses listed in the Oxford Dictionary, means to accompany and show the way; to guide, especially to direct or guide by going on in advance; to cause to follow in one's path. Often with adverbs such as, astray, away, forth, in, on, out, and up. The dictionary indicates that following sample sentence come from Martyrol in Old English written around the year 900. "Mine englas dec lædad in da hiofonlican Hierusalem" (p. 178). A translation is not given, but it may be similar to Exodus 19:4, which reads, I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. This next sample given by the dictionary was originally written in about 1200, and is only slightly more legible, regarding Cain and Abel. "Caym ledde himm [Abæl] ut uppo the feld" (Ormin, 1878 14468). The next sample is interesting in two aspects. First, it shows the action of leading someone into a ship. Secondly it uses an older spelling of the word, *scipe* that will be seen later in the etymology of the word *leadership*. The next sample is, "Brutus nom Ignogen and into scipe lædde" (Lay, 1205 p. 1098). Another sample dated 1350 reads, "The werwolf hem ladde ouer mures and muntaynes" (Palerne, 1609, 2618). The dictionary also cites Wycliffe (1382) and gives a line from his translation of The Bible, "He ladde hem thennes in the cloude of the day..." (Psalm 78: 14). Also in a line attributed to Satir, "Bot he will leid him in the myre Thocht he hecht to defend him" (xvi. 51). Shakespeare (1603) writes, "How now, noble Pompey! What, at the wheels of Cæsar? Art thou led in triumph?" (Meas. for M. III. ii. 47). Milton (1667) writes, "Therefore shall not Moses...his people into Canaan lead?" (P.L. xii. 309) Other samples from the Oxford English Dictionary Online (2008) include the following. Addison (1711) writes, "Satan is afterwards led away to Gabriel" (No. 321, 9). Young (1742) says, "O

lead my Mind...Lead it thro' various Scenes of Life” (p. 45). Rodgers (1847) is cited as writing the following, “The criminal must be led back by the same road by which he has been led astray” (iii, 402). The final usages sample shown here is from a line found in Charlotte Mary Yonge’s (1899) work entitled, *Cameos from English History*. This last sample is close enough to the present day for the purposes of this etymological investigation. “He was led into the chamber of presence” (IV. xiii. 144).

The Oxford English Dictionary Online (OEDO) also points out that not only people, animals, carts, wind and clouds *lead*, but also that conditions, motives and circumstances can *lead* as well. Samples of such usage begin at about the year 1300, such as this, attributed to Cursor M. “Sais me quat has you hider ledde” (20386). Clare (1821) demonstrates that time can lead, “It was a happy hour that led me up to Barnack hill” (ii, 44). Even chance or circumstances and lead as in this line from 1861: “Chance led him to Basil” (Temple Bar i. 467). The next sample of usage is found in the English Illustrated Magazine (1892). “Instinct early led him into the political arena” (ix, 867), indicating that even feelings, emotions, and impressions such as instinct can lead a person to do something or to act in a certain way.

Also, according to the Oxford, such things as clues, light, and sounds can *lead* in a guiding sense. For example, a line from Dryden (1697) reads, “By the tinkling Sound of Timbrels led, The King of Heav'n in Cretan Caves they fed” (Georg. iv. 222). Another sample comes from Campbell (1824), “Led by that clue, he left not England's shore Till he had known her” (p. 185). Another sample of this usage is found in Newman’s (1833) hymn, “Lead, Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom, Lead Thou me on!” And the final

of this type of usage comes from a marine magazine published in 1860, “The two latter Lights in line lead in” (Merc. Marine Mag. vii. 316).

Another more recent sense of the word *lead*, in the category of meaning to go in advance, is to aim a weapon or stone in advance of a moving target. For example, Greener (1892) stated, “Theoretically it is correct to lead a quartering pigeon from five to seven feet” (267). And Hamilton (1968), reported, “I led him by roughly two feet and pressed the trigger of the Luger” (xxii. 176). Only slightly different, is the sense used in the slang boxing phrase, to lead with one’s chin, meaning to take a dangerous stance, to charge ahead without caution, similar to the now more common phrase, to stick one’s neck out.

To direct movements.

The third verb usage sense listed in the Oxford of 23, is that of a military commander, marching at the head of, or directing the movements of a group. This term also means to conduct warfare, which in Latin is, *ducere bellum*. The first sample is attributed to Parker (a900), “Se Ecgbryht lādde fierd to Dore with Northan hymbre” (p. 827). The next, Palerne (1609) indicates comes from about the year 1350, “With the clenest cumpanye that euer king ladde” (page not given by the dictionary). Only the title of a translated work is given, by the dictionary, for the next sample usage sentence, but the year of origin is indicated at 1422 . “Where ben tho that ladd the grete hostes?” (tr. Secreta Secret., Priv. Priv. 154). The next is attributed to Golagros and Gaw (1470), “The thrid heght schir Bantellas, the batal to leid” (p. 655). Dalrymple (1596) wrote, “He leids ane armie till Northumberland” (VI. 332). Shakespeare (1605) penned, “You, worthy Vnkle, Shall...Leade our first Battell” (Macb. V. vi. 4). Lediard (1736) said, “The

Prince...led them on with great Gallantry” (267). Turner (1821), “Many thousands of them [elephants] have at once been led to battle” (188).

To move by tangible means.

The fourth sense of the Oxford’s 23 is, to go before or alongside and guide by direct or indirect contact, by holding the hand or some part of the body or clothing, an animal by means of a cord, halter, or bridle. This does not at first seem to be an important distinction from the previous usages of the word, but it may be an important consideration, that leading can be accomplished by tangible means that apply force as opposed to intangible persuasion. The first sample is from a circa1000 translation of scripture, Se blinda {asg}yf he blindne læt hi{asg} fealla{edh} be{asg}en on ænne pytt. The modern verse reads, “And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch” (Matt 15:14). Several other examples are provided from the 12th through the 15th centuries, but the following will suffice for this study. Palsgrave (1530) writes, “Lede my horse, I praye you, up and downe (604/2). Tennyson (1830) writes, “In sweet dreams. Thou leddest by the hand thine infant Hope” (10).

In Latin, ducere also means to marry, or to lead a bride to the altar. Palsgrave (1530) is again cited as the earliest usage in this sense. “I lede a bride to churche, je mayne” (604/2). Dryden (1700) also uses it, “He had either led Thy Mother then, or was by Promise ty'd” (Ovid’s p. 267). Landor (1812) writes, “He leads her to the altar, to the throne” (Ct. Julian V. iii. 5). Tennyson (1842) records, “He...leads her to the village altar” (Burleigh 11).

The Oxford also identifies a slightly different sense, that of causing to obey submissively. This informs the present study that there are subtle differences in how

people or things are led. In some cases the subjects are willing, while in others they are not, such as in the following examples. Lydg (1680) transcribes a document dated circa 1425 as, “How false idolatry ledeth hem by the sleue.” Golding (1583) wrote, “Men....suffer themselues to bee led by the noses like brute beasts” (p. 745). Puttenham (1589) wrote, “Princes may be lead but not driuen” (p. 299). Shakespeare (1604) composed these words, “The Moore...will as tenderly be lead by th' Nose As Asses are” (I. iii. 407) In Camden (1631) is found, “You shall meete with ignorant Juryes, your duty is to open their eyes, you may not leade them by the nose (p. 20). Kingsly (1856), “A mob of fools and knaves, led by the nose in each generation by a few arch-fools and arch-knaves” (p. 211).

To induce, persuade, counsel.

References of the term *lead* used to mean inducement, persuasion, or counsel begin at about 1225, The feont...leadeth [men] to unbileau. Starkey (1538) wrote, “The wyl of man ever commynly folowyth that to the wych opynyon ledyth hyt” (p. 30). Hobbes (1651) writes, “They ought not to be led with admiration of the virtue” (xxx. 177). Addison (1711) wrote, “This Error they have been led into by a ridiculous Doctrine in modern Criticism” (p. 1). Butler (1874) uses the term in the following sentence. “Our whole nature leads us to ascribe all moral perfection to God” (I. 9). Several more samples from the 1800’s can be found in the Oxford dictionary, but those given here are sufficient for our purposes.

To serve as a way, road, or passage into a place.

A rather difficult sentence from Ormin (c1200 / 1878) reads, “Forr thiss Lamb iss thatt rihhte stih Thatt ledeth thee upp till heffne” (12916). The next dictionary sample

from 1340 renders the past tense of *lead* as *let*, Thet is the way thet let in-to the helle of god. A Wycliffe (1382) biblical translation reads as follows, “How streit is the ghate and narewe the weye that ledith to lyf” (Matt. vii. 14). In *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare put down these lines, “A little doore, Which from the Vineyard to the Garden leades” (IV. i. 33). Lady Mary Wroth (1621) wrote, “The way of necessity leading me to follow my disdainer” (452). Ozell (1720) provided another example of how a way can lead to something, “There were but two Ways that led equally to all the Dignities of the Republick” (II. IX. 48). Eighteenth century author, Mrs. Radcliffe (1791) gives another example, “La Motte ascended the stairs that led to the tower” (ii). And poet, John Clare, (1821) gives yet another, “My rambles led me to a gipsy's camp” (I. 122).

The phrase, to lead to, can mean to have as a result or consequence as in the following examples. John Jortin (1770) wrote, “Pride seldom leads to truth in points of morality” (IV. vi. 119). Pattison (1889) explained that, “Several seizures of English cargoes led to reprisals on our part; reprisals led to a naval war” (I. 43). In a work entitled, *The Holy Roman Empire*, James Bryce (1875) recorded, “The victory of Tolbiac led to the submission of the Alemanni” (p. 35).

To compel through a course of irksome action.

In this next example of usage, the word *lead* is used in expressions like, He was led on a wild goose chase. Except that in previous centuries the victim was led in a dance rather than on a chase. For example, Shakespeare (1601) wrote, “Why he's able to leade her a Carranto” (*All's Well* II. iii. 49). Thomas Haywood (1607) wrote a considerable number of early English works. One included these lines, “That's the dance her Husband meanes to leade her” (A3). Similarly, Addison (1711) who has already been cited,

recorded, ADDISON Spect. “You know...my Passion for Mrs. Martha, and what a Dance she has led me (No. 89, p. 2). The dictionary shows the first use of the word *chase*, with leading, in 1861, “He...often leads them a fine chase over hill and dale (Temple Bar IV. 53).

Senses 8 through 23 summarized.

The Oxford dictionary provides samples of 16 further usages or senses of the term *lead*. They are summarized in the following section. Specific examples and references can be found by consulting the dictionary directly. As illustrated in the previous sections, usage phrases are provided, by the dictionary, from the earliest recorded English occurrences. Selected samples will be shown here to show the development of usage through time.

Water can be *led* through a channel. This usage traces back to the Latin phrase, *aquam ducere*. Samples starting as early as 1050 show that a rope can be *led* through a hole or pulley. Samples from the 1300’s indicate that a boat can be led through the sea, or a plough can be led through a field. Wycliffe’s 1382 translation of the Bible shows that a razor was led over the beard, and that a man, leading out a sword, smote a servant of the High Priest.

Cases of *lead*, meaning to govern over or rule begin at about 1200. Chaucer (1366), for example, applies the term in this way in the following phrase, “She had nothing hir-self to lede...More than a child of two yeer olde” (p. 400). This sense might be the one that many people would first think of when considering modern leadership. However, in the Oxford dictionary there are relatively few samples of this usage compared to the other 22 senses. This suggests that this sense has a more recent history,

or that the sense has been applied more in recent centuries than in those previous. Just the opposite is true of some of the other senses, for example, leading cargo in a transport truck is such an outdated usage now, that few modern English speakers would understand the meaning. On the other hand, a president leading a country would be understood easily today. These two examples suggest that careful consideration must be given to the definition of leadership because leadership can be applied and understood in a wide range of meanings, especially depending upon the time frame and context.

Another example of uncommon usage today, but found in the Oxford dictionary is that of meaning to participate in song, dance, and enjoyment. This usage originates from the Latin terms, *ducere carmen*, *choros*, and from the German *die reihen führen*. Another sense still found in some cases today is that of meaning to pass through life or some other portion of time. It is fairly common to hear that someone led a good life. Again this usage has been influenced by the Latin, *ducere vitam*. More rarely it can also mean to sustain life, as in the following phrase. Exercise and proper eating leads to a good life or good health. Froude (1858) for example, wrote. "No human being should be at liberty to lead at his own pleasure an unaccountable existence" (p.13).

A sense of the term that has endured from about 1380 to the present is that of having the first place in something, such as a precession. Bailey (1848) used the term in this way in the following phrase. "May our country ever lead The world, for she is worthiest" (p. 49). And this sentence is found in Harper's Magazine (1893) "Of the causes...pneumonia led the list" (385/2). Other examples include the following, The Admiral's frigate led. The small hats which are to lead for the coming season. In the Amen Chorus in the Messiah, the bass leads.

The Oxford combines the following senses into one category. To direct by one's example; to set a fashion; to take the directing or principal part in proceedings of any kind; to be chief of a party or a movement; to have the official initiative in the proceedings of a deliberative body. To lead a band, an orchestra, or to lead the prayers of a congregation. For example, G. A. Lawrence (1859) wrote, "He is so very anxious to get Cecil to lead the singing in church" (p.51).

Another sense, according to the Oxford, is that of a barrister acting as leading counsel in a cause, or to act as leader to another barrister; to take precedence of something. This sense, however has origins that only date back to the 1800's. For examples. Trollope (1862) says, "Of course I must lead in defending her" (p. 268). And, the Law Times (1883) reports, "It has been the practice of English Queen's Counsel to lead colonial Queen's Counsel in appeals before the Judicial Committee" (LXXVII. 384/1).

Yet another sense, and one that, on the surface, does not seem to apply to the study of leadership, is that of playing the first card in a round or trick. Or to play a card in order to bring out cards held by another player. This usage dates back to the mid 1600's and several examples of card playing strategies are given in the dictionary that employ the term *lead* or *leading*. A little more applicable, perhaps, to leadership, is the sense often communicated in figurative language such as the following examples provided by the Oxford dictionary. Some Men are led away by the Spirit of Party. Grace is easily led away. The dictionary demonstrates the distinction between *leading away*, and *leading off*, which means to take the first steps in a dance, or to open a conversation or discussion. These usages also only date back to the 1800's. For example, the 1893 Harper's

Magazine includes the statement, “He led off with his companion in a sort of quickstep (210/2). To lead on, according to the dictionary means to induce gradually to advance; to entice or beguile into going to greater lengths. The first of such usage is reported in Shakespeare (1598) “Giue him a show of comfort in his Suit, and lead him on with a fine baited delay” (Merry W. II. i. 98). Several others are also given by the dictionary including one from, Mrs. Henniker (1891) “Don't pretend, now, you didn't encourage and lead me on” (p. 113).

A final few distinct meanings are illustrated by the Oxford dictionary when the word lead is used with the prepositions, up and through. For example, in the 1700's a skilled couple at dancing were said to lead up the ball. In the 1900's leading through became a term that mountaineers used when they alternately took turns leading pitches while roped together. For example, Young (1945) explains from a climbing guide book, “Nowadays, two such experts...make a practice of ‘leading through’: that is...the second man on reaching his leader climbs straight on past him and leads the next section” (p. 184). The terms, *lead up to* are found in use near the end of the 1800's, meaning to progress by degrees. For example McCarthy (1880) writes, “Perhaps he had deliberately led up to this very point” (xlv. 381). This concludes the etymology of the term *lead* from the Oxford English Dictionary Online. However, some additional information is available in other dictionaries also.

Random House Unabridged Dictionary

According to this dictionary the term *lead* originates before the year 900. In Old English it was written as, *lædan*, the causative form of *lithan*, meaning to go or to travel.

In Middle English it changed slightly to, leden, Similar words were found in Dutch, leiden, German, leiten, and in Old Norse, leitha.

The Random House Unabridged Dictionary (2006) provided 56 definitions for the word, *lead*. Although many of the definitions do not apply to the kind of leadership that is the focus of this research project, nevertheless, a study of all 56 definitions creates appreciation for the difficulty scholars have had in defining leadership, given the same word has been used to describe so many ideas, concepts, and activities. Because many of these descriptions of usage are similar to those found in the Oxford dictionary, further commentary is not necessary. The findings are presented here as raw data. The following 56 examples are taken almost verbatim from the dictionary with only slight editing for formatting purposes.

As a verb with an object.

1. to go before or with to show the way; conduct or escort: *to lead a group on a cross-country hike.*
2. to conduct by holding and guiding: *to lead a horse by a rope.*
3. to influence or induce; cause: Subsequent events led him to reconsider his position.
4. to guide in direction, course, action, or opinion; to bring: You can lead her around to your point of view if you are persistent.
5. to conduct or bring (water, wire, etc.) in a particular course.
6. (of a road, passage, etc.) to serve to bring (a person) to a place: *The first street on the left will lead you to Andrews Place.*
7. to take or bring: The prisoners were led into the warden's office.

8. to command or direct (an army or other large organization): *He led the Allied forces during the war.*

9. to go at the head of or in advance of (a procession, list, body, etc.); proceed first in: *The mayor will lead the parade.*

10. to be superior to; have the advantage over: The first baseman leads his teammates in runs batted in.

11. to have top position or first place in: *Iowa leads the nation in corn production.*

12. to have the directing or principal part in: The minister will now lead us in prayer. He led a peace movement.

13. to act as leader of (an orchestra, band, etc.); to conduct.

14. to go through or pass (time, life, etc.): *to lead a full life.*

15. to begin a round, game, etc., with (a card or suit specified).

16. to aim and fire a firearm or cannon ahead of (a moving target) in order to allow for the travel of the target while the bullet or shell is reaching it.

17. to throw a lead pass to (an intended receiver): *The quarterback led the left end.*

As a verb used without an object:

18. to act as a guide; show the way: *You lead and we'll follow.*

19. to afford passage to a place: That path leads directly to the house.

20. to go first; be in advance: The band will lead and the troops will follow.

21. to result in; tend toward (usually followed by to): The incident led to his resignation. One remark often leads to another.

22. to take the directing or principal part.

- 23. to take the offensive: The contender led with a right to the body.
- 24. to make the first play in cards.
- 25. to be led or submit to being led, as a horse: *A properly trained horse will lead easily.*
- 26. to leave a base (in baseball) before the delivery of a pitch in order to reach the next base more quickly (often followed by off).
- 27. lead back, to play (a card) from a suit that one's partner led.

As a noun:

- 28. the first or foremost place; position in advance of others: *He took the lead in the race.*
- 29. the extent of such an advance position: *He had a lead of four lengths.*
- 30. a person or thing that leads.
- 31. a leash.
- 32. a suggestion or piece of information that helps to direct or guide; tip; clue: *I got a lead on a new job. The phone list provided some great sales leads.*
- 33. a guide or indication of a road, course, method, etc., to follow.
- 34. precedence; example; leadership: They followed the lead of the capital in their fashions.
- 35. in theater, a. the principal part in a play, b. the person who plays it.
- 36. in cards. a. the act or right of playing first, as in a round. b. the card, suit, etc., so played.
- 37. in journalism. a. a short summary serving as an introduction to a news story, article, or other copy. b. the main and often most important news story.

- 38. in electrical terms, an often flexible and insulated single conductor, as a wire, used in connections between pieces of electric apparatus.
- 39. the act of taking the offensive.
- 40. in nautical terms, a. the direction of a rope, wire, or chain. b. Also called leader. any of various devices for guiding a running rope.
- 41. in naval architecture, the distance between the center of lateral resistance and the center of effort of a sailing ship, usually expressed decimally as a fraction of the water-line length.
- 42. an open channel through a field of ice.
- 43. in mining. a. a lode. b. an auriferous deposit in an old riverbed.
- 44. the act of aiming a gun ahead of a moving target.
- 45. the distance ahead of a moving target that a gun must be aimed in order to score a direct hit.
- 46. in baseball. an act or instance of leading.
- 47. in manège. (of a horse at a canter or gallop) the foreleg that consistently extends beyond and strikes the ground ahead of the other foreleg: The horse is cantering on the left lead.

As an adjective:

- 48. most important; principal; leading; first: lead editorial; lead elephant.
- 49. in football, (of a forward pass) thrown ahead of the intended receiver so as to allow him to catch it while running.
- 50. in baseball, (of a base runner) nearest to scoring: They forced the lead runner at third base on an attempted sacrifice.

In verb phrases:

- 51. lead off, a. to take the initiative; begin. b. in baseball, to be the first player in the batting order or the first batter in an inning.
- 52. lead on, a. to induce to follow an unwise course of action; mislead. b. to cause or encourage to believe something that is not true.
- 53. lead out, a. to make a beginning. b. to escort a partner to begin a dance: *He led her out and they began a rumba.*

In idiomatic expressions:

- 54. lead someone a chase or dance, to cause someone difficulty by forcing to do irksome or unnecessary things.
- 55. lead the way.
- 56. lead up to, a. to prepare the way for. b. to approach (a subject, disclosure, etc.) gradually or evasively: *I could tell by her allusions that she was leading up to something.* This concludes the findings from the Random House Unabridged Dictionary. Some unique usages were identified by this dictionary that were not found in the Oxford.

The American Heritage Dictionary

This reference also lists many definitions for the word *lead*, similar to those found in the Oxford and in the Random House. Differences are mainly in how the various usages are organized or categorized. Again, the findings are presented here as raw data. Conclusions drawn from the data will be reported in Chapter Five.

As an intransitive verb:

- 1. To act as commander, director, or guide.

2. To afford a passage, course, or route: a road that leads over the mountains; a door leading to the pantry.
3. To tend toward a certain goal or result. Examples: a remark that led to further discussion; policies that led to disaster.
4. To begin a presentation or an account in a given way: *The announcer led with the day's top stories.*
5. To begin an attack in boxing with a specified hand or punch: *led with a right to the body.*

As a noun

1. The Initiative: She took the lead in setting the pace of the project.
2. The prerogative of turn to make the first play: *The lead passes to the player on the left.*
3. The margin by which one holds a position of advantage or superiority: *The team held a lead of nine points at the half.*
4. Command; leadership: She took over the lead of the company.
5. An example; a precedent: He followed his sister's lead in running for office.
6. A channel of open water created by a break in a mass of ice.

As an adjective:

7. The first or foremost: *the lead leg on a surfboard.*
8. The most important: the lead author of a research paper.
9. To keep in a state of expectation or hope; entice.
10. To mislead; deceive.

As part of an idiom: lead up to

11. To result in by a series of steps: *events leading up to the coup*.
12. To proceed toward (a main topic) with preliminary remarks.
13. All roads lead to Rome
14. The blind leading the blind
15. You can lead a horse to water.

Online Etymology Dictionary

According to the Online Etymology Dictionary, (2001) the oldest usage of *lead* as a verb refers to someone guiding or pulling another by the hand or rope, making someone move. The term lead comes from the Old English word *lædan*, meaning to cause to go with one. *Lædan*, in Old English, is the causative form of the verb *liðan*, which means, to travel. So *lædan* literally means to cause someone or something to move along, or get going. Old Scandinavian has the word, *lithan*, and Old Norse the word *liða*, meaning, to go. In Old High German, *ga-lidan*, means to travel. In Gothic, *ga-leiþan*, means to go. The noun is first recorded in 1300, meaning the action of leading. Using the verb *leading* to mean *going in the first place* is found at about 1380. As a noun meaning, *the front or leading place* is from 1570. This dictionary says that Johnson stigmatized it as a low, despicable word, but does not provide a reference or citation for Johnson. According to this dictionary, the sense in card-playing is from 1742; in theater, from 1831; in journalism, from 1927, and in jazz bands, from 1934.

WorldNet, Princeton University

This online dictionary lists many of the same or very similar definitions as those already presented, but includes some that are new or different. As a noun: The timing of ignition relative to the position of the piston in an internal combustion engine. A

synonym for spark advance. As a verb: To be conducive to. For example, The use of computers in the classrooms leads to better writing. To preside over: John led the discussion, meaning John moderated the discussion.

Other Dictionaries

From the Merriam – Webster’s Dictionary of Law (1996), to suggest the desired answer to (a witness) by asking leading questions. From the Merriam-Webster's Medical Dictionary (2002), a flexible or solid insulated conductor connected to or leading out from an electrical device (as an electroencephalograph).

Leader

Oxford English Dictionary

To examine the origins and history of the term *leader*, the researcher again consulted the *Oxford English Dictionary (1933)* and also the Oxford English Dictionary Online (2008). The earliest instance of the word *leader*, according to this dictionary, appeared in the English language at about 1300 in an early English Psalter, that was translated as follows, Mi leder, and mi kowth sa gode. Chaucer (1324) wrote the following, Oon thynketh the bere But al a-nother thynketh his ledere. The Wycliffe (1382) translation of a verse from the Bible reads as follows, “Thei ben blynde, and lederis of blynde men” (Matt 15:14). Trevisa (1398) wrote “Curlewes haue guydes and ledars as cranes haue for they drede the goshawke” (p. 418). Around 1450 a reference is cited from St. Cuthbert indicating that when a man is struck blind, *withouten ledar nedit he to abyde behynd*. Douglas (1513) writes, “...blythlie following his ledair Achates” (xi 5). Huloet (1552) uses the term *Leder awaye*, to describe an abductor. Shakespeare (1598) penned these words, “You were wont to be a follower, but now you are a leader”

(M. W. III. ii. 3). Milton (1667) wrote in *Paradise Lost*, these words, “Leader to free enjoyment of our right as Gods” (vi. 451). And Dryden (1697) wrote, “Ample Plains, Where oft the Flocks without a Leader stray” (p 526). Dickens (1838) wrote in *Nicholas Nickelbee* these words, “Follow your leader, boys, and take pattern by Smike if you dare” (xiii).

Another usage for the word *leader* is one who has charge of animals. For example, The Oxford Online Dictionary cites the 1495 Act II of Henry VII reading as follows, The office of the Maistershippe of the leder of the Dere of the parke of Okeley.

The World Book Dictionary

Nine definitions or examples of usage are given for the word *leader* in this dictionary. As in the study of the term *lead*, the raw data is presented here from the World Book Dictionary. Conclusions drawn from the data compiled from all dictionaries will be provided in Chapter Five. Below then, is the data on the term *leader* from the World Book.

1. A person, animal or thing that leads: the leader of a band, the leader of a discussion. Brigham Young was the leader of the Mormons. Albert Einstein was a leader in the field of mathematics. Lewis and Clark were leaders of an expedition across America to the Pacific Coast.
2. A person who is well fitted to lead: *That boy is a born leader.*
3. A horse harnessed at the front of a team: *The whips cracked, the leaders capered and ... away we rattled* (Charles J. Lever).

4. An important or leading article or editorial in a newspaper: In 1944 he wrote a blistering leader demanding that the British government cease toading to Washington (Newsweek).
- 5a. A length of cord attaching the lure to a fish line. 5b. A net placed so as to cause fish to swim into a weir, pond, or trap.
6. A pipe carrying water from a roof gutter to the ground.
7. An article offered at a low price to attract customers.
8. The concert master of an orchestra or vocal group
9. A row of dots or dashes that guide the reader's eye across a printed page are called *leaders*.

Other Dictionaries

The Online Etymology Dictionary (2001) indicates that a leader, is one who leads. The first of such usage is dated at about 1300. This resource places the use of *leader* as the shortened form of an opening news article at 1807, and as a prominent newspaper piece giving editorial opinion at 1837. While the notion of one who leads seems more applicable to this research, the connotations of prominence is also duly noted.

Leadership

Oxford English Dictionary

The Oxford English Dictionary Online (2008) gives a shorter definition and etymology for the term *leadership* than it does for the terms *lead* and *leader*. Links are provided for the root word *leader* and *-ship*. The link to *leader* takes the reader back to what has already been shown for that term; however, the link for the suffix *-ship* provides some essential background on its evolution and usage. In Old and Middle

English the suffix *-ship* (usually spelled, *-scipe*) was added to adjectives such as glad, wild, drunken, and hard to denote the state of being glad, wild, drunken, or difficult.

These words can be found in the 1400's as *gladscipe*, *wildscipe*, *drunkenscipe*, and *hardscipe*. Of these only *hardship* seems to have survived into modern English usage.

The suffix was also added to nouns to denote the state or condition of being what is expressed by the noun such as in the Old English *féondscipe*, meaning fiendship, foeship, or hostility, and the antecedent, *fréondscipe* meaning friendship or amiability. Other examples from nouns include, authorship, fellowship, knightship, partnership, sonship, and suretyship, some of which persist in current English and others that have fallen out of use. Examples help give some understanding of the development and usage of such terms in the past. For example, Fairfax (1674) wrote, "Supposing that by Almighty power their Sunship and Moonship might be kept by them, without worldship" (p. 89).

According to the Oxford dictionary, some nouns are combined with the suffix *-ship* to designate a class of human beings. The compound word assumes the sense of the qualities or character associated with, or the skill or power of accomplishment of, the person denoted by the noun, such as in the Old English, *hláfordscipe* which would be *lordship*, in modern English. Such words suggest domination, or supremacy of the person. Another example is *mannscipe* or *manship*, suggesting the supremacy of man. More common derivations include: craftsmanship, horsemanship, housewifeship, kingship, soldiership, and *workmanship*. Again, some of these terms survive today while others do not. A distinction is made between placing the suffix *-ship* on common nouns such as horse or craftsman and the placing of it on more proper nouns, designating an official or person of rank to denote the office, position, dignity, or rank of the person

designated, as in the Old English term, *eréfscipe* meaning *reeveship*. The more common term *sheriff*, used today, descends from these words. Other examples include, *ambassadorship*, *captainship*, *chaplainship*, *clerkship*, *headship*, *laureateship*, *professorship*, *sheriffship*, *stewardship*. In the case of *fellowship*, *scholarship*, *postmastership* and the like, the compound has come to connote not only the office or position itself but the emoluments, or monetary profits pertaining to it. The following example, provided by the dictionary, comes from *Harper's Magazine*, (April 1895), “The positions they fill are the judgeship, the searchership, the spankership, and general juryship” (718/2). When the suffix is added to some pronouns to form compounds such as, *ladyship*, *lordship*, *worship*, these become honorific designations of the persons. Hence, the suffix has sometimes also been employed to form mock titles or humorous styles of address, in which *-ship* is added to the ordinary designation of the person (or animal) or to a word expressing a quality which it is desired to emphasize, for example, *his beggarship*. This usage has been extended even to adjectives such as *his uglyship* or *her humbleship* and adjective phrases like, *his beyond-sea-ship*. This ends the data found in the Oxford on the suffix *-ship*. Not all examples from the dictionary have been repeated here, but sufficient to give a history of the development of its usage over the past few hundred years.

The dignity or office

From the forgoing etymology, The Oxford English Dictionary Online (2008) divides the term *leadership* into four different usages. The first usage relates to the dignity, the office, or the position of a single leader, especially the leader of a political party. The first example of such usage is recorded in a correspondence (Wynn, 1821),

“Charles writes that Tierney has regularly resigned the Leadership of the Opposition” (p. 268). The next citation comes from Fonblanque (1834) asking, “Is the leadership of the House to be conservatively settled by placing the minority in office?” (III. 130). Bond (1856) describes, “...an invasion of the Crim Tartars...under the leadership of their khan” (p. 29). A historian named, MaCaulay (1859) wrote, “That high position which has now been long called the Leadership of the House of Commons” (V. 165).

Ability

The second definition in the Oxford Dictionary relates to the ability to lead. For example, the dictionary cites Pall Mall (1870) who wrote, “Nothing is wanted but military leadership and military means” (Aug., p. 1). The dictionary refers to the *Biography of Harry S. Truman* in which M. Truman (1973) wrote, “Dad once defined leadership as the art of persuading people to do what they should have done in the first place” (p. 306).

The position of a group or the group itself

The third Oxford definition refers to the position of a group of people leading or influencing others within a given context. The dictionary quotes a line from 1885 in the Law Times, referring to, “the leadership of a great circuit” (LXXIX. 351/2). Another later example is provided from Barnard (1938), “If a system once accepted...destroys leadership or divides followers then disorganization, schism, rebellion...ensues” (p. 24). The fourth distinction, drawn by the Oxford dictionary, refers to the group itself. For example, on January 16, 1964, Mrs. L. B. Johnson (1970) wrote in her *White House Diary* that there had been “...an early dinner this evening...for the heads of the Senate Committees...and the Leadership on both sides and their wives” (p. 51).

Action or influence

The fifth Oxford definition of *leadership*, applies to the action or influence necessary for the direction or organization of effort in a group undertaking. An example given by the dictionary is from Sherif and Cantril (1947) writing that, “Leadership, then, was seen to be a function of the group and its activities” (vii. 182). And also Gerald (1963), who said, “Few of the editors of mass-circulation newspapers since 1830 have risked their careers to exert strong leadership in the community” (p. 100).

World Book Dictionary

In comparison with the Oxford dictionary, the Word Book reference divided the usages or definitions of leadership into the three categories listed below. The Oxford had at least five divisions. A few examples are also given by the World Book to illustrate the various distinct definitions of the term.

1. The condition of being a leader.
2. The ability to lead. Leadership is a great asset to an officer.
3. Guidance or direction. Our group needs some leadership.

Dictionary.com Unabridged

This dictionary, based on the Random House Dictionary, provides translations for the term leadership in 30 languages as shown in the table below.

Arabic:	رِئَاسَة قِيَادَة،
Chinese (Simplified):	▪ ▪ 能力
Chinese (Traditional):	領導能力
Czech:	Vůdcovství
Danish:	Lederevne
Dutch:	Leiderscapaciteiten
Estonian:	Juhivõimed
Finnish:	Johtamistaito

French:	qualités de chef
German:	der Führungsgeist
Greek:	ηγερική ικανότητα
Hungarian:	vezetői képesség
Icelandic:	Forystuhæfileikar
Indonesian:	Kepemimpinan
Italian:	capacità di dirigere
Japanese:	指導力
Korean:	▪ ▪ ▪
Latvian:	vadītājam nepieciešamās īpašības
Lithuanian:	gebėjimas vadovauti
Norwegian:	Lederegenskap
Polish:	cechy przywódcze
Portuguese:	Liderança
Romanian:	calităţi de conducător
Russian:	умение руководить
Slovak:	vodcovské schopnosti
Slovenian:	sposobnost vodenja; vodstven
Spanish:	don de mando
Swedish:	Ledarförmåga
Turkish:	önderlik, *liderlik (yeteneği)

Figure 2: Translations of leadership

The table above showing translations of the concept of leadership into other languages informs the research that the concept of leadership can be communicated in a number of ways. For example, the Dutch rendition might be literally translated as *leader capacity*. The literal French translation might be, *qualities of the chief*. The Italian perhaps is rendered, *capacity of directing*. Norwegian translates as the *attributes or capacity of leader*. Portuguese suggests the *essence of leading*. Romanian, the *qualities of a conductor*. And Spanish renders it, the *gift of command*. An understanding of the other languages listed would add even further nuances of comprehension to the global notion of leadership.

Hegemony

The Online Etymology Dictionary (2001) linked the term *leadership* with the Greek word hegemony. The dictionary briefly states that the term hegemony comes from a 1567, translation of the Greek word, hegemonia, which is translated as *leadership*. Hegemon, in Greek means *leader* and hegeisthai means to *lead*. According to this dictionary, the word originally referred to the predominance of one city state over another in Greek history. The Random House Dictionary (2006) defines hegemony as: leadership or predominant influence exercised by one nation over others, as in a confederation. Aggression or expansionism by large nations in an effort to achieve world domination. The Webster Revised Unabridged Dictionary (1998) indicates that hegemony means to guide or go before, also leadership; preponderant influence or authority; usually applied to the relation of a government or state to its neighbors or confederates.

Summary of Etymological Findings

The findings from a thorough examination of the etymological history of leadership terms shows that, in English, the term *leadership* has only been used extensively for about 200 years. However, the concept of leading, guiding and influencing can be found as far back as recorded language can be traced. The verb, *to lead* can be traced back through Middle English to Old English and then back into Scandinavian and German languages. To lead is the most common translation of the Latin verb ducere, meaning to induce, move or guide. The equivalents of leadership, leader and leading can be found in the ancient Greek language as hegemony, hegemon and hegeisthai.

From the findings in the etymology, *leadership* has been used to refer to a position of predominance as well as refer to the ability to act with influence while in such a position. A leader is one who influences others by some means to move or accomplish something. The verb, to lead has an interesting history and a remarkable number of meanings and applications in English. However, in virtually all the various cases, the term has something to do with movement and typically involves an agent and an object of the movement. In simple terms, it involves a mover and something or someone that is moved either by some tangible force or object or moved intangibly by persuasion.

Logical and Historical Elements of Leadership

Identifying the essential elements of leadership in any time or setting is the second phase or focus area of this research. Part of the research question asks, what elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, and what principles are inherently operational within those elements. This is to say, what aspects or elements of leadership must always be present regardless of the circumstances in which leadership occurs? These elements were explored logically and historically. However, because leadership has not been defined at this point in the research, that being the principal objective, the word *leadership* is sometimes replaced in this section of the research with terms like, *leading activities*, or *leader and follower scenarios*.

The researcher took the information gathered in the etymology of leadership as a starting point for an examination of elements that would logically be essential in any leadership context. The etymology was helpful by illuminating the necessity of comprehending the various senses of words associated with leading and also the nature of

leaders. The etymology also points to the importance of fixing the sense in which leadership is to be used within organizational structure so that leadership means the same thing each time it is used in this context. Leadership primarily seems to deal with the principles that enable someone in a precedent position to guide others in a course of action. Interestingly, education and leadership must be closely related, because education likewise usually involves a person in a precedent position guiding another through a course of action aimed at learning or doing something.

The etymology of leadership terms and usage suggests that leadership can be divided into three main categories. The first deals with a position of precedence, often including some degree of dignity. The second deals with ability and skill in moving, guiding, or influencing others. The third refers to the action, guidance, or influence that comes from individuals in such positions. In other words, the term *leadership* is used to refer to a position, an ability, and/or an influence. The researcher believes, however, after careful examination of the etymology, that the term *leadership* is often inaccurately applied, in general usage. For example, when MacCaulay (1859) says, “That high position which has now been long called the Leadership of the House of Commons” (V. 165), he is talking about the position, and would be more precise by referring to it as the leadership position of the House of Commons, rather than merely using the single term, *leadership*. In modern usage, some might say, *the leadership of the party was filled by acclamation*. In these cases the term leadership is used as a noun, when using it as an adjective describing the nature of the position would be more accurate. For example, *the leadership position of the party was filled by acclamation*. Certainly, if the object of this research is to define leadership, this type of usage must be understood for what it is.

Positions may have a bearing on leadership and leadership may have implications for certain positions, but leadership and position probably should not be equivocal. Position may be a part of leadership but when the term leadership is used to denote a position, the term is used casually and not precisely nor technically. Another example of using the word *leadership* as a descriptive adjective rather than a noun would be, *the leadership office is currently vacant*. In the phrase just stated, the adjective *leadership* remains undefined, at this point in the research.

The etymology showed that leadership mainly deals with the ability or skill required to conduct, convey, guide or direct. The phrase, “Leadership is a great asset to an officer” (World Book, 1963/2009), illustrates this main usage of the term. This sense of the term seems more closely associated with what leadership studies really try to understand. Leadership research, including the present study, is mainly interested in the ability to lead, rather than the position of leader.

The third main usage sense for leadership, revealed by the etymology, is the sense denoted in the phrase, “Few editors...exert strong leadership in the community” (Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2008). This usage, when analyzed carefully, is not so much a distinct sense of the term leadership as it is the corollary of leadership ability, just discussed. The Oxford Dictionary indicates that this sense refers to the guidance or persuasion that a group requires or desires. This guidance is simply the corollary or the result of the efforts of the leader, like two sides of the same coin. Another example to illustrate the complementary nature of these two senses is the notion of a single door acting as an entrance or an exit. The nature and activity of the door is basically the same, but in one sense the door serves as an exit and in another sense it serves as an entrance.

Therefore, leadership can be seen as skillfully applied guidance or influence by a leader, or it can be seen as helpful guidance or inspiration perceived by a group of followers. The sense and purpose is slightly different, but the principles in operation would be much the same. An illustration from Aristotle might help make this point. Aristotle said when studying a circle, one can describe the curve as being convex or on the contrary as being concave, depending upon the perspective in or out of the circle. Likewise, leadership can be seen from the perspective of the leader in giving guidance to the follower, or on the other hand, it can be perceived from the perspective of the follower receiving guidance from the leader. These are two different perspectives and two different senses of the term leadership, but in essence they deal with the same phenomenon.

Therefore, this researcher believes that all of the senses or usages of the term *leadership*, discovered in the etymology, can be combined into one, in order to study the essential elements of the phenomenon. The various senses are logically combined in the following statement. *Leadership deals with the ability of a person generally in a precedent position to provide others with the guidance necessary to influence them to act in a certain way or move in a specific direction.* This conceptualization of leadership will serve as a guiding statement for this phase of the research. Leadership position, leadership ability, and leadership influence are all considered and play important parts in the statement. The task then, is to explore the essential elements necessary in any leadership setting to enable a person in such a position to be able to influence others to action or movement.

In Search of the Essential Elements of Leadership

To gather data on the essential elements of leadership logically and historically, the researcher began by examining some of the writings of Aristotle. Several authors in the literature reviewed referred to ancient writing such as those of Aristotle, (Bass, 1990; Collins, 1994; Ciulla, 2003; Kodish, 2006; Schweigert, 2008). The first three works considered were, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics* and *Categories*. Findings from each of these works that seem to point to the essential elements of leadership, are presented below.

Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics

Although animals may demonstrate some aspects of leadership behavior, this study is primarily interested in human leadership. If it can be assumed that human leadership is considered good or desirable behavior, then what constitutes good or desirable human behavior is of interest to this study. Furthermore, because the purpose of this study includes identifying enduring elements of human leadership behavior, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* was deemed an appropriate place to start. The term *leadership* was not used specifically by Aristotle, in the translation of *Nicomachean Ethics* used for this research, but he did refer to kings, governors, legislators, rulers, fathers, managers, and military generals in which he was clearly familiar with the distinction between leaders and followers, hence, his effort to promote the understanding and practice of ethical treatment of others. The word leader is not found in the text, but the word lead is used several times in senses like those shown in the etymology. For example, he stated that "mistaken purpose ...leads rather to wickedness" (Book iii, 1). In another example, "He who claims more than he has with no ulterior object is a

contemptible sort of fellow ...but he who does it for money, or the things that lead to money, is an uglier character” (Book iv, 7). And later Aristotle talked about “things that lead to the end” (Book vi, 13). And later still, “appetite leads us towards it” (Book vii, 3). And finally, another example “they ought to lead them in the opposite direction” (Book x, 1). Several terms related to leading are also found in the text, for example, “he will be guided by the consequences” (Book iv, 6). “Whether it be reason or something else that is this element which is thought to be our natural ruler and guide and to take thought of things noble and divine” (Book x, 7).

Aristotle also talked about other leadership behaviors such as the giving of advice, encouraging others to do things, statesmen producing law and order, and orators who persuade. In fact, there are 16 examples of the term *persuade* in the *Ethics*. These few examples from about 350 BCE indicate that the concept of leading was common to Aristotle and those he taught. The examples are minor and are only presented to show that they can be found in the text. Much more important is the realization that Aristotle’s lectures themselves are an example of leadership activity. His deliberate purpose is to lead his students, by logical argument and rational persuasion, to a certain conclusion and mutual understanding. Aristotle guides the reader. This kind of leadership activity is synonymous with education and shows how the purpose of education is also to lead. A person in a precedent position of understanding leads another toward that position. In this sense, the ideas, comments, and concepts in *Nicomachean Ethics* logically apply very much to leaders, leading, and the notion of leadership.

Nicomachean Ethics consists of a series of lectures compiled into 10 books. The full text of about 85,000 words was considered raw data for research purposes in seeking

to identify essential elements of leadership. The full text is not repeated in this dissertation, but rather the interpretation of concepts and comments from the text that refer to leadership.

As concluded earlier, leadership deals with human behavior, and a study of the essential elements of leadership would include a study of the essential elements of good human behavior. If this is so, then the entire work of *Nicomachean Ethics* should be studied as a commentary on behavior important to good leadership. In this work, Aristotle discussed, at length, various states of human character and human behavior with the end of finding those qualities and behaviors that produce the greatest good. In Book One, he makes it clear that what is good for one man is good for a larger group. This has obvious implications for leadership. Aristotle identified the most important states of human character and discussed them as virtues. A brief overview of these virtues reveals logically how they might apply to leadership. Collins (1994) dedicated an entire doctoral dissertation to the study of these virtues. In her introduction, Collins (1994) pointed out that Aristotle maintained that it was necessary that “the one who is concerned with politics, the legislator, devote attention to virtue” (p. 2), because politics seeks the highest good not only for the individual, but also for the whole city. In her dissertation, Collins quoted Martha Nussbaum (1988), who argued that Aristotle’s virtues should be considered objective and independent of context. Nussbaum said, “This account [Nicomachean Ethics] is supposed to be objective in the sense that it is justifiable with reference to reasons that do not derive merely from local traditions and practices, but rather from features of humanness that lie beneath all local traditions” (p. 33). Collins also quoted Peter Simpson who made a very important observation regarding the

fundamental nature of Aristotle's virtues. Simpson (1992) said, regarding the virtues in Nicomachean Ethics,

...the virtues are defined as various habits of choice, lying in a **mean** (emphasis not in original) relative to us, and determined by reason. What falls into the definition of a thing is prior to that thing and has to be understood before that thing can be understood. So the notion of virtue must be prior to the notion of eudaimonia and must be understood before eudaimonia can be understood.

(Collins, p. 7)

As has been pointed out by Collins, Aristotle made it clear that virtues must be understood before politics (or leadership) can be understood. So, using Simpson's same logic, it would follow that fundamental human virtues would fall into the definition of leadership, but that leadership would not necessarily fall into the definition of virtues. Virtues, if necessary to leadership, would therefore be prior to leadership and would need to be understood before leadership could be understood. Collins also stated, "I do not presuppose that Aristotle's list of virtues merely reflects the conventions of his time or is historically bound" (p. 12). This statement is particularly interesting for the present study and suggests that the virtues are independent of any particular context, but inherent in the goodness of human nature itself. Collins' dissertation focused mainly on the virtues in Books Three, Four, and Five, but findings regarding Aristotle's concept of the golden mean, detailed in Book Two were also considered in the present research.

Aristotle's Golden Mean

In Book Two, Aristotle made a few underlying points leading up to his explanation of what has come to be called his *Doctrine of the Mean*. The first was that the

acquisition of some things comes naturally to people without practice, such as sight and hearing. We receive these from birth. At the same time, he explained that some things that exist in man by nature cannot be changed by practice no matter how many times we try to change them. He used the example of a stone that cannot be trained to fall upward, “not even if one tries to train it by throwing it up ten thousand times” (Book ii, 1).

Aristotle went on to say that the virtues are different than natural characteristics, “...the virtues we get by first exercising them, as also happens in the case of the arts as well. For the things we have to learn before we can do them, we learn by doing them” (Book ii, 1). This understanding that some aspects of human nature come without practice, such as hearing and sight, and that some must be learned and developed, like painting or courage, is critical to understanding how the virtues relate to leadership. Aristotle further explained that, “men become builders by building and lyre players by playing the lyre; so too we become just by doing just acts, temperate by doing temperate acts, brave by doing brave acts” (Book ii, 1).

Aristotle began his explanation of the doctrine of the mean or the golden mean, by pointing out that “both excessive and defective exercise destroys the strength, and similarly drink or food which is above or below a certain amount destroys the health” (Book ii, 2). He then argued that the same is true in the case of temperance, courage, and the other virtues. A man who fears everything becomes a coward and the man who fears nothing becomes rash. Similarly, the man who indulges in every pleasure becomes self-indulgent, while the man who shuns every pleasure becomes, in a way, insensible. Thus temperance, courage, and the other virtues are destroyed by excess and defect, and preserved by behavior located in the mean. The mean is not to be confused with the

arithmetic average, but a qualitative rather than purely mathematical central tendency. Furthermore, he showed that those who become temperate or brave by finding the appropriate middle ground, become even more adept at temperance and courage and thus, more and more able to behave in a manner appropriate to the mean. Aristotle next showed how the virtues are neither passions nor faculties, indicting, “all that remains is that they should be states of character. Thus we have stated what virtue is in respect of its genus” (Book ii, 5). This statement is noteworthy in the present study aimed at reaching a definition of leadership. Perhaps, leadership unless it is considered a passion or a faculty, might also be considered a state of character, or at least that states of character might have some bearing on leadership.

Considering virtue to be indispensable to the concept of leadership begins to more clearly illuminate the difficulty that has existed in providing a definition of leadership. A common world view is that life consists of a multitude of possible activities, some good, some bad, some better and some worse. Most people believe that they should pursue good things with as much energy as possible and avoid bad things whenever and however they can. However, Aristotle argued that virtue, and hence leadership, does not share these same dichotomies found in many human actions and thoughts. Virtue is somewhat of an anomaly in this regard and, therefore, leadership becomes dependent upon the leader’s ability to act virtuously, which does not consist of simply choosing one extreme or the other, but rather to determine the incalculable, i.e., a qualitative mean between the two extremes. All people can calculate an *average*, but the leader must determine the *mean* or *golden mean* as Aristotle characterizes it to distinguish its rare and treasured value. This quality of leadership, that is, the challenge of determining the mean, not only

explains the difficulty in defining leadership, but also the difficulty in providing leadership.

Aristotle explained that finding the golden mean is not always easy, but that trying to do so is noble and laudable. He said that it takes practice and experience to learn how to find the mean in various human behaviors and characteristics. He said, "...in all things the mean is praise-worthy, and the extremes neither praiseworthy nor right, but worthy of blame" (Book ii, 7). Aristotle explained this concept at length with a logical series of many examples, and concluded his argument with the statement, "we must incline sometimes towards the excess, sometimes towards the deficiency; for so shall we most easily hit the mean and what is right" (Book ii, 9).

To put the concept of the mean in a leadership context, a simplistic example might be a leader's expectation of the number of hours an employee would be expected to put into the job. Expecting staff to always work overtime without pay might be considered to be excessive leadership behavior. On the one end of the spectrum, tolerating absenteeism or turning a blind eye to repeated lateness without any sort of consequence would be considered deficient leadership behavior in the opposite extreme. According to Aristotle's explanation, the mean is not likely found precisely in the middle where anyone could find it, but to continue the simple example, the leader might allow the right employee, at the right time, for the right reason, to leave early on one occasion or to work late on another occasion depending upon the circumstances. This would perhaps constitute finding a mean in this very simple example.

Book Three of the *Ethics* contains much material for the study of leader and follower behavior, because it deals with choices that people make, how they deliberate

upon certain courses of action, and what motivates them to make certain choices or to act in certain ways. An essential element of leadership is an understanding, by intuition, of such human characteristics and behavior. Aristotle also discussed how people deliberate about what will bring about certain ends. Aristotle used the example of navigation to show that decision making is not an exact science, or that the same rules do not always apply in all cases. In navigation, continual course corrections are necessary, depending upon one's present location, the destination and the constantly changing currents, and weather conditions (Book iii, 3).

Courage

After explaining that the virtues are states of character, Aristotle discussed each virtue in turn, beginning with the virtue of courage. He said that courage is a state of character, demonstrated by behavior found in the mean, between cowardly behavior and actions that would be considered rash. "The coward, then, is a despairing sort of person; for he fears everything. The brave man, on the other hand, has the opposite disposition" (Book iii, 7). Aristotle said, "one ought to be brave not under compulsion but because it is noble to be so" (Book iii, 8). The word compulsion unarguably has leadership implications. The researcher's interpretation of this statement is that compulsion is action exercised by a person in a position of precedence or power. While this might be a negative example, it is, nevertheless, an example of leadership behavior. The conclusion is that an essential element of leadership would be for a leader to be brave and to encourage followers to also be brave, not by compulsion, but by persuasion or some other noble means. Aristotle gave examples of the full range of courage on the battlefield from the deficient coward to the excessively, rash boaster. He also used the example of a

courageous boxer. At first, a reader might not see a direct connection between leadership and the emotions in battle or in a boxing ring. However, soldiers and commanders in battle are certainly in a leadership situation, and likewise, so are a coach and a boxer in a competition. Aristotle considered courage an essential element in these situations and described how it is a state of character found in the mean between cowardice and rashness.

Temperance

The battlefield is used again by Aristotle at one point in his discussion of another state of character, the virtue of temperance. Thus temperance is also a characteristic important to leading activities. Aristotle said that temperance relates to pleasures and pains and is the mean between self-indulgence and insensibility. He confessed that there are few people who are deficient in seeking pleasure, and that most are excessive in pursuit of pleasure, to the point of self-indulgence. This characteristic also seems at first to have little to do with leading activities, but motivation is a common leadership topic, central to leading and according to Aristotle, people are motivated by pleasures or pains. Understanding pleasure, pain, self-indulgence, denial, postponement of gratification and the noble acquisition of the character of temperance was important to Aristotle. He said that, “Self-indulgence is more like a voluntary state than cowardice. For the former is actuated by pleasure, the latter by pain, of which the one is to be chosen and the other to be avoided” (Book iii, 12). Because pleasure and pain are at the heart of motivation, temperance might also be considered, logically, as an essential element of leadership.

Liberality

It will not be necessary or appropriate to attempt to force an application of leadership onto all of the virtues discussed in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, but even liberality has some obvious applications. According to Aristotle, “It [liberality] seems to be the mean with regard to wealth; ... the giving and taking of wealth, and especially in respect of giving” (Book iv, 1). Transactional leadership deals with the giving and taking of rewards or compensation by leaders to followers or employees. “...it is more the mark of the liberal man to give to the right people than to take from the right sources and not to take from the wrong” (Book iv, 1). In the discussion of liberality, Aristotle made several points that would logically seem to be desirable elements of leadership in any setting, such as “it is more characteristic of virtue to do good than to have good done to one, and more characteristic to do what is noble than not to do what is base” (Book iv, 1).

Aristotle used liberality to show that finding the golden mean in complex matters of human interaction requires good judgment and is therefore difficult to accomplish with precision, but trying to do so is worthwhile and noble. For example, he says “Now virtuous actions are noble.... Therefore the liberal man ...will give for the sake of the noble, and rightly; for he will give to the right people, the right amounts, and at the right time” (Book iv, 1). Therefore, logically whenever leadership is associated with such things as employment, salaries, compensation, and reward systems, then liberality, and the good judgment that accompanies it, would be essential elements of leadership in any time period.

Magnificence

When liberality is demonstrated in greater magnitude, Aristotle assigns the term, *magnificence* to the state of character found in the golden mean. The two extremes, with regard to this virtue, are niggardliness at the deficient end of the spectrum and tastelessness and vulgarity, at the excessive end. Interestingly, the magnificent man deliberates upon the results of his expenditures and then makes his choices with care and consideration. Aristotle suggests that "...the result should be worthy of the expense, and the expense should be worthy of the result, or should even exceed it. And the magnificent man will spend such sums for honour's sake" (Book iv, 2).

One of Aristotle's examples of magnificence in a leadership situation is "...the receiving of foreign guests and the sending of them on their way, and gifts and counter-gifts; for the magnificent man spends not on himself but on public objects" (Book iv, 2). Modern examples might be in staff socials, conferences or conventions, in buildings, furnishings, and perhaps in giving perks and bonuses to employees. As always, however, Aristotle cautions against excess or deficiency in magnificent actions. "the man who goes to excess and is vulgar exceeds, as has been said, by spending beyond what is right" (Book iv, 2). Aristotle criticizes behavior that is boastful or results in what he calls, "tasteless showiness." On the other hand, the niggardly man "...will hesitate and consider how he may spend least, and lament even that, and think he is doing everything on a bigger scale than he ought" (Book iv, 2). Aristotle concludes his discussion of magnificence by allowing that the extremes of vulgarity and niggardliness are fairly harmless to others and therefore not serious evils to society but mainly are damaging to the individual himself.

Pride

Aristotle's placement of pride as the state of character in the golden mean of actions between the excess of vanity and the deficiency of undue humility causes modern readers to reconsider their values. As discussed earlier, the more common modern view is that actions are singularly good or bad. The modern reader should keep in mind that Aristotle was talking about virtues and how to find the mean within them. He was not suggesting that there is a mean in every action. In fact he used the example of adultery to point out that it is always wrong and that it could not be made right if done in the right way at the right time with the right woman. Yet, within the virtue of pride, some people consider humility good and pride bad. With this attitude, many might end up closer to Aristotle's description of undue humility. He advocates for a more reasonable middle ground where a person accurately determines what he truly merits. He does not settle for what is beneath him nor does he overestimate his worth. "the proud man, since he deserves most, must be good in the highest degree; for the better man always deserves more, and the best man most. Therefore the truly proud man must be good." (Book iv, 3). By pride, Aristotle referred more to what we might call self respect today. The word pride today suggests boastfulness or vanity.

Aristotle argued convincingly for calling the state of character in the middle ground of pride, an honorable state of character. In fact he said that "...honour is the prize of virtue, and it is to the good that it is rendered. Pride, then, seems to be a sort of crown of the virtues; for it makes them greater, and it is not found without them" (Book iv, 3). He, however, makes it clear that even though good people end up in honorable positions, it is not the position that is honorable or praiseworthy, but rather the goodness

that got them there in the first place. "...those who enjoy power or wealth; ...are in a superior position, and everything that has a superiority in something good is held in greater honour. ...but in truth the good man alone is to be honoured" (Book iv, 3).

Other Moral Virtues

Aristotle uses the doctrine of the golden mean to show how the middle state is the most desirable in several other moral virtues, such as, Good Temper, Friendliness, Truthfulness, and Ready Wit. In each case he uses examples of extreme behavior such as hot temper, sulkiness, and revenge as excessive actions that do not befit a good person. Leadership scenarios can be imagined for all of these excesses. Aristotle in fact uses the leadership example of a ruler, suggesting that in some cases it might be acceptable for a ruler to become angry in certain situations.

...sometimes we call angry people manly, as being capable of ruling. How far, therefore, and how a man must stray before he becomes blameworthy, it is not easy to state in words; for the decision depends on the particular facts and on perception. But so much at least is plain, that the middle state is praiseworthy- that in virtue of which we are angry with the right people, at the right things, in the right way, and so on, while the excesses and defects are blameworthy- slightly so if they are present in a low degree, more if in a higher degree, and very much if in a high degree. (Book iv, 5)

Likewise, it is difficult to imagine a successful leader who does not have the essential characteristics as described by Aristotle of friendliness, or truthfulness.

Friendliness is agreeableness and the ability to get along well with people. In modern times this may be what is referred to as, people skills. Trust is a common theme in

modern leadership discourse and Aristotle taught that truthfulness results in trust.

Therefore truthfulness may be considered an element of leadership regardless of the time period.

Modern readers may not initially consider wit as a virtue without some explanation of what Aristotle meant by this term. He argued that a healthy, balanced life includes work and activity but that it also includes rest, leisure, and amusement. He discusses these at some length, showing that humor is essential in good human relations, but that even in humor there is an appropriate middle ground and cause for concern on either end of the extremes. With regard to joking, Aristotle says “the well-bred man's jesting differs from that of a vulgar man, and the joking of an educated man from that of an uneducated” (Book iv, 8). Ready witted also involves the use of tact, which is fairly easily accepted as an important element of leadership in any time period or setting.

Aristotle also discussed shame, which he said is not really a virtue, but is something in man that influences behavior for the better if applied appropriately. However, he said that even in feelings such as shame, adherence to principle of the golden mean is desirable. “...as for instance the bashful man who is ashamed of everything; while he who falls short or is not ashamed of anything at all is shameless, and the intermediate person is modest” (Book ii, 7). He explains that shame can be useful for finding the mean in the other virtues such as in courage, when a man will be brave to avoid shame. “...for it is due to shame and to desire of a noble object (i.e. honour) and avoidance of disgrace” (Book iii, 8). In fact, Aristotle uses a reference to leadership to show that being motivated by avoiding shame is better than being forced to do something by someone in a position of authority.

One might rank in the same class even those who are compelled by their rulers; but they are inferior, inasmuch as they do what they do not from shame but from fear, and to avoid not what is disgraceful but what is painful; for their masters compel them, as Hector does: *But if I shall spy any dastard that cowers far from the fight, Vainly will such an one hope to escape from the dogs.*

And those who give them their posts, and beat them if they retreat, do the same, and so do those who draw them up with trenches or something of the sort behind them; all of these apply compulsion. But one ought to be brave not under compulsion but because it is noble to be so. (Book iii, 8)

This reference by Aristotle to tactics of compulsion is noteworthy in this research, suggests that compulsory means of leading have been practiced for thousands of years. However, acting from a sense of nobility is also just as ancient, and yet much more preferable. The important point seems to be that while both methods appear outwardly to have the same result, the inward motivation is very different. The compulsory means seems to spoil the end, in Aristotle's estimation.

Intellectual Virtues

Aristotle also discussed what he called the five intellectual virtues, scientific knowledge, art, philosophic or speculative wisdom, practical wisdom or prudence, and intuitive reason. He explained that people use these virtues to make choices about how they will act. He said that people act or move based upon reason and desire. The intellectual virtues are what influence reason.

Scientific knowledge. The first of these virtues discussed is scientific knowledge, which is what people know for certain, i.e., "what we know is not even capable of being

otherwise; of things capable of being otherwise we do not know, when they have passed outside our observation” (Book vi, 3).

Art. The second intellectual virtue is art. Aristotle says, “art is identical with a state of capacity to make, involving a true course of reasoning. All art is concerned with coming into being” (Book vi, 4). This statement could be easily passed over, yet when it is considered in the context of the present study on leadership, it has remarkable implications. For analytical purposes, the researcher replaced the word *art* with the word *leadership* and then adjusted the rest of the sentence accordingly. The result is shown in the following sentence. Leadership is identical with a state of capacity to guide, involving a true course of reasoning. All leadership is concerned with influencing others to move or do something. The researcher also replaced the word *art* with the word *education* and found that education, though very closely related to leadership, seems to have a slightly different connotation that does not allow for a mere exchange of words. This is the resulting sentence. Education is identical with a state of capacity to guide, involving a true course of reasoning. All education is concerned with influencing others to move or do something. Both of these terms involve guiding and influencing within a true course of reasoning, but leadership seems to be more related to the capacity to move others, while education seems to be more related to the process of moving others. If there were a word such as *educationship*, allowing it to be a state rather than a process, then perhaps the two words would be very nearly identical in meaning.

Practical wisdom. Next Aristotle discussed practical wisdom, which is also called prudence, indicating that “it is thought to be the mark of a man of practical wisdom to be able to deliberate well about what is good and expedient for himself” (Book vi, 5). After

laying out a logical argument why practical wisdom is not scientific knowledge, nor art, he says “The remaining alternative, then, is that it is a true and reasoned state of capacity to act with regard to the things that are good or bad for man” (Book vi, 5) Fortunately for this research, Aristotle also shows how this virtue can be applied to a leadership setting. He said that persons who possess practical wisdom “can see what is good for themselves and what is good for men in general; we consider that those can do this who are good at managing households or states” (Book vi, 5) This is also the meaning of prudence. Aristotle concluded his discussion of practical wisdom by asserting that this virtue is needed in all things that are variable and subject to opinion and choices that are subject to deliberation. His summary is that “Practical wisdom, then, must be a reasoned and true state of capacity to act with regard to human goods” (Book vi, 5).

While reviewing the data from Aristotle on philosophic and practical wisdom, the researcher observed that an important element of leadership is the wisdom required by one in a precedent position with the intention to lead. Nearly all of the senses of leading from the etymology of leadership terms indicated that the person doing the leading had vision or knowledge of the intended direction of the leading. Leadership suggests not only the ability to persuade or guide but also possession of the knowledge, vision or wisdom necessary to lead successfully.

Intuitive Reason. Aristotle said that intuitive reason is what grasps the first principles. By first principles, Aristotle means seminal principles in the truest sense of the word seminal, that is, the seed (*spermatikous*) principles that are so fundamental that they are obvious to intuitive reason without proof, and in fact, cannot be proven. An example of a principle that is accepted as true without proof simply upon hearing it, that is, is

intuitive, is the whole is greater than the part. All of science, by necessity, begins with seminal principles that are intuitively true. He then went on to say that intuitive reason combined with scientific knowledge produces philosophic wisdom of things that are highest in nature. He means higher than wisdom about animals or even about humans. Aristotle said that there are things greater than man, such as the heavenly bodies and their workings. Sometimes those with philosophic wisdom are criticized by more practical people. Aristotle put it as follows, "...they know things that are remarkable, admirable, difficult, and divine, but useless; viz. because it is not human goods that they seek" (Book vi, 6).

Continence

In Book Seven of *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle devoted considerable attention to the state of character that he called, continence. This is a difficult portion of the text to comprehend and easy for the reader to haze over while reading through it. However, Aristotle's discussion of continence centers on what makes people behave in one way or another, and leadership deals with the business of influencing people to behave in certain ways. Therefore, even though the material in this portion of Aristotle's writings is difficult, it is certainly worthy of closer consideration; and anyone interested in leadership ability should make an effort to understand what Aristotle said in this portion of the text. As further evidence of the difficult nature of this subject matter, Aristotle said that he did not agree with Socrates on some points regarding continence. If such great minds as these had difficulty reaching consensus on this topic, then it is not surprising that leadership scholars and practitioners have had difficulty understanding leadership and reaching consensus on a definition.

Aristotle's treatment of continence is complex. He carefully and logically discussed all its implications. Simply stated, a continent person sticks to his or her principles and is one "...who abides by his convictions and is not carried away, at least as a result of passion" (Book vii, 8). Continent people can be counted on. They are trustworthy and have integrity. However, as in all other states of character discussed by Aristotle, the best kind of continence is also found in the mean. At first, one might suppose that completely continent behavior would be ideal, but Aristotle showed how extremes in this state of character can be problematic. For example he asked, "Is the man continent who abides by any and every rule and any and every choice, or the man who abides by the right choice..." (Book vii, 9). He went on to show that those who will never change their mind or opinion or behavior even when they are wrong are considered strong-headed, opinionated, ignorant, or boorish. On the other hand, those who change their minds too easily may be weak or untrustworthy. Those in the golden mean may be the best leaders as well as the best followers, because it is difficult to lead someone who is unwilling to change in the first place or so easily influenced that they will not hold a course once they are encouraged to follow it. Aristotle put it this way, "...on occasion the continent man will be easy to persuade... the people who are strong-headed ...being influenced by pleasure and pain; for they delight in the victory they gain if they are not persuaded to change... (Book vii, 9). These comments on persuading people are especially interesting when compared to the definitions and senses of leading discussed in the etymology of leadership terms. Aristotle discussed several more principles or aspects of human nature that are also informative to this study. They are treated individually below.

Friendship

In Book Eight of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle devoted considerable time and attention to the notion of friendship as a characteristic of human interaction. This section is interesting because it deals with all kinds and levels of friendship, but most interesting for the purposes of this study are his references to friendship relative to positions of power, authority or leadership. For example, Aristotle referred to persons in positions of authority in the following quote.

People in positions of authority seem to have friends who fall into distinct classes; some people are useful to them and others are pleasant, but the same people are rarely both; for they seek neither those whose pleasantness is accompanied by virtue nor those whose utility is with a view to noble objects, but in their desire for pleasure they seek for ready-witted people, and their other friends they choose as being clever at doing what they are told, and these characteristics are rarely combined. (Book viii, 6)

Caution is needed so that this statement is not misunderstood when singled out from the larger context of the full discussion. The important element in this example is the fact that throughout history people have occupied positions of authority and in such positions they are often able to tell others what to do. Even though this may sound offensive to some readers, an unbiased assessment of this phenomenon cannot be overlooked by this study. This is not the only reference to persons in positions of authority. Aristotle also provided the statement below.

For most people enjoy being honoured by those in positions of authority because of their hopes (for they think that if they want anything they will get it from them;

and therefore they delight in honour as a token of favour to come); while those who desire honour from good men, and men who know, are aiming at confirming their own opinion of themselves; they delight in honour, therefore, because they believe in their own goodness on the strength of the judgment of those who speak about them. (Book viii, 8)

Kings have occupied such positions and Aristotle referred to them in this work. In Book III, Aristotle discussed deliberation, which deals with choice or things we have power to consider and decide upon as a best course of action. In such a discussion, the following statement is noteworthy. “This is plain also from the ancient constitutions, which Homer represented; for the kings announced their choices to the people” (Book iii, 3). In this example, kings who hold enough power over their subjects are able to exert considerable force regarding actions and activities of the people over whom they rule. In other words, the kings made the choices for the people. Aristotle, however, made it clear that rulers can be good or bad, as evidenced in the following quotation.

The deviation from monarchy is tyranny; for both are forms of one-man rule, but there is the greatest difference between them; the tyrant looks to his own advantage, the king to that of his subjects. For a man is not a king unless he is sufficient to himself and excels his subjects in all good things; and such a man needs nothing further; therefore he will not look to his own interests but to those of his subjects; for a king who is not like that would be a mere titular king. Now tyranny is the very contrary of this; the tyrant pursues his own good. And it is clearer in the case of tyranny that it is the worst deviation-form; but it is the contrary of the best that is worst. (Book viii, 10)

This is not the only example of the behavior expected of a good king as opposed to a tyrant.. Here is another. “The friendship between a king and his subjects depends on ...benefits conferred...on his subjects if being a good man he cares for them with a view to their well-being, as a shepherd does for his sheep” (Book viii, 11). This is all part of Aristotle’s discussion of the role of friendship. He went on to state, “...by nature a father tends to rule over his sons, ancestors over descendants, a king over his subjects. These friendships imply superiority of one party over the other, which is why ancestors are honoured” (Book viii, 11). Joseph Rost (1991) argued that leadership for the 21st century should be more democratic, than the management laden leadership of the 20th century. Aristotle commented on such forms of leadership long before the current time period. He described collaborative sharing of power and leadership as an aspect of timocratic government, that is a form of government described by Plato, based upon honor and military glory. His example is shown below.

The friendship of brothers is like that of comrades; for they are equal and of like age, and such persons are for the most part like in their feelings and their character. Like this, too, is the friendship appropriate to timocratic government; for in such a constitution the ideal is for the citizens to be equal and fair; therefore rule is taken in turn, and on equal terms. (Book viii, 11)

Aristotle devoted two entire books to discussions of friendship. In the 20th century, although it is nice to have friends, many modern authors might not give as much attention to friendship as Aristotle did. This is probably also because Aristotle gave friendship a broader definition than the modern usage of the term assigns. Examining the text on friendship more closely, however, some interesting leadership issues can be

found. For example, Aristotle described the difference between friendships built upon the benefits that each member can gain from the other. This sounds much like the transactional relationships in leadership interactions described by Burns (1978). Aristotle also said that goodwill precedes friendship, and that having goodwill toward someone from whom you expect to receive something in return is not really goodwill toward that person but rather goodwill toward self. On the other hand, having goodwill toward fellow workers or the organization, with no thought of personal gain, sounds like the transformational attitudes discussed by Burns (1978). Modern leadership authors who describe leadership as a relationship would probably find agreement in much of Aristotle's discussions of friendship.

Aristotle raised a good question regarding the selection of leaders. He asked if preference should be given to a friend or to one more truly qualified for the position. "...when one has to elect a general should [one] elect a man of military skill; and similarly whether one should render a service by preference to a friend or to a good man" (Book ix, 2). Also, noteworthy at this point in an examination of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* is that the words, *friendship*, *relationship* and *leadership* all share the same suffix. The three words are also closely associated. Although it must be kept in mind that Aristotle's works come to us in English by translation, Aristotle does not use the term leadership in the translation of *Nicomachean Ethics* by W. D. Ross (1908). He uses the term relationship only once in the text but uses the term friendship 152 times in Book Eight alone and another 44 times in Book Nine. This suggests the importance Aristotle assigned to relations of friendship in human nature and in states of character. How people treat one another and the motives behind their interactions were very important to

Aristotle. Regardless of whether or not relationships become part of the definition of leadership, there seems to be a close connection between relationship and leadership.

Some other noteworthy leadership points from an examination of Book Nine of *Nicomachean Ethics* include Aristotle's observations on unanimity. He said that, "Unanimity seems, then, to be political friendship" (Book ix, 6), and he went on to explain that

...such unanimity is found among good men; for they are unanimous both in themselves and with one another, being, so to say, of one mind (for the wishes of such men are constant and not at the mercy of opposing currents like a strait of the sea), and they wish for what is just and what is advantageous, and these are the objects of their common endeavour as well. But bad men cannot be unanimous except to a small extent, any more than they can be friends, since they aim at getting more than their share of advantages, while in labour and public service they fall short of their share; and each man wishing for advantage to himself criticizes his neighbour and stands in his way; for if people do not watch it carefully the common weal is soon destroyed. The result is that they are in a state of faction, putting compulsion on each other but unwilling themselves to do what is just. (Book ix, 6)

In his lengthy discussion of friendship, Aristotle pointed out several weaknesses inherent in human nature that any leader needs to understand and deal with. For example he mentioned the fact that most people are forgetful when they owe a debt or favor or obligation to another. Most people want to receive more than they give. Men love and appreciate more what they have won by hard work. Those who earn their money by labor

love it more than those who obtain it by inheritance. “To be well treated seems to involve no labor, while to treat others well is a laborious task” (Book ix, 7). Aristotle concluded his discussion of friendship by returning briefly to the doctrine of the mean, suggesting that even in friendship there is a middle ground between having too many friends and too few. There are so many variables in friendship, that to find the golden mean requires choices and effort, but that it is the most preferred state.

Leadership by Nature or Nurture

An unexpected leadership gem was discovered in Book X of *Nicomachean Ethics*. Scholars and practitioners have argued repeatedly whether leadership can be taught or if some people are just naturally born with it. Aristotle made some noteworthy comments on this point of debate that are informative to this research. He began by saying “Now some think that we are made good by nature, others by habituation, others by teaching” (Book x, 9). Aristotle argued that there is not much we can do about what nature hands us. He stated that those who are born with good traits “are truly fortunate” (Book x, 9). He then explained that some things can be taught, but added an important qualification. He suggested that even if some character traits can be taught, they cannot necessarily be taught to all people, specifically, “...argument and teaching, we may suspect, are not powerful with all men, but the soul of the student must first have been cultivated by means of habits for noble joy and noble hatred, like earth which is to nourish the seed” (Book x, 9). He further argued that a person who has been raised according to passion rather than reason will not be persuaded by reasonable teaching. “For he who lives as passion directs will not hear argument that dissuades him, nor understand it if he does; and how can we persuade one in such a state to change his ways?” (Book x, 9). This

observation by Aristotle, if accurate, has huge implications for leaders, and for the ability to lead or persuade others. The implication for leadership is that an effective leader must use different methods for followers inclined to passion than for those who are influenced by logic or reason. Often a leader will find both types in his constituency and various degrees within the two extremes. Persuasion then is a complicated business for any leader. The leader may choose the correct method of leading by chance, but will be more successful if the followers are understood well enough to know what motivates them. Motivation is a leadership topic that has been discussed by several modern leadership theorists and is certainly an essential element of leadership in any setting. Aristotle concluded the *Nicomachean Ethics* by stating that in order for men to be led by rational argument and noble means, they must have been raised in such a way as to recognize nobility and to desire it rather than to desire baser passions. Aristotle argued that a well organized political system is necessary to raise such people. His treatise entitled *Politics* is his outline of how such a government should be established.

Politics

Collins (1994) said that Aristotle wrote *Politics* as the sequel to *Nicomachean Ethics*. She further explained that the *Ethics* was intended to show how a person acquires virtues, and that *Politics* was written to show how a city acquires virtue. Although Aristotle used the term *leadership* once in his treatise entitled *Politics*, as translated in 1870 by Benjamin Jowett, he used language and terms that describe many aspects of leading and leadership as we understand it today. In the final paragraph in the *Ethics* Aristotle indicated that many aspects of leadership and leading had not been clearly delineated by thinkers before his time. He suggested, however, that such a study should

be undertaken. The final paragraph is therefore a conclusion of *Ethics* and an introduction to *Politics*. The paragraph is quoted below, and is interesting because it suggests that Aristotle faced a similar problem to that upon which this study is based. The problem is that legislation or how to properly govern was not clearly laid out by former authors.

Now our predecessors have left the subject of legislation to us unexamined; it is perhaps best, therefore, that we should ourselves study it, and in general study the question of the constitution, in order to complete to the best of our ability our philosophy of human nature. First, then, if anything has been said well in detail by earlier thinkers, let us try to review it; then in the light of the constitutions we have collected let us study what sorts of influence preserve and destroy states, and what sorts preserve or destroy the particular kinds of constitution, and to what causes it is due that some are well and others ill administered. When these have been studied we shall perhaps be more likely to see with a comprehensive view, which constitution is best, and how each must be ordered, and what laws and customs it must use, if it is to be at its best. Let us make a beginning of our discussion. (Book x, 9)

Early in *Politics*, Aristotle said, “We must therefore look at the elements of which the state is composed, in order that we may see in what the different kinds of rule differ from one another, and whether any scientific result can be attained” (Book i, 1). The statement in which Benjamin Jowett (1870) used the word leadership in his translation of Aristotle’s *Politics* was used to describe a position of authority.

In ancient times their power extended continuously to all things whatsoever, in city and country, as well as in foreign parts; but at a later date they relinquished

several of these privileges, and others the people took from them, until in some states nothing was left to them but the sacrifices; and where they retained more of the reality they had only the right of leadership in war beyond the border. (Book iii, 14)

Even though Jowett (1870) ascribed to Aristotle the word leadership only one time, and used it in the sense of describing a position, he used the term *leader* in the translation of five passages and the word *lead*, as a verb, a total of 21 times. There is one occurrence of the word *governor*, 21 occurrences of the term *statesman*, 25 occurrences of the word *ruler*, 27 occurrences of the word *king*, and 57 occurrences of the word *legislator*. The fact that Jowett only used the term *leadership* once is not surprising when it is recalled that the first occurrences of that word only appeared in English texts in the 1820's and 1830's and the use was very limited at that time. Nevertheless, it is obvious that this work by Aristotle is a treatise on elements of leadership. The term *kingship* is used to describe a form of government which regards the common interests of the citizenry, and the term *generalship* is used four times to describe kingly power in times of war or expedition. The term *dictatorship* is also found once in the text and *dictator* three more times. The term *legislate* is used in two places, the term *administration* is found 11 times, *administer* as a verb another 20 times, the word *command* is used 16 times, and the word *rule* is used as a noun or verb 104 times. While the terms *guide* and *persuade* are only used once each, the word *force* is used as a verb or noun 19 times. Perhaps most interesting of all, is the fact that the words *tyrant* or *tyranny* are used as examples of evil or improper forms of leading 158 times in this text, suggesting that this form or government, while unjust, is a very common phenomenon.

Book One, Who Should Rule

Aristotle began the discussion of politics with the smallest of organizations, husband and wife. Next he discussed the family, then a group of families living together for mutual support. As the families grow in size and number, a society is formed. Aristotle said that anyone who cannot live in society or does not need the benefits of a society “must be either a beast or a god” (Book i, Part 2). Next he discussed the relationship of slave and master. Some tolerance for his position must be allowed because of the common practice of slavery in Greek culture at his time. He did however acknowledge that some people questioned whether slavery was natural or not. His response may be offensive to some modern readers. “For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule” (Book i, Part 5). Aristotle did not leave the argument on the other side unexamined. He actually conceded that unjust rule of a master over a slave was wrong, or if slaves were obtained unjustly that was also wrong, but concluded that there will always be a need for some to rule over others. His next point was that if someone must rule, then it should be the best men that should rule, indicating that it would not be just for bad men to rule over better men, and that virtue is what makes men good, and concluded that, “...the other views have no force or plausibility against the view that the superior in virtue ought to rule, or be master” (Book i, Part 6). The term slavery is so rife with images of atrocities and abuse that it is difficult for a modern reader to accept Aristotle’s position, but if the terms of master and slave, which were common relationships to Aristotle, are replaced with the terms leader and follower, which are much more common today, his argument is better received. His point

was that persons in superior positions ought to be superior in character and more virtuous than those over whom they rule. He went on to say, “The master is not called a master because he has science, but because he is of a certain character, and the same remark applies to the slave and the freeman” (Book i, Part 7). In other words, states of character should determine who is better suited to lead. Those with more noble character should be the leaders or rulers or masters, in Aristotle’s view. Aristotle also entered into a discussion that sounds very much like the modern discussions of the difference between management and leadership. Regarding mere management he says “Yet this so-called science is not anything great or wonderful; for the master need only know how to order that which the slave must know how to execute” (Book i, Part 7). Aristotle was however more concerned with the more complex and difficult aspects of government, as are those who wish to understand leadership as opposed to simple management. He made it clear that government of people is not a simple matter. He continued by explaining that men differ greatly in their character and behaviors, using the example of shepherds, fishermen, farmers and highway robbers. Each makes his living by ruling over other plants, animals or people. Aristotle indicated that this is fairly natural and the careful reader understands that each of these is really just a variation of the master and slave or ruler and ruled theme. The next step in his logical argument is that everything has a purpose by nature. He used the example of a shoe, of which the natural purpose is to wear upon the foot. But Aristotle points out that a shoe can also be used to barter for something else. This, in Aristotle’s way of thinking, is not a natural use, but a secondary use for a shoe. The notion of secondary uses or value of goods introduces the notion of commerce or trade in society. The next step in the process is the invention of money, being more convenient

than transporting and exchanging the actual goods. This extends the unnatural nature of the business even further. Next he described two kinds of wealth-getting, one more natural than the other. The first, which he criticized, was the practice of turning all things, even human character into getting money in order to obtain unlimited pleasures. He said this was an excessively unnatural use of goods. In more of a mean, he indicated that accumulating enough wealth to provide for the necessities of life so that higher or nobler activities could be enjoyed was a more natural and more acceptable practice. He indicated that the closer an activity came to nature, the better it was. Farming, for example was considered more natural than retail trade and that lending money at interest is the most unnatural of all forms of wealth-getting. After acknowledging several varieties of commerce and of selling materials from the earth such as lumber and mineral, his conclusion of wealth-getting included examples of monopolies contrived for getting gain. He pointed out that governments and rulers of governments should understand these things and employ them appropriately when necessary, but that there are higher and nobler activities than those involved in wealth-getting.

In Part 13, Aristotle discussed the relationship between father and son, king and subject, master and slave. He admitted that it was a difficult discussion, and proposed that both master and slave must have virtue. “For if a noble nature is equally required in both, why should one of them always rule, and the other always be ruled?” (Book i, Part 13). He further admits that, “...if the ruler is intemperate and unjust, how can he rule well? If the subject, how can he obey well? (Book i, Part 13). He concluded the argument in a manner that may still be unsatisfactory to some modern readers, in that he resolved that each party needs the virtues that best qualify him for his respective duty. In other words

the ruler needs the virtues to rule well and the ruled need the virtues that allow him to obey well.

In this same discussion the term mastership is used, which is notable for this study of leadership in any setting. The term is of interest partly because it has the same suffix as leadership. The way it is used, however, seems to be in a sense that would equate better to management-ship than to leadership. “It is manifest, then, that the master ought to be the source of such excellence in the slave, and not a mere possessor of the art of mastership which trains the slave in his duties” (Book i, Part 13). If leadership and mastership were compared, it might be said that a leader ought to be the source of excellence in the follower and not a mere possessor of the art of leadership, which trains the follower in his duties. In this sense, leadership is an art but the term is used to describe a rather mechanical or managerial skill, suggesting that describing leadership as an art might not be precise.

Book Two, Unity vs. Commonality

Aristotle began Book Two by pointing out that a state is made up of individuals of various kinds and of unequal talent and unequal states of character. He further illustrated the difficulty in obtaining perfect unity in such a state. He pointed out, in fact, that perfect unity or having all things in common is problematic. For examples of some of the difficulties that arise when having all things in common is pushed to the extreme, he discussed the impracticality and immorality of having wives and children in common. He also described the natural problem of responsibility for unpleasant tasks, indicating that in such cases, everyone assumes that someone else ought to do the undesirable things. He argued that affection for family members would decrease like wine watered down if

wives and children were common. He went on to discuss the difficulties that arise when property is held in common. Although he did not directly refer to the doctrine of the mean, the underlying concepts of the mean are applied in these things also. He pointed out that there are certainly some advantages to having some things in common, but extremes on either end result in difficulties. After giving some examples of owning goods privately but sharing them occasionally when needed, he said of leaders that, “It is clearly better that property should be private, but the use of it common; and the special business of the legislator is to create in men this benevolent disposition” (Book ii, Part 5).

Aristotle pointed out that in a state where all things are completely in common, two of the virtues he discussed in *Nicomachean Ethics* would be eliminated, temperance relative to women and liberality relative to the imparting of goods. In other words, you cannot give what you do not own and you do cannot refrain from taking something that doesn’t belong to you if it belongs to everyone. In discussing these difficulties, Aristotle pointed out mistakes that he thought Plato and Socrates made in outlining governments and constitutions. This illustrates quite clearly how difficult achieving leadership really is, if some of the greatest human minds in history have had difficulty in reaching consensus on best practice in matters of government. He gave an example of how one of their proposals is impractical and stated, “The discourses of Socrates are never commonplace; they always exhibit grace and originality and thought; but perfection in everything can hardly be expected” (Book ii, Part 6).

Aristotle made an observation about states that at first seems unrelated to leadership, but upon closer examination may apply to principles of leadership. The observation made is that “poverty is the parent of revolution and crime” (Book ii, Part 6).

Along this same line of reasoning he said that most disputes in societies are due to arguments over unjust excess or shortage of property. “Clearly, then, the legislator ought not only to aim at the equalization of properties, but at moderation in their amount” (Book ii, 7). Conflict resolution in any leadership setting might depend largely on these same concepts articulated by Aristotle.

Next Aristotle examined government or constitutions proposed by certain men such as Hippodamus, who lived from 498 BCE to 408 BCE. He pointed out strengths and weaknesses of these systems and concluded with the statement below.

...there is a difference of opinion, and it may sometimes seem desirable to make changes. Such changes in the other arts and sciences have certainly been beneficial; medicine, for example, and gymnastic, and every other art and craft have departed from traditional usage. And, if politics be an art, change must be necessary in this as in any other art.” (Book ii, Part 8) After making this statement, Aristotle also discussed the need to sometimes change laws, but cautioned that legislators need to be very careful in changing laws too frequently or too easily so as to not compromise the important principle of obedience in society. In ordering a society with laws, Aristotle returned again to an example of masters and slaves that is considered in light of this study as a comment on leaders and followers.

...the treatment or management of slaves is a troublesome affair; for, if not kept in hand, they are insolent, and think that they are as good as their masters, and, if harshly treated, they hate and conspire against them. Now it is clear that when these are the results the citizens of a state have not found out the secret of managing their subject population” (Book ii, Part 9).

Aristotle also discussed some possible problems that sometimes arise for persons in a position of power, such as the taking of bribes, indulgence in pleasure due to the ease of the office, and partiality in public affairs. The only solution he offered was that the best and most virtuous persons should be placed in such positions, even if they would not seek such positions. He went on to briefly describe the constitutions of various groups of people, such as the Cretans, Spartans, Lacedaemonians, Carthaginians, and the Lyctians, pointing out their strengths and weaknesses. He also discusses the offices within each of the governments called by such names as the Helots, the Perioeci, the Ephors, and the Cosmi. He particularly commends the Carthaginian constitution indicating that “The superiority of their constitution is proved by the fact that the common people remain loyal to the constitution and have never had any rebellion worth speaking of, and have never been under the rule of a tyrant” (Book ii, Part 11). He explained that they were able to achieve this because they did not always choose their kings from the same family, nor by seniority.

The fact that Aristotle provides so many examples from other time periods and different cultures is very important to this study, because it shows that these elements and principles of government and leadership are not specific to Aristotle or his time alone, but that they are elements independent of specific times or peoples. Rather they are enduring elements that would be found to be true in any setting.

Aristotle acknowledged that high offices in any culture or context hold great power and when they are occupied by people of little worth, much harm is done. He warned against corruption in these offices by stating that, “it is surely a bad thing that the greatest offices, such as those of kings and generals, should be bought. The law which

allows this abuse makes wealth of more account than virtue, and the whole state becomes avaricious” (Book ii, Part 11). Simply stated, Aristotle affirmed, “Wherefore they should rule who are able to rule best” (Book ii, Part 11).

Book Three, Definitions of States and Governments

In this book Aristotle works out definitions for citizens and states. He says that a citizen is one who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state. And a state is defined as a body of citizens sufficing for the purposes of life. In the process of forming these definitions, Aristotle made this interesting leadership statement, “...there are some who hold office, and yet ought not to hold office, whom we describe as ruling, but ruling unjustly” (Book iii, Part 2). This statement reinforces his position that to properly rule is to rule with justice. This distinction presents a difficulty to the present study. In defining leadership, it must be determined if the definition will be of just leadership or if leadership will be defined without qualification. In other words, should leadership be defined in such a way so that there can be good leadership or bad leadership, just or unjust leadership; or should leadership be defined in such a way that only just leadership can be called leadership and unjust leadership must have some other name? The latter often seems to be the case in this research, that is, the term king is used only in a good and just sense unless modified negatively; leadership is presumed to be good and just leadership unless modified negatively, and so forth. However, that decision will be made after more reflection on these data.

In Book Three of *Politics* Aristotle continued his examination of the definition of a state. He raised the interesting question of how a state could remain the same when all the people within the state are constantly changing, by dying and being born, changing

places of residence and occupation, and most importantly to this study, changing rulers.

Using the analogy of a river or fountain that has water that is constantly moving, flowing and changing, yet is still called by the same name, he concluded this part of the book by stating that the word *state* is ambiguous and the constitution of the state is that which remains most the same.

In Part Four of this book, the analogy of a ship of sailors is used to show that while each member of the crew has a different specific function, they all share a common objective. The analogy is applied to citizens in a state who all have the common good of the state as their defining objective. The discussion then turns even more to elements of leadership within the state, by asking if the virtues of the leading men and the citizens need to be the same. It is conceded that not all members of the state can be expected to be equal, and likewise the members of the state cannot be expected to be equal with the leaders, as their respective roles are not equal. Another analogy is used to make this point, "...the virtue of all the citizens cannot possibly be the same, any more than the excellence of the leader of a chorus is the same as that of the performer who stands by his side" (Book iii, Part 4). Aristotle further argued that the role, the responsibility, and even the education of the leaders must be different than that of the citizens. "...the good ruler is a good and wise man, and that he who would be a statesman must be a wise man. And some persons say that even the education of the ruler should be of a special kind" (Book iii, Part 4). But as always, Aristotle cautions against extremes and warns against leaders who would abuse their position of leadership. He makes the observation that, "men are praised for knowing both how to rule and how to obey, and he is said to be a citizen of approved virtue who is able to do both" (Book iii, Part 4). Then Aristotle continued the

discussion by explaining how one learns how to rule. Learning how to lead might also be considered, in this study, as an important element of leadership.

...the ruler must learn by obeying, as he would learn the duties of a general of cavalry by being under the orders of a general of cavalry, or the duties of a general of infantry by being under the orders of a general of infantry, and by having had the command of a regiment and of a company. It has been well said that 'he who has never learned to obey cannot be a good commander.' The two are not the same, but the good citizen ought to be capable of both; he should know how to govern like a freeman, and how to obey like a freeman- these are the virtues of a citizen. And, although the temperance and justice of a ruler are distinct from those of a subject, the virtue of a good man will include both. (Book iii, Part 4)

The conclusion Aristotle drew from the discussion of the different virtues needed by the good man, or ruler, and the citizen, or subject, was that *practical wisdom* is a virtue needed solely by the ruler. All other virtues must equally belong to the ruler and the subject.

In the remaining parts of Book Three, Aristotle discussed the many complexities, advantages, and difficulties associated with various forms of governments such as kingships, aristocracies, democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies. He indicated that these often deal with the issues of poverty and wealth in a state as well as the various kinds of people that make up different states. The impracticality of defining leadership with a description of the best form of government becomes apparent as Aristotle shows why no single form of government will work best in all situations, but rather that the form of

government and method of ruling must be suited to the makeup and needs of the state. Nevertheless, he mentioned some elements of leadership that would always apply, such as, “true forms of government will of necessity have just laws, and perverted forms of government will have unjust laws” (Book iii, Part 11). Likewise, Aristotle discussed how it would be impossible to determine the best method of deciding who should rule in all these various forms of government. Again because of the various combinations of situations, one method of choosing leadership is not possible, but only guiding principles common to all cases must be used. After a lengthy discussion of the complications in correctly choosing who should govern, he concluded that the best leader in any situation will be “one who is able and willing to be governed and to govern with a view to the life of virtue” (Book iii, Part 13).

Next Aristotle entered into a remarkable discussion of equality and how, when taken to the extreme, a government that insists on every member being equal cannot tolerate citizens of superiority even in virtue. In unjust states such unequal citizens must be ostracized or banished in order to maintain equality among the citizens. Aristotle contended on the contrary that a more just system would be for these individuals to become the rulers of the government and if no greater persons are available, then these should rule for life. This argument is made only after he has made it clear that other forms of superiority than virtue, such as birth or wealth or physical stature do not qualify for superiority in this way. Only superiority in virtue and goodwill for the state qualify for superiority in this way. The only occurrence of the word *leadership* in the text is found in this section.

In Part Fifteen of the Third Book of *Politics*, Aristotle explained that the rule of a virtuous or just king is a good government, but that one man is more easily corrupted than a group of just rulers. He explained that in the beginning of civilizations, when few good men were to be found, a single king as ruler was a natural phenomenon. In time and when more good men are available aristocracies formed. The accumulation of wealth and power by a ruling class however evolves into oligarchies, which deteriorate into tyrannies and are often replaced by democracies. Aristotle argued that democracies are actually inferior forms of government because they are ruled by common people, including the poor who, typically, are not the most suited to rule because they are unfortunately often not the most virtuous. Later in the text he explained that not all democracies are the same and also indicated that a previous author had a different opinion about democracies. The opinion of the previous author was that when the constitutions of aristocracies, oligarchies and democracies were all good, that democracy was the worst form of the three but when all the constitutions were bad, then a democracy was the best of the three (Book iv, Part 2). In Part Sixteen of Book Three Aristotle discussed *rule by law* to overcome the imperfections of any of the forms of government that rely on the goodness or badness of the rulers, under the assumption that, “he who bids man rule adds an element of the beast; for desire is a wild beast, and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even when they are the best of men” (Book iii, Part 16). In this too, Aristotle returned to a reference to the mean, indicating that sometimes a middle ground needs to be taken, in that a good man can often make better decisions than a strictly written law, and that a common law is sometimes more reasonable, and therefore better than a written law. In

the qualitative research process, this notion of finding the mean is emerging as a common and reoccurring theme in leadership issues.

Book Four, Governments for Specific Circumstances

To simplify matters, Aristotle put forth the assumption that all forms of governments can be generally classified into just two main forms, democracies and oligarchies. He compared this to the general practice of his time of grouping the winds into just two kinds, those from the north and those from the south, the rest being variations of these. To express the difference, he did not classify them as to the number of members that rule, whether a majority or a minority, but rather said that the difference was that in a democracy the free are the rulers while in an oligarchy the rich rule. A further qualification is that a few freemen ruling over many that are not free would not be considered a democracy. Neither would it be a democracy if the rich govern because they exceed in number. “But the form of government is a democracy when the free, who are also poor and the majority, govern, and an oligarchy when the rich and the noble govern, they being at the same time few in number” (Book iv, Part 4).

Warren Bennis (1985) is credited with stating that managers are people who do things right, but leaders are people who do the right things. Aristotle seems to have had this same idea regarding people in positions of government. He first explained the essential roles of husbandmen, artisans, and mechanics in a state. He pointed out that Plato suggested these were all that were needed for the operation of an effective state, but Aristotle contended that,

the higher parts of states, that is to say, the warrior class, the class engaged in the administration of justice, and that engaged in deliberation, which is the special

business of political common sense - these are more essential to the state than the parts which minister to the necessities of life. (Book iv, Part 4)

Aristotle continued at considerable length his discussion of the various kinds of governments and how they differ from each other. The modern reader may have some difficulty following all the examples he provides, as many of them are from ancient cities and civilizations that are now generally unfamiliar. However, as pointed out earlier, Aristotle's examples from various other times and civilization adds validity to his arguments and reinforces the notion that these element, concepts, and principles of leadership endure from one generation to the next and are independent of contexts of time and place. The modern reader hopes, however, that Aristotle will draw some conclusions that will be applicable to modern settings. A conclusion finally comes in the following form,

the conclusion at which we arrive respecting all these forms rests upon the same grounds. For if what was said in the Ethics is true, that the happy life is the life according to virtue lived without impediment, and that virtue is a mean, then the life which is in a mean, and in a mean attainable by every one, must be the best. And the same principles of virtue and vice are characteristic of cities and of constitutions; for the constitution is in a figure the life of the city. (Book iv, Part 11)

Book Five, Causes of Revolution and Preservation of Governments

This book describes all the various ways in which revolution can occur in governments, but many of the principles of rebellion in government apply likewise to rebellion or discontent in any organization. Therefore a study of this book can be

informative to this study and beneficial to anyone interested in the phenomenon of leadership in organizations. Aristotle explained that revolution or changes to a government can take place in two main ways. One is a change of the constitution or the organization and the other is a change of those in positions of power. When rulers change the same constitution may be kept in place or the same rulers may wish to or be forced to change the constitution to maintain group satisfaction. Rebellion in Oligarchies take place due to difficulties that arise from inequality. Oligarchies mainly differ from democracies in matters relative to equality. Members of a democracy usually feel that if some things are equal then all things should be equal. Aristotle repeated his position asserted previously, that a government mainly composed of the middle class is more like a democracy than an oligarchy and that a democracy of this type is the safest or most stable of the imperfect forms of government.

Oligarchies are led by those who are, in the first place, unequal with the main population and these leaders generally expect to maintain inequality in all things. Revolutions occur from a desire for gain or honor among members of the organization or state. Oligarchies are more likely to experience revolutions because they run the double risk of unrest among the oligarchs themselves and among the general population over whom they rule. Aristotle first listed and then elaborated on several of the causes of revolution.

The most common reason for rebellion, according to Aristotle is insult or insolence and several examples were given of how an incident between two people in positions of influence have embroiled an entire state in a quarrel, often leading to overthrow. Conflict resolution must be an essential element of leadership as this is still a

common topic in leadership discussions today. “Superiority is a cause of revolution when one or more persons have a power which is too much for the state and the power of the government” (Book v, Part 3) Other causes of rebellion discussed include fear, excessive predominance, contempt, and disproportionate increase of wealth or power in some part of the state. The philosopher also said that another form of unrest or revolt arises from election intrigues, carelessness, neglect about trifles, and dissimilarity of elements (Book v, Part 2). These are some of the same issues that Herzberg (1993) identified as hygiene factors that can cause dissatisfaction in members of organizations.

From another perspective, Aristotle discussed how certain types of governments are preserved. The first concept put forth was that, naturally, the opposite of that which causes rebellion will help preserve the state. For example, monarchies are preserved and perpetuated by exercising moderation of power, rather than being overbearing. Aristotle suggested that to preserve a system, “there is nothing which should be more jealously maintained than the spirit of obedience to law” (Book v, Part 8). Another suggestion is to limit the tenure of office to a certain time period so that others of equal rank can share positions of leadership in turn. A very interesting suggestion for preserving a state, as noted by Aristotle, is to “invent terrors, and bring distant dangers near, in order that the citizens may be on their guard, and, like sentinels in a night watch, never relax their attention” (Book v, Part 8).

Informative to this study are three qualifications that Aristotle lists for the highest offices in any government. The first is loyalty to the particular constitution. The second he calls administrative capacity. The third is virtue and justice, proper to the form of government. Aristotle then asked which of these three would be the most important if all

three are not present in one candidate. This is a very interesting question and his answer is informative to this research. He answered his own question by asserting that the task at hand would determine which would be most important. For example if the objective is military leadership in war, a general who is skilled in battle may be more important than one who has great virtue. On the other hand, however, in an office of trust or stewardship it may be more important to choose a man with loyalty or a possessor of virtues and justice. His conclusion to all the possible scenarios was as might be expected by this point in an examination of his teachings. He suggested that in general, the best officers will possess a balance of these qualities. “Neither should we forget the mean, which at the present day is lost sight of in perverted forms of government” (Book v, Part 8). For an example or illustration of this point, Aristotle used the analogy of a nose on a person’s face. He said that some deviation can be tolerated in the size or shape of the nose and no one will much notice the difference, but that if the crook or curve or size is extremely exaggerated it becomes first unsightly and then, if continued, ceases to be a nose at all. His point seems to be that leaders of governments will not be perfect in all areas, so some tolerance will be allowed, but deviation too far from the appropriate ceases to be good government or ceases to be called leadership and may result in revolution.

In summary, states are preserved by loyal, capable and virtuous leaders who endeavor to balance power and goods between opposite factions in the state such as rich and poor or by increasing the size and power of the middle class. Aristotle concluded the book by discussing monarchies rather than oligarchies or democracies, and explained that they are destroyed or preserved by many of the same principles as already discussed,

except that the implementation of them must be applied to the particular nature of monarchy as it differs from oligarchy and democracy.

Book Six, The Right Officers for the Right Duties

Many interesting issues and concepts are discussed in *Politics* and there is a temptation to analyze them all. However, the purpose of this study is to identify essential, objective elements of leadership in any setting, thus all issues in Aristotle's *Politics* can not or should not be covered, but only those that appear to deal with objective elements informative to the research question in this study. One such element that is not directly stated, but is surmised from an overall reading, is that policies and procedures in leadership must be based on the form of the constitution, the nature of the population, and the objectives of the organization. In other words, Aristotle makes it quite clear that there is no single correct form of government, but rather that there are many forms and methods depending upon the circumstances. Aristotle makes this point only after firmly establishing that there are unchangeable principles, that is, seminal principles, that are in themselves invariant and unchangeable. For Aristotle, change is possible only when the absolute serves as the underlying sustainability of change. Change in the absence of that which does not change, that is, change without sustainability, is corruption.

Extremes and means. A reoccurring theme in Aristotle's work is the difference between behavior in the extreme and behavior in the mean. "no notice is taken of a little evil, but when it increases it strikes the eye" (Book 6, Part 4). Another example is "the poor are always receiving and always wanting more and more.... Yet the true friend of the people should see that they be not too poor, for extreme poverty lowers the character of the democracy" (Book vi, Part 5). The next example Aristotle took from a practice of

the Carthaginians, but in principle it sounds very similar to what many consider the modern concept of shared leadership. “by sharing the use of their own property with the poor, they gain their good will” (Book vi, Part 5). Another example of shared leadership is found in this statement, “A like result may be gained by dividing the same offices, so as to have two classes of magistrates, one chosen by vote, the other by lot” (Book vi, Part 5) Aristotle explains that a well formed organization will be more resilient than one founded on questionable principles or led by disreputable people. This sounds like Collins (2001) principle of getting the right people on the bus, but takes it further by suggesting that the bus itself must be mechanically sound and roadworthy. “...healthy bodies and ships well provided with sailors may undergo many mishaps and survive them, whereas sickly constitutions and rotten ill-manned ships are ruined by the very least mistake, so do the worst forms of government require the greatest care” (Book vi, Part 6).

Another example and variation on the notion of finding the mean is found when Aristotle explains the advantages of light armed troops on foot and that of mounted cavalry. He says that the advantages of both are achieved when they are combined together in battle. (Book vi, Part 7) Another example of this kind of mean is found in the statement, “no state can be well administered not having the offices which tend to preserve harmony and good order” (Book vi, Part 8). Also discussed are the unpleasant but necessary offices of enforcing the law and executing punishments and the several offices and duties of the militia. The point for the purposes of this study is that many offices are needed to properly lead an organization, depending of course on the size and purpose of the organization. Of a state, Aristotle lists the following necessary offices,

offices concerned with matters of religion, with war, with the revenue and expenditure, with the market, with the city, with the harbors, with the country; also with the courts of law, with the records of contracts, with execution of sentences, with custody of prisoners, with audits and scrutinies and accounts of magistrates; lastly, there are those which preside over the public deliberations of the state. (Book vi, Part 8)

Book Seven, Balance needed in all things

In the opening of this book, Aristotle argued that what is the best life for an individual is also what is best for a state. He then took what was previously discussed in *Nicomachean Ethics* and reviewed the conclusion that what is best for the individual life is to have a healthy balance of the three things, external goods, the necessities that sustain life, and states of character in the mean, such as of courage, temperance, liberality, magnanimity, justice, and the like. He argued however that even in these three essentials of the good life, that in human nature there is a tendency to think that a little virtue is sufficient, but that there should be no limits on the accumulation of wealth or external goods. He pointed out how common and easy it is to over indulge in the passions or pleasures of body but to be deficient in the higher qualities of the soul. If what is good for the individual, is good for the state, then there should be the same balanced ratio of these things in a city as in an individual. He further explained that external goods often come by chance, but virtues do not come by chance, but rather must be acquired. Aristotle acknowledged that some may not agree with his opinion but to continue his line of reasoning he said, “Let us assume then that the best life, both for individuals and states, is the life of virtue, when virtue has external goods enough for the performance of good

actions” (Book vii, Part 1). One application to leadership from this discussion is that an organization, by nature or by chance, will likely not be balanced in these three areas. A healthy organization will be one where there is a more even distribution of external goods, pleasures of the body and the higher, nobler goods of the soul. Aristotle continued his argument by stating that the happiness of the individual is the same as that of the state, and the more virtuous the citizens of the city, the happier they will be.

In reading Aristotle’s description of some aspects of human nature, with regard to statesmanship, the researcher was struck with the thought that human nature, in most cases, is not harmonious with the just and virtuous exercise of leadership. In other words, people are not good leaders by nature alone, but must improve upon their basic human nature in order to become just leaders. There seems to be a need for a combination of nature, habituation of experience, and education. The following is the passage that generated this thought. The full passage is rather lengthy, but in order to grasp the idea of the incompatibility of human nature and noble leadership, the entire passage must be considered.

In some nations there are even laws tending to stimulate the warlike virtues, as at Carthage, where we are told that men obtain the honor of wearing as many armlets as they have served campaigns. There was once a law in Macedonia that he who had not killed an enemy should wear a halter, and among the Scythians no one who had not slain his man was allowed to drink out of the cup which was handed round at a certain feast. Among the Iberians, a warlike nation, the number of enemies whom a man has slain is indicated by the number of obelisks which are fixed in the earth round his tomb; and there are numerous practices among

other nations of a like kind, some of them established by law and others by custom. Yet to a reflecting mind it must appear very strange that the statesman should be always considering how he can dominate and tyrannize over others, whether they will or not. How can that which is not even lawful be the business of the statesman or the legislator? Unlawful it certainly is to rule without regard to justice, for there may be might where there is no right. The other arts and sciences offer no parallel. A physician is not expected to persuade or coerce his patients, nor a pilot the passengers in his ship. Yet most men appear to think that the art of despotic government is statesmanship, and what men affirm to be unjust and inexpedient in their own case they are not ashamed of practicing towards others; they demand just rule for themselves, but where other men are concerned they care nothing about it. Such behavior is irrational... (Book vii, Part 2)

The foregoing passage suggests that Aristotle would not define leadership in terms of authoritarian behavior. He did suggest that a leader should be superior to those he leads but his intention was that the leader should be a better person than who are led. Not in a domineering way but rather by being better qualified to lead in all virtuous aspects. After a careful discussion of what constitutes superiority, Aristotle stated, "If, therefore, there is anyone superior in virtue and in the power of performing the best actions, him we ought to follow and obey, but he must have the capacity for action as well as virtue" (Book vii, Part 3). This is a very important statement for an exploration of the essential elements of leadership with the purpose of reaching a definition. In this short statement, Aristotle summarizes all that he has said to this point and without the background of his previous discussions, the statement cannot be completely understood.

The researcher interprets the statement as meaning that the leadership one should be willing to follow is that which is exercised by a person who has a greater portion or combination of the various states of character described in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Such a person has the power to perform the best actions for the present circumstances. Such a leader must possess the capacity for action and a noble character, demonstrated by appropriate actions in the mean of Aristotle's virtues.

Aristotle made a comment at the end of Book Seven, Part Three, that is very brief and not readily connected to the preceding discussion. There is also no follow-up to the statement, as he immediately takes up another point. The statement is as follows; "Hence it is evident that the same life is best for each individual, and for states and for mankind collectively" (Book vii, Part 3).

Another element, discussed by Aristotle, applicable to any time period is that just as chance may provide an individual with external goods, a city, state or organization may also be blessed by chance with good fortune. However, "virtue and goodness in the state are not a matter of chance but the result of knowledge and purpose" (Book vii, Part 13). The philosopher went on to explain that persons become good and virtuous by three things: by nature, through habit, and as a result of rational principle. Often, however, men do things against their nature if rational principles persuade them to do so. According to Aristotle rational principle is what separates men from the animals, that live mainly by nature and to a small degree by habit in some cases. All persons are born naturally with some abilities, the rest is dependent upon education and experience. As for the education and training of leaders, Aristotle says, "he who would learn to command well must, as men say, first of all learn to obey" (Book vii, Part 14). He goes on to explain that there

are opposites in most things such as war and peace, work and leisure. In this same way, some things that a person should learn are useful and practical on the one hand but on the other, there are things that are more virtuous and noble. He says that while some things are useful for material profit others are deemed honorable and noble beyond material value. He argued that an understanding of these differences should be included in the education of those who would be leaders because “the government of freemen is nobler and implies more virtue than despotic government. Neither is a city to be deemed happy or a legislator to be praised because he trains his citizens to conquer and obtain dominion over their neighbors, for there is great evil in this” (Book vii, Part 14). Because the education of citizens relates to nature, habit and rational principle, Aristotle discussed marriage, child bearing, and the raising of children.

Book Eight, The Role of Education

Aristotle began this part of his discussion by restating the importance of education in the formation of virtuous character in both leaders and citizens. He next stated his opinion that education should be public and the concern of the state because the result of education has such a great impact on the development of virtues that will affect the quality of life in the state. The subject becomes more complicated and controversial when the question of what should be taught is raised. In his time, the basic curriculum included reading, writing, gymnastic exercises, music, and drawing. The theme of balance, that is, the doctrine of the golden mean, can be found here too when Aristotle discussed the practice of some who over emphasis gymnastic exercises believing that this will make their children more brave and thus better apt to lead. He said that by doing so, parents make their children “useful to the art of statesmanship in one quality only” (Book viii,

Part 4). This statement is also informative because it incorporates the term *statesmanship*, indicating statesmanship is an art. Music is also discussed at length, with the conclusion that it serves as leisure, relaxation, and a balance to toil and pain. Music also “has a power of forming the character, and should therefore be introduced into the education of the young” (Book viii, Part 5). The discussion concludes with a rationale for allowing certain rhythms of music and not others. Also some instruments are approved while others are not. Concern is expressed about the impact of hearing certain pieces of music or certain stories or seeing certain images because of the impressionable nature of youth. These are the final points made by Aristotle in *Politics*. He does not summarize his arguments.

Plato's Statesman

Plato also discussed elements and principles of leadership in his classical work entitled *Statesman*. The work compared the political work of a statesman to the practical knowledge needed of a herdsman. The work of ruling a city was suggested to be the art of human herding. Gill (2005) argued, “No one disputes with the cowherd his claim to look after all aspects of the life of his herd. ...The same is true of all other herdsmen, with one exception: the herdsman of humans, the statesman” (sec. 7.2). Plato's dialog between young Socrates and the Stranger reveals that they also refer to knowledge of a statesman as having a science (statement 258b).

Summary of Logical and Historical Examination of Leadership

The teachings of Aristotle regarding the relationship among humans, particularly that of leadership, have passed the test of time, in that scholars who have examined the wisdom of the ages recognize in his discussions, principles that are common to human

nature regardless of the era or context. This fact makes the teachings of Aristotle valuable as a source of information on leadership concepts that reflect upon the span of much of recorded history. The researcher in this study focused attention on two of Aristotle's works that treat the subject of leadership or leading. These were the classic works entitled *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*.

Aristotle provided a great deal of insight that underlies the essence of his view of leadership. Aristotle identified nature, habit, and education as essential to forming a virtuous and good person. Aristotle then made the argument that virtue is seminal to leadership. Thus, traits found in human nature, habits acquired through experience, and intellectual development fostered by education are integral to leadership. Integral means more than important, it means essential and then it means more than essential. Integral refers to the simultaneous existence of these three and further, the form of this unity is such that each of the three must exist for the other two to exist and that the whole, leadership, cannot exist if one is missing. Each performs an essential part with the others and the whole.

To better illustrate the role of virtue, Aristotle divided virtue into moral and intellectual, that is, excellence of character and excellence of mind. He selected courage, justice, and temperance to be specifically referred to as the moral virtues and when prudence or practical wisdom were added, the four virtues taken together were known as the cardinal virtues. The centerpiece of Aristotle's concept of virtue, literally and formally, is his doctrine of the mean. Virtue does not exist at one extreme or the other nor even at the arithmetic mean; rather, virtue lies within an incalculable band between the extremes, the determination thereof is dependent upon the degree to which human nature,

good habits, and education have been realized. Only then can what might be considered one of Aristotle's greatest insights into leadership reach its complete fruition: A leader ought to be the source of excellence in the follower and not a mere trainer of the follower in order to facilitate the performance of duties

Introduction to Definition

Kemerling, (2001) lamented that "...sloppy or misleading use of ordinary language can seriously limit our ability to create and communicate correct reasoning" (para 1). Kemerling repeated the words of the 17th century philosopher, John Locke, who argued that the achievement of human knowledge is often hampered by the use of words without fixed signification. To address the difficulty of communication of ideas through language and definition, it was deemed important to explore the rules and conventions of definition, prior to attempting to define the term *leadership* in this research project. To accomplish this exploration, the researcher analyzed and synthesized information regarding forms of definition from several sources.

There is general agreement among philosophers that a definition is a statement of the essential properties of that which is to be defined. Robinson (1950) examined definition in detail, and provided the following information on how classical philosophers defined definition. According to Robinson (1950), Plato gave three meanings of the word *logos* or definition. The first was that it was to reveal one's thoughts by means of speech. Secondly, when someone asks what a thing is, definitions enable a person to answer by means of the elements of the thing. And thirdly, being able to give some mark by which the thing asked about differs from all other things. Aristotle, in *Topics* I, 5, defines *horos*, as the account of the essence of the thing. Cicero said it was to give a brief and

circumscribed account of the properties of the thing we wish to define. Milton said it was that which refines the pure essence of things from the circumstance. Spinoza said the true definition of each thing involves no other and expresses nothing but the nature of the thing defined. Locke said it was making another understand by words, what idea the term defined stands for. Kant said it was to present the complete, original concept of a thing within the limits of its concept. J. S. Mill indicated it was a proposition declaratory of the meaning of a word, namely, either the meaning which it bears in common acceptation, or that which the speaker or writer, for the particular purposes of his discourse, intends to annex to it. Whitehead and Russell call it a declaration that a certain newly introduced symbol is to mean the same as a certain other combination of symbols of which the meaning is already known. Wittgenstein said definitions are rules for the translation of one language into another. Carnap stated that it was a rule for mutual transformation of words in the same language. The researcher is grateful to Robinson (1950) for the above summary. Robinson concluded his review of some of the most famous descriptions of definition by indicating that, the *Oxford English Dictionary* states that, to define means to state exactly what a thing is: to set forth or explain the essential nature of something. Robinson (1950) then admits that occasionally it is said that definition is indefinable, defended on the ground that “you cannot define anything until you already understand defining” (p.3). While this appears at first to be the case, what is soon understood is that the general concept of definition, to uniquely describe, is first understood. Then there is a need to denote this concept by a word assigned to that concept. This is actually the way other words come into existence. However, words that cannot be defined have different circumstances. The word *point* (as in geometry), for example, exists as a reduction of a

line to its simplest part, but part is really the point, so you have gone in a circle, having to use the concept of point to define point.

The thing being defined is indicated by the Latin term *definiendum* and the expression which defines the *definiendum* is called the *definiens* or in English, the definition. The terms *definiendum* and *definiens* were first used, in modern, English scholarly works, by Whitehead and Russell (1910) in their classical work on mathematical logic called, *Principia Mathematica*.

The purpose of a definition is to uniquely describe, that is, to intellectually apprehend the *definiendum* in such a way that it is distinguished from anything else from which it differs in kind or degree. For example, Aristotle defined or uniquely described *word* by intellectually apprehending it as a *sound significant by convention*.. Thus, *sound* provides identification of the kind of thing a word is and having *significance by convention* identifies how words differ from other sounds such as a grunt or a tree falling over.

Classical Forms of Definition

The Greek philosophers understood the art of coming to know the unknown, that is, logic, to consist of three parts. These three parts followed from the three aspects the Greeks perceived the mind as requiring in order to achieve understanding, specifically, apprehension, combination/division, and reasoning. In logic, these three acts of the intellect were addressed in definition, proposition, and syllogism respectively. Clearly, the Greeks saw definition as an indispensable component of how the mind would come to know and, consequently, they spent a great deal of time and thought formulating the requirements of definition. Without logically sound definitions, rational knowledge was

not possible according to their scheme. This same principle has been echoed by Barker (1997) who said that it is very difficult to train leaders without defining what leadership really is.

Distinctions Preliminary to Classical Definition

Terms Associated with Definitions

Prior to further investigating forms of definition, the researcher explored the meaning of several terms associated with definitions. For example, in the field of logic, the term genus means a class or kind of thing which includes a number of subordinate kinds of things called differentia or species, sharing certain common attributes. A genus also means a general concept in logic or philosophy. Each species is distinguished from all the others in the genus by the possession of some peculiar attribute or group of attributes, called its specific difference or differentia (Oxford English Dictionary, *Genus*). In classifying things, one genus is often a sub-species of a higher genus. For example, the genus of a spruce is an evergreen, the genus of an evergreen is a tree, and the genus of a tree is a plant. A proximate genus, also called the proximum genus, is the genus that is just higher than the species being defined.

A general rule for defining terms is to utilize the most proximate genus as doing so minimizes the differentia necessary for the specific difference. For example, if defining gold, using the genus of “thing” would require having a very long and complex difference in trying to uniquely differentiate gold from all other *things*. On the other hand, the genus of “element” would allow for a very concise difference that would uniquely differentiate gold from the other *elements*.

Summa genera are the highest or most general divisions in a classification. In logic, a genus that is not considered as a species of any higher genus is called the summum genus. Philosophers disagree when discussing the final summum genus. Aristotle argued that there was no single summum genus but proposed instead that there were 10 categories, a term coined by Aristotle, or 10 summa genera to which all things comprehensible could be assigned.

On the other end of the scale, an infimas species is the lowest species of a classification or division, and is not a genus for any further classification. Consequently, there are two kinds of terms that cannot be defined, the summa genera because there is no genus above them and the infimas species because there is no specific difference to uniquely distinguish them from other members of the genera to which they belong.

Another term examined was, essence. The Oxford English Dictionary provides 11 definitions of the term. The one most appropriate to the purposes of this study is given below.

That which constitutes the being of a thing; that by which it is what it is. In two different applications distinguished by Locke as nominal essence and real essence respectively: a. of a conceptual entity: The totality of the properties, constituent elements, etc., without which it would cease to be the same thing; the indispensable and necessary attributes of a thing as opposed to those which it may have or not. Also, in narrower sense, those among the indispensable attributes which involve all the rest by logical consequence, and are sufficient for a valid definition; the 'connotation of the class-name. (OED, *essence*)

The term, accident, was also explored. An important point is that the word, accident at first appears to have a different meaning in discussions of logic and philosophy than the common understanding of the term, meaning a random occurrence or chance happening. In logic, accident refers to a property or quality not essential to our conception of a substance. In other words, accidents are properties of a species that are sometimes present, but are not essential properties. Sometimes accidental properties are found in a thing and sometimes they are not. There is some carry over of this understanding to the ordinary use of the word accident, for example, it can be said that when someone falls by accident, the fall was not essential, to say the least. However, if someone falls from a building purposefully to perhaps escape a fire, then the fall was not accidental and, in fact, possibly essential to saving the person's life.

Aristotle's Categories

An exploration of Aristotle's (350 BCE) work entitled *Categories* was also undertaken as part of the research, relative to the form of definition. Aristotle suggested that anything that could be a subject or predicate could be classed in one of 10 categories. The first category is unique in that it is considered essential whereas the remaining nine categories are said to be accidental categories in that they don't exist in themselves but only in members of the first category of substance. For example, quantity never exists in of itself but rather always in something else, for example, three *apples*. The quality of color, such as red, never exists apart from the substance in which it adheres, such as a red *shirt*. Below are the 10 categories Aristotle postulated and a brief explanation of each.

1. Substance. Aristotle explained that substance refers to things that neither can be predicated of anything nor be said to be in anything. For example, a particular

man or a particular tree are substances. Aristotle later in the text calls these *primary substances*, to distinguish them from secondary substances, which are universals and can be predicated. His example is that Socrates is a primary substance, but man is a secondary substance.

2. Quantity. This is the extension of an object, and may be either discrete or continuous. Further, its parts may or may not have relative positions to each other. Aristotle divides quantity into two species, continuous and discrete quantities.

Those which he calls continuous quantities include, line, surface, body, time, and place. Those called discrete include, number and speech.

3. Quality. This is a determination which characterizes the nature of an object.

Aristotle divides quality into the following species, Habits and Dispositions, Natural Capabilities and Incapabilities, Affective Qualities and Affections, and finally, Shape. Aristotle's category of quality has been both criticized and defended by scholars and philosophers. In either case, his conceptualization of fundamental categories has influenced thinking for many centuries. Many of the characteristics needed for leadership, such as courage, temperance, and prudence would fall into this category given virtues are qualities. To help distinguish between quantity and quality, a circle is a quantity (of points) though circular is a quality (shape).

4. Relatives. The name given to this category by Aristotle is translated *ta pros ti*, which literally means *things toward something*. Although this category is one of the most discussed and debated by philosophers, it generally deals with things that are associated with other things. This is the way in which one object may be

associated with another. For example, one thing might be smaller than another, or come earlier than something else. Leading and following might be considered a relative relationship. Part of the debate surrounding this category is whether Aristotle was describing relatives in language or the concept of relation. Some philosophers debate whether relation even exists at all.

5. Place. Position in relation to the surrounding environment. Aristotle gave examples such as the location of cities or being above or below a table. A leadership example might include the leadership setting.

6. Time. This category deals with position in relation to the course of events. A leadership example might be the chronological period in which the leadership takes place, or the tenure that a leader serves in a particular position, or the number of months needed to accomplish a particular task.

7. Position. The examples Aristotle gives for this category are, lying and sitting, or in other words, they are the results of an action. Position may be taken as the end point for the corresponding action. The term is, however, frequently taken to mean the relative position of the parts of an object, given that the position of the parts is inseparable from the state of rest implied. Rather than the common notion of a leader holding a position, this category seems to refer more to posture or striking a particular pose.

8. State. The examples Aristotle gave are shod and armed, indicating that he meant a condition of rest resulting from an action or affection. A leadership example might be to say that, the organization is in a well led state, or the group is

currently mis-guided. These leadership examples are the researchers and not Aristotle's examples.

9. Action. The production of change in some other object. For action Aristotle gave the examples, to lance and to cauterize. Many modern authors discuss leadership as a process of change, so action is important to leadership.

10. Affection. For affection Aristotle gave the examples to be lanced and to be cauterized. This suggests that affection is the result of action and thus closely related. The example of a concave and convex lens was used earlier in this study to point out that leadership can be seen from one perspective as the actions of a leader, and from another perspective as the affect the action has on followers.

These might be leadership examples of Aristotle's categories of *action* and *affection*.

According to Aristotle, every part of a verifiable statement, or proposition, should falls into one of these categories. Therefore, the researcher composed the following sentence attempting to include reference of each of the categories in parenthesis. The prudent (quality) six-foot tall (quantity) leader (substance) stood (position) before the followers (relative) in the assembly hall (place) pleased (affection) with results of the past quarter, but prepared (state) to deliver a speech (action) intended to inspire (action) even greater (relative) productivity (action). This simple sentence shows that leadership can include all of Aristotle's categories.

Purpose and Process of Definition

The importance of proper definition in communicating meaning has been discussed at least since the period of Plato, Socrates and Aristotle. Classical logicians

developed a method of constructing definitions for general terms, by stating their genus and differentia. The process was started by stating a familiar, broad category to which everything in the definiendum belonged. The next step was to specify the distinctive features or differentia that set the definiendum apart from all the other things of this kind. For example a chair is a piece of furniture designed to be sat upon by one person at a time. In this example, a piece of furniture is the genus and the remainder of the definition is the differentia that uniquely differentiates a chair from all other pieces of furniture. This method of defining has been widely adopted by many fields of knowledge. In modern times, Copi and Cohen (1994) list five rules of formulating definitions by genus and differentia.

1. Focus on essential features. A good definition focuses on features essential to the designation of things as members of the relevant group.
2. Avoid circularity. Do not use the term being defined as part of its own definition, because either the audience must already understand the meaning of the term, or it cannot understand the explanation that includes that term.
3. Capture the correct extension. A good definition will apply to exactly the same things as the term being defined, no more and no less. Successful intensional definitions must be satisfied by all and only those things that are included in the extension of the term they define.
4. Avoid figurative or obscure language. The point of a definition is to explain the meaning of a term to someone who is unfamiliar with its proper application.
5. Be affirmative rather than negative. Although it is possible to explain the application of a term by identifying everything to which it does not apply this

approach should only be used in a few cases where such is the only alternative. A good definition uses positive designations whenever possible.

Primary Form of Definition

The primary form of definition is that of genus and difference. The logic of this form is simple; to uniquely describe can efficiently be accomplished by the intersection of the whole and the part, much like measurement requires identifying what kind of thing, that is, a genus such as inches, and a specific difference, such as 27.5, which in turn provides a genus/difference definition or measurement of 27.5 inches. Street addresses generally have numerous genera and differentia and even personal names identify us by surname, which is the genus and a given name, which is the difference. The goal of the genus/difference form of definition is to use a *proximate* genus and *specific* difference.

Aristotle's genus/difference form of definition is called an essential definition to distinguish it from other kinds of definition that are also present in his scheme of logic. Another kind of definition is definition by property where property refers to that which belongs only, always, and necessarily to the genus but is not a specific difference. To illustrate the difference between the two forms, human nature i.e., universally represented by the word man, will be defined using both forms. Genus/difference: Man is an animal that is rational whereas man can be defined by property as an animal capable of learning grammar. Both definitions have the same genus, animal; however, the first definition differentiates by essence, man differs essentially from the other members of the genus by the ability to reason. In the second definition, man also differs from the other members of the genus insofar as man has the capacity to learn grammar whereas the other animals do not. The capacity to learn grammar belongs only, always, and necessarily to man and

man alone. The properties that are used in this form of definition follow directly from the essential difference, rationality in this case, but are not the essential difference *per se*.

A third form of definition is known as definition by cause. This form depends upon Aristotle's delineation of four different causes. Aristotle held that everything has four causes, material, efficient, formal, and final. When all four causes can be identified, Aristotle considered this kind of definition to be the best form of definition but he also considered it to be the most difficult to achieve. This form of definition can be employed to define a particular football team. The material cause of the team is the players; the efficient cause is the coach; however, the formal cause is generally the most difficult cause to identify given the concept of form is often evasive and the final cause is often the most argumentative cause. In this example, the formal cause would be that which gives form to the game of football and can be quickly summarized by identifying the rules of football. If a rule changes, so does the form of the game. The final cause can be many things, but suffice to say that the final cause is to provide young athletes and those who watch them with the opportunity to further understand how Aristotle's maxim that the individual good is consistent with the common or team good.

A fourth form of definition is definition by name. This form utilizes the etymology of the definiendum and from its derivation, seeks to understand the concept signified by the word being defined. Freshman, for example, comes from fresh, meaning new, and man, meaning one. A freshman is one who is new. Sophomore, on the other hand, is derived from sophism, which means wisdom or cleverness and the suffix, more from the Greek word moros meaning foolish. Sophomore, therefore literally means a wise fool. Definition by name is often very instructive in providing the conceptual

context of the definiendum and has served as a major portion of the initial inquiry into defining leadership.

A fifth form of definition is often used as a last resort to informally define. The fifth form is definition by accident, where the accidents of the definiendum are used to characterize or uniquely describe. Aristotle pointed out that the summa genera may not be defined owing to the lack of having a genus and the lowest species are also indefinable owing to the lack of a specific difference between members of that species. Aristotle considered individual persons to be indefinable as he held that one person did not differ essentially from another and therefore, a specific difference cannot be found for any given person.

This conclusion by Aristotle was quite remarkable in that all philosophies of racism hold the exact opposite view, that is, there is a specific difference among humans between race, gender, or whatever. Aristotle's logic was the initial step forward in a long journey to bring mankind to the understanding that all people share in the same dignity because all people share a nature that does not differ essentially among them. This is a huge piece for this research as this is the philosophical foundation upon which this proposal was submitted, that is, leadership pertains to human nature in a universal way and differs accidentally rather than essentially by context. The system of law in the United States underscores this philosophy in that the statue of justice is of a woman who is wearing a blindfold, indicating that the accidents of gender, race, age, etc. will not determine the outcome of the proceedings.

Given the position that humans do not differ essentially, then to *define* an individual is reduced to listing those things that are not essential to human nature, that is,

those things that can vary without varying the degree to which one is human. For example, it is often necessary to define or uniquely describe a bank robber in order to apprehend such person. Definition by accident is generally utilized; the robber was a white male, about six feet tall, gray hair, 200 pounds. Obviously no matter how many accidents are listed, to uniquely describe is nearly impossible. Even DNA and fingerprints are not a guarantee of unique description.

Rules of Definition

All forms of definition seek to do the same thing, that is, to uniquely describe, or in the words of logic, apprehend or intellectually grasp that which is being subjected to human reason. As a result, all forms of definition must arrive at the same end, consequently, Aristotle established rules to ensure whatever means are employed to define ultimately result in uniquely describing. The quality of a definition is identified not so much by the form of the definition used, but by the degree to which these rules have been met.

1. *The definition must have a genus and a difference.* To define a noun as a person, place, or thing fails to follow the rules of definition in that it omits the genus of noun, i.e., word. This definition would lead one to believe that a tractor is noun; however, a tractor is not a noun; the *word* tractor is a noun. This rule eliminates single word definitions such as defining moose with the word animal. A definition requires at least two words, one for the genus and one for the difference. Man is a rational animal. The essential definition form requires a proximate genus and a specific difference.

2. *The definition must be simpler than the definiendum.* The function of definition is to break a complex concept into two or more simpler concepts. Included in this rule is to avoid using negatives in the definition. To state what something is not, does not uniquely reveal what it is. Using negatives occurs most often when the term is either indefinable or very difficult to define. This rule also prohibits using words that are forms of the definiendum. For example, to define leadership as the act of leading violates this rule for it depends upon knowing what leading is, which is an equivalency to leadership rather than a simpler concept. Synonyms are not definitions for this same reason. The use of synonyms alone also violates the first rule.

3. *The definition and definiendum must be convertible.* This rule is very useful for ensuring that the definition uniquely describes. Consider defining oxygen to be an odorless, colorless gas. The definition has a genus, gas, and a difference, odorless and colorless. Converting or reversing the definition and definiendum results in considering whether all odorless and colorless gases are oxygen. Given that is not true, oxygen has not been adequately defined with this definition, as the proposed definition fails to meet the rule of convertibility. An example of meeting the criteria of convertibility would be to consider the definition that a prime number is a counting number other than one, that has only one and itself for factors. Converting this definition will always produce a prime number and only a prime number; therefore, the definition meets the test of convertibility and also complies with the other two rules.

Summary of Definition

In order to address the issue of the current existence of multiple and contradictory definitions of leadership, the fundamental understandings of definition were explored. The purpose of definition is to uniquely identify the concept signified by the definiendum in order to assure that all parties have a common understanding of the word used to denote that concept. The findings from this research have provided a well developed, rational, and valid construct useful to that end.

The Biography of Frank B. Wynn

Rediscovery of Dr. Wynn by the Researcher

The research on Dr. Frank B. Wynn was conducted over a period of years. The researcher travelled to Indiana, Ohio, California and Montana to gather historical data from primary sources in libraries, museums, archives and special collections. Historical information and commentary were obtained from Dr. Charles Bonsett, neurologist, historian, and professor at the Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis. Family history information was also provided to the researcher by Barbara Wynn of Monterey California.

The researcher first became aware of Dr. Wynn in 2001 when a rusty, thin metal box was found, by extraordinary chance, in a field of limestone rubble, 200 yards below the summit of Mount Cleveland, the highest peak in Glacier National Park. One of the climbers in the 2001 ascent of the Mountain slipped on the surface of a crusty snowfield and quickly slid about 100 yards. In the process of recovering several articles dropped during the fall, the researcher stumbled upon a rusty metal canister that contained a soggy

log book that had been in the box for more than 80 years documenting the first recorded ascent of the mountain.

The name of Dr. Frank B. Wynn was the first name listed on the register and the document indicated that the record book was placed on the summit by members of the Nature Study Club of Indiana in 1920. The researcher had some background knowledge of geographic exploration that had taken place at the turn of the century and recognized that these men would have been contemporaries with such leadership personalities as Robert Peary, Frederick Cook, Roald Amundsen and Robert Scott whose exploration activities were highly publicized in that time period and were considered as exemplary leadership figures of the day. Captain Ernest Shackleton, who provided the leadership community with one of its most dramatic leadership stories, was active in polar exploration during the same time period as that of these men whose names were recorded in the rusty metal box.

Preliminary investigation, however, revealed that this summit register must have been removed by accident or on purpose within the first few years after its placement on the summit, because in 1924, Norman Clyde and members of the Sierra Club claimed to have made the first recorded ascent. To this day, the Sierra Club has been credited with the first ascent of Mount Cleveland. Dr. Wynn and his many additional accomplishments have, for the most part, been lost or forgotten for nearly a century. These interesting circumstances prompted the researcher to look further into the activities of Dr. Wynn to see what other leadership endeavors he might have been involved in. It was also determined that Dr. Wynn would make a suitable candidate for this study, examining elements of leadership, independent of context, from holistic, biographical criteria.

Preparation for Leadership

According to McBride (1922), Frank Barbour Wynn was born near Brookville, Indiana. His father, James M. Wynn was born in 1832 and his mother, Margaret, was born in 1835. This family was listed in the 1860 US census as the most prosperous farmers on the page. His mother, Margaret was the youngest of the five brothers and five sisters in her family (Dunn, 1919). His grandparents were John and Rachel Wynn both born in 1789. Not much is known about Frank's early childhood unless he was the boy named Wynn who sold apples to delegates and politicians who gathered under the famous Elm tree at Corydon, Indiana to discuss and formulate State legislation in the 1800's (Indiana Historical Society, 1993).

Frank graduated from DePauw University in 1883. Two years later he graduated in medicine from the Miami Medical College of Ohio, following which he served one year as intern in the Good Samaritan Hospital in Cincinnati. Bonsett (1972) indicated that this position was obtained by competitive examination. In 1886 he was granted the degree, Master of Arts, also from DePauw University (Bulson, 1922). Dr. Wynn served as assistant physician in the Ohio Asylum for the Insane, at Dayton, from 1886 to 1888 (Medical Art, 1922, Bonsett, 1972). At the Logansport, Indiana Asylum, Dr. Wynn came under the tutelage of Dr. Josiah Rogers and Dr. Sam Smith, distinguished neuropsychiatrists who would later head the American Psychiatric Association. Dr. Smith also later became the first chancellor of the Indiana University School of Medicine (Bonsett, 1972). Dr. Wynn may have also first become acquainted with Dr. Henry H. Goddard while at the Ohio Asylum. Dr. Goddard was a specialist in mental conditions and is credited with coining the term *moron* to describe a level of feeble-mindedness, or

an IQ score between 50 and 69. Dr. Goddard became world famous for his introduction of IQ testing in America, and he had correspondence with Dr. Albert Einstein. A copy of one of the Einstein letters is included as an appendix of this dissertation and the originals were examined by the researcher at the Archives of the History of American Psychology at the University of Akron, Ohio. Dr. Goddard and Dr. Wynn would later become friends and climb important peaks together in Glacier Park.

Professional Life

Extensive experience in state hospitals qualified Dr. Wynn as a teacher of neurology and psychiatry. He was part of the original teaching staff when the amphitheater of the Old Pathology Building, on the grounds of Central State Hospital was first opened to the students of the Medical College of Indiana and Central College of Physicians and Surgeons (Bonsett, 1972). McBride (1922) indicated that in 1891, Dr. Wynn was listed among the medical staff of the Northern Indiana Hospital for the Insane, at Logansport. During the years 1892 and 1893 Dr. Wynn worked in a hospital in New York. He then studied in London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna where it is said he received the foundation to become one of best diagnosticians in America (Bulson, 1922). At Vienna, he studied under Carl Rokitansky, who had made the subject of gross pathology into a major science earlier in the century. At Berlin Rudolph Virchow, the father of cellular pathology, was still teaching at the time (Bonsett, 1972). After these informative years in Europe, Dr. Wynn returned to Indianapolis to set up his professional practice, giving emphasis to internal medicine, diagnosis, and pathology. McBride (1922) further stated that, "Since that time his activities have been so varied and of such value that no history of Indiana, covering the period from 1900 to the date of his death, can be fully

and truthfully written without frequent mention of them” (p.25). Dr. Wynn was selected as the first city sanitarian of Indianapolis and became identified with the Department of Pathology of the Medical College of Indiana. From 1895 until his death, for 27 years, he held the Chair of Medical Diagnosis in the Indiana School of Medicine. He was a lover of nature, a member of the Indiana Audubon Society, and president of the Indiana Nature Study Club. He was also a member of the Committee to Collect Data on the Archeology of Indiana. McBride (1922) explained that Dr. Wynn spent much of his vacation periods in the mountains. He had climbed many of the mountains in Switzerland and America and was president of the American Alpine Club.

Noble States of Character

Frank B. Wynn, according to McBride (1922), was an active member of the Meridian Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Indianapolis. Abraham Lincoln earlier was noted to have said that the Methodist Church sent more soldiers into the field, more nurses to hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any other church. In 1869, under the energetic leadership of Reverend Charles N. Sims, a new stone church was erected and the name was changed from the Wesley Chapel to the Meridian Street Methodist Episcopal Church. The style of architecture was very Gothic, and was considered the most beautiful church building in the City of Indianapolis. Below is a figure showing an image of the church, as it appeared at the turn of the century. On November 17, 1904, the Old Meridian Street Church was destroyed by fire and a new one was constructed at the corner of Meridian and St. Clair Streets, at a cost of \$165,000. This church has a remarkable claim for fostering leadership. An anonymous author of a document found by the researcher, wrote the following.

From this pulpit have gone three noted Bishops, several presidents of great universities and colleges, a number of important missionaries, authors, editors, and lecturers of national reputation. From the membership came a Vice-President of the United States, a United States Senator, a Congressman, several Governors, Judges for the Federal and State Courts, and many other distinguished persons in public trust. The general membership included many splendid men and women in the professions and business. Devoted men and consecrated women who have borne the burden of the heat of the day. With faith in God they have walked upright before men, without stint, giving of their time, thought, and spiritual powers as they have tried to follow in the footsteps of the man from Galilee. It is a glorious record which fills the breast of those in the present generation with determination to carry on in a manner worthy of their forbears. (anonymous)



Old Meridian Street Church 1869-1904

Figure 3: Meridian Street Methodist Episcopal Church

In his social and professional life, while he was positive and forceful in action, he was always courteous, kindly and considerate of the rights and of the feelings of others.

Clean in thought, clean in speech, he was an honorable, an upright, and a Christian gentleman, with all which that title implies. "He was not a seeker of preferment. Preferment sought him, and it ever came as a recognition of special fitness" (McBride, p. 25). This statement suggests that Dr. Wynn demonstrated a state of character near the golden mean relative to *pride* discussed as a state of character by Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics*. McBride (1922) went on to say that Dr. Wynn not only occupied the several positions enumerated, but that he filled each and all of them acceptably and ably. "He was a peculiar combination of versatility, profound and thoroughgoing ability, and a genial and loving personality" (p. 26).

Husband, Father, Teacher, Physician, Author, and Leader

On June 25, 1895 Dr. Wynn married Carrie Louise Arnold, of Dayton Ohio. Her family were New Englanders, two ancestors, Elder John Cook and Richard Warren were passengers on the Mayflower (Esarey, 1924). In this same year, Dr. Wynn (1895) published his first article in a medical journal, dealing with a case of Chyluria he was involved in diagnosing. Their only child was born the next year. He was a healthy baby boy, given the name of James, probably after Frank's father. In 1896, the same year their first child was born, Dr. Wynn organized and conducted the first pathologic exhibit of the Indiana State Medical Association. This is an example of leadership in the sense of guiding through new territory, enabling others to follow, due to groundwork lying activities and also serving as inspiration to others in the profession. The exhibit was an educational display presented at the annual convention of the Indiana State Medical Association. The exhibit was later also shown at the convention of the American Medical Association and was so well received by the national organization that it resulted, the

following year, in the founding of the Scientific Exhibit, recognized 25 years later by the editor of the Journal of the Indiana Medical Association as a prominent and important feature of all subsequent American Medical Association conventions.

Dr. Wynn had worked hard to establish a good collection of medical specimens that could be used for educational purposes in his lectures and for examination by his students. Bonsett (1972 and 1988) indicated that a devastating fire destroyed the medical school library, including “the most valuable collection of medical books west of the Allegheny Mountains, known as the Bobbs Library in honor of Dr. John Bobbs” (p. 1068). The library included Dr. Bobbs’ own endowment of books and an impressive collection of educational specimens that Dr. Wynn had helped to assemble and used regularly for teaching purposes. All was lost in the fire. According to Bonsett, after this fire destroyed so much, Dr. Wynn urged his colleagues to cooperate in the development of an even better library and specimen collection. The number of specimens quickly multiplied and Dr. Wynn used many of them to create an exhibit at the annual meeting of the Indiana State Medical Association in 1898. Medical exhibits up to that time had been mainly commercial in nature. The idea of using exhibits for educational purposes was almost unheard of. Bonsett said it was not surprising that Dr. Wynn’s exhibit was received with such enthusiasm. Indiana physicians were quick to endorse the display because they recognized and appreciated its teaching value.

Also in this year, Wynn (1896) published a medical article on tuberculosis in the Indiana State Medical Society’s professional journal. Of interest too, is the fact that on December 18 of this same year, the Pathology Building on the Central Hospital campus was dedicated by the Marion County Medical Society. Dr. Wynn lectured in this building

for many years. The researcher visited the historic building, still standing in 2007, housing a museum of medical education from the last century. Dr. Wynn's portrait in oils, painted by William Ashby, was still hanging on the wall at the back of the amphitheater in 2007. According to an article published by Dr. Bonsett (Sep., 1971) the charming building suffered, at the time, from peeling paint and a leaky roof, but was sound in all other ways; and Dr. Bonsett was instrumental in having the building preserved as a historic site. He also indicated in his article, that it was included in the Historic American Buildings Inventory Survey. In 1972, the building was included in the National Registry of the Department of the Interior (confirmed by Bonsett, 2009)



Figure 4: Old Pathology Building, Indianapolis

Dr. Wynn (1898) published another article on an important public health issue dealing with oral lesions. The next year he wrote an article dealing with cases of splenomedullary leukemia and another article reporting for the Committee on Pathology (Wynn, 1899; Wynn, 1899). In 1899 the Indiana State Medical Association held its

meeting at Indianapolis in the German House and Dr. Wynn again displayed his educational exhibits, this time being enlarged to include sections on bacteriology, Indiana medical history, and photography. The 1899 presentation was received with even more adulation than in the preceding year. As a result, the State Medical Association paid for the display to be transported and displayed the following week at Columbus, Ohio for the annual meeting of the American Medical Association. There the response was even more overwhelming, and it was determined that such an exhibit needed to become an annual event at their national meeting. Dr. Wynn was appointed secretary of the Committee on Scientific Exhibits and he served in that capacity for seventeen years. This was the origin of the Scientific Exhibit Program of the American Medical Association which Bonsett (1972) indicated was the worlds largest, most comprehensive, and easily the best educational exhibit to be found anywhere. “It had its origin in Dr. Frank B. Wynn” (p. 1069). Letters of congratulations poured in, including one from Dr. Rudolph Virchow, his former professor, in Berlin, and Dr. William Osler, of Johns Hopkins University. The American Medical Association presented Dr. Wynn with a silver trophy called The Loving Cup for this innovative accomplishment. The cup was retained by the Wynn family for some time, but was eventually returned to the museum in the Old Pathology Building where the researcher saw it, in the summer of 2007. According to Bonsett (1977) a silver tray that had been presented to Dr. Wynn by his first patient, on which was mounted the first gold dollar he received as a fee for his services, was also donated to the museum by Mrs. James Wynn and her daughter, Barbara Wynn of Monterey, California.

Over the next several years Dr. Wynn divided his life between family, professional, and civic affairs. His son James recorded, in a personal journal, that the family moved from 1119 up to 1408 North Alabama Street. James also related stories about comical events involving the family dog and cat. One in particular revealed a common aspect of human nature in Dr. Wynn as he showed exasperation when the dog, named Topsey, cheerfully walked up the wooden stairway that Dr. Wynn had painstakingly refinished and had just freshly varnished. The full account, available in James' journal, found in the appendices, is a delightful piece of writing and a good example of how even great leaders have their moments of frustration. The account of how Dr. Wynn took a kitten as payment for attending to an ill boy, in a family with meager financial circumstances, is an equally charming story, serving as a good indicator of another Aristotelian virtue, demonstrated by Dr. Wynn.



Figure 5: Mrs. Carrie Wynn and Topsey, the family dog

Dr. Wynn, at this same time, became even more widely recognized in his profession, publishing articles in medical journals each year on topics such as the new

use of X-rays, skin diseases, Digitalis and Cardiac Hypertrophy, and other medical subjects (Wynn, 1901; Wynn, 1902; Wynn, 1903; Wynn, 1904; Wynn, 1904b; Wynn, 1904c; Wynn, 1904d). Dr. Winfield Hall paid a compliment to Dr. Wynn with an editorial comment in an article by Dr. Wynn (1904) on the effects of prolonged administration of digitalis, reported in the Indiana Medical Journal. Hall said,

Dr. Wynn's paper gives us, as research men, a beautiful example of a fundamental principle in research – one that I make a point of instilling into my men and driving home – a principle which I am afraid, from the study of papers purporting to be research, is sometimes lost sight of. The principle is this: Where a variation in any function or structure arises from two or more variable factors, one must reduce his variables to one variable factor or he cannot draw a conclusion. (p. 51)

Dr. Wynn's (1904b) report of the scientific exhibits at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association informs this research of his leadership in the sense of innovation, showing the way for others to follow. The six page, double column, fine print, list of prominent medical institutions that participated in his displays, illustrates the impact Dr. Wynn had as a medical leader and innovator on other members of his profession, across the nation. Dr. Wynn had conceived the idea of these scientific educational exhibits just four years earlier. By this report, his idea had caught on with so much zeal, that displays were presented by Boston University School of Medicine, the Cincinnati Hospital Museum, the Harvard Medical School, the Harvard Department of Physiology, and the Jefferson Medical College to name only a few in the long list of participants. Dr. Wynn (1904) reported that these exhibits showed a marked improvement over the few short years in artistic excellence. He also reported that demonstrations of a

practical nature were being made as part of the exhibits by medical professionals of distinction and that, in general, the event had aroused “among colleagues a wholesome rivalry in the exhibits shown” (p. 828).

Naturalist, Conservationist and Explorer

Later in life, James Wynn (circa 1920) wrote a journal, in which he recorded some of his fondest memories, climbing mountains with his father, Frank B. Wynn. In 1904 young James Wynn was only eight years old when his father, took him on an adventure that the young boy never forgot. Frank, of course, was interested in natural things. The preservation of natural sights and appreciation for the outdoors was important to him; and resulted in a father and son mountain climbing adventure while Dr. Wynn was attending a week long medical convention in Washington State. He and his son had planned to climb Mount Hood when the meetings were over. Mrs. Carrie Wynn also had traveled to Washington for a vacation with her husband and son, but was not interested in climbing mountains with them. In fact, like most mothers, she was somewhat anxious about her husband taking their young son on such a risky adventure. The excerpt from James’ journal below, apparently written some years after the actual events, reveals an admirable quality in Dr. Wynn’s character when father and son were only a few hundred yards from the summit and the guide indicated that it was too dangerous for the eight year old boy to go any further.

Father offered him five dollars additional pay but he was still obdurate. Pointing to a huge natural rock shelter, he said I might safely wait there till the rest made the ascent and returned. After some hesitation, father consented to these terms, and promised me two dollars on condition that I was not under any circumstances,

to wander from the shelter rock until he came back. I readily yielded to the verdict, although it seemed almost like a death sentence. The two dollars were something of a solace to my wounded feelings and ambitions. I turned with tears in my eyes and beat a hasty retreat to the shelter rock. I watched father as he took his place in the line to be roped up.

This however, was the nearest he ever came to climbing that last stretch. In his fear that I might wander away he came back and no inducement would persuade him to leave me and make the climb. Downheartedly, we watched the others as they slowly traced their way up the steep snow bank. Then back to Cloud-Cap Inn we sullenly trod, victims of a disappointment which waxed more bitter with each step. But one consoling thought comforted us: after disappointment and failure, success tastes more sweet. We resolved that other mountain peaks, equally majestic, should be the subject of conquest.

In spite of the disappointment, the experiences and rewards of this climb up Mount Hood will remain a red-letter day in our memories. After all, even the disappointment, so crushing to us, taught a lesson. Is it not true that in the most cherished undertakings of life, we often fail to attain the goal we aim at? One's greatest reward is in the striving, if that only be worthy. (p. 12)

The following year, Dr. Wynn (1905) published an article on the diagnosis and treatment of skin cancer, and another reporting on a pathological exhibit. Then, for a vacation, he took his 9 year old son James, and climbed Saddleback Mountain, one of the Temple Mountain Group in the Canadian Rockies. An entry in James' journal indicates that, "Father secured a beautiful picture of the mountain showing the summit partly

obscured by a cloud” (JW journal p. 8). However this photograph has not yet been found by the researcher.

During the study of the etymology of leadership, it became evident that the first uses, in the English language, of the term *lead*, dealt with examples of one person guiding an animal or another person over ground familiar to the guide but unfamiliar to the one being guided. A mountain climbing guide is a very literal and practical example of one who exercises this kind of leadership. The journal written by James Wynn includes some rather humorous accounts of this kind of mountain guide leadership. One described a guide named Hugh Daugherty. Wynn’s description of this leader provides a comical example of what this sort of leadership looked like.

He sauntered up, an ancient corncob pipe protruding under a veritable Niagara Falls mustache which drooped down to his chin. He informed us that he had made the ascent some years previous and would be willing to try it again. Daugherty was minus an arm, having suffered in the late war from a Yankee bullet. We closed a verbal contract with him to drive us next morning some eight miles to the base of Mount Mitchell, where the trail began.

Daugherty appeared at the designated hour with an old fashioned, bulky one horse wagon. The same corncob pipe was in his mouth in exactly the same position that it had been the night before. From general indications I was pretty certain he had slept with it in his mouth. To tell the truth I had doubts right then about Daugherty’s ability as a guide; but what else were we to do. We could find no one else who had made the climb or willing to undertake it. So we smiled and

put on an optimistic attitude. Equipped with an ax, horse feed and provisions for a two days journey, our party began its journey. (JW journal p. 13)

The following year Dr. Wynn (1906) continued to expand his medical practice and his renown by publishing an article on Plexiform Neurofibroma in the Journal of the American Medical Association and another on X-ray treatment of skin tuberculosis in the American Journal of Dermatology and Genito-Urinary Diseases. In June of 1907, Frank Wynn, at age 47, climbed Mount Mitchell in the Black Mountains of North Carolina with his eleven year old son, James. The colorful description of their guide, Daugherty, with his corn cob pipe was a memory from this climbing trip. The full text of James Wynn's journal can be found in the appendices.

The same year Dr. Frank B. Wynn (1907) published an article on Acetanilid poisoning, and the following year one on the symptoms and treatment of Leukemia (Wynn, 1908). Another important leadership event from 1908 is that Frederick Cook claimed to have reached the North Pole in this year, ahead of Robert Peary. The dispute regarding who reached the Pole first is controversial to this very day and probably will never be completely resolved. In fact, James Wynn, in the last chapter of his journal, mentions Dr. Cook's claim of reaching the Pole, and reveals by his comments, in the journal, the general, public skepticism of the veracity of Dr. Cook's claim at the time. The important fact for this research, however, is that geographic exploration of the day had a tremendous motivational or inspirational effect on many people living at the time. This fact is of interest when examining leadership as the acquired ability to inspire others to follow a particular course of action. Dr. Frank Wynn and his son were undoubtedly

inspired by the exploration adventures of others at the time, and in turn, their adventures inspired yet others to follow their lead, in this same regard.

They climbed Mount Massive together in 1908. Mount Massive stands at 14,421 feet in the Sawatch Range of the State of Colorado. It is the second highest peak in Colorado and the third highest in the contiguous United States. The mountain is located approximately 18 miles east of Aspen. Mount Massive was first surveyed and climbed in 1873 during the Hayden Survey of the American West. Survey member Henry Gannett is credited with the first ascent (Wikipedia). Young James suffered and described the effects of mountain sickness or cerebral edema on this climb, common on any peak above 10,000 feet, if climbed too fast. The condition was not well documented or understood at the time and their guide attributed it to young James eating his lunch too fast. Another description of the guide, who would constitute their leadership figure on the climb, was given from James Wynn's vivid recollection of the experience, quoted in part below. The full text of the climb is available in the journal appendix at the end of this study.

I had pictured in my mind's eye a patriarchal man with long white beard. But this like most dreams did not come true. Both my enthusiasm and hope sank as we were introduced to the real St. John – a man with a shaggy red beard, a dilapidated slouch hat, a quid of tobacco in his mouth and having the appearance of an all round tough. It was not time to quibble about appearances – we accepted him as he was – cherishing a very faint hope of agreeable disappointment. (JW journal p. 17)

In 1909 Theodore Roosevelt, having completed his second term in office, took a year off to go on a safari in East Africa, where he and his son killed 512 large animals

and many smaller mammals, birds and fish. The term teddy-bear comes from political cartoons printed around this time commenting on Teddy Roosevelt's hunting of bears. This kind of activity was coming under criticism, especially as motorized travel was making big game hunting less of an adventure, less challenging, and less sporting. When Roosevelt returned to the United States he still continued to hunt, but he also began to listen to people who were advocating the need to preserve parks to protect animals in their natural habitat and to preserve wilderness areas for the future. Frank B. Wynn was one of the most active conservation leaders in The Nature Study Club of Indiana, long before conservation was popular. In his position as club president, he proposed measures that led to the establishment of the State Park system. Dr. Wynn's versatility of thought, his vision for the future, and his determination to contribute to the betterment of mankind is demonstrated in the fact that he was active in the Nature Study Club at the same time he was teaching and practicing medicine. At this same time he also wrote an article on the psychic element in the causation and cure of disease (Wynn, 1909). Dr. Hurty reported in a newspaper clipping that Dr. Wynn was awarded a gold medal by the American Medical Association for a tuberculosis exhibit at this time (Indiana News July 28, 1922).

Collaboration, Problem Solving and Conflict Resolution

A difficult challenge faced the three competing medical schools in Indiana during this period, when they were forced to combine their faculties and resources into one state sponsored medical institution. These heated and volatile circumstances allowed Dr. Wynn to show important aspects of his leadership ability in resolving these conflicts and

uniting the various factions. A special 75th anniversary publication by the Indiana School of Medicine (1978) reported the incidents as follows.

Dr Frank Wynn was the catalyst uniting the faculties of the state's three proprietary medical schools, uniting this group of professors to become the faculty of Indiana University School of Medicine. The proprietary schools (the Fort Wayne College of Medicine, and the Medical College of Indiana and Central College of Physicians and Surgeons at Indianapolis) had been highly competitive. These three proprietary schools united to become a state controlled medical school with Purdue University in 1906. In 1908 it was agreed that the medical school should be a part of Indiana University. The various trials and tribulation associated with these various unions often produced animosity and debate. Dr. Frank Wynn, who was associated with the Medical College of Indiana, had the distinction of having the universal respect of the faculties of all of the schools, and he had the personality and the persuasive capability of uniting former competitors into a vigorous unified team. The effectiveness of Dr. Wynn's efforts and the quality of the faculty he developed, is shown by the ranking of the School in the Flexner Report of 1910. (p. 5)

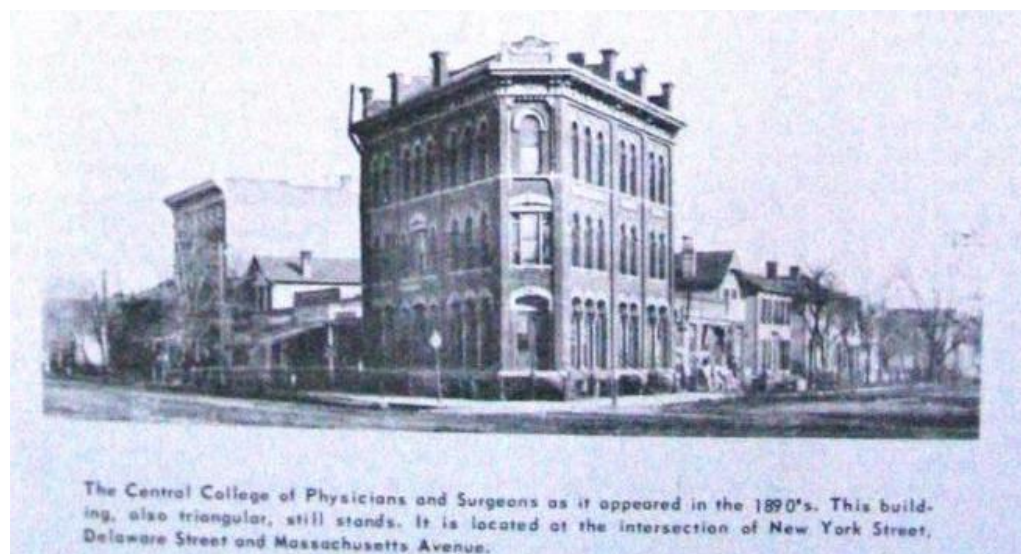


Figure 6: The Central College of Physicians and Surgeons

Bonsett (1972) commented also on these events and Dr. Wynn's role in the sensitive negotiations. He said the combining of the schools was achieved "at a cost of much bitterness and rancor on the part of those associated with the various schools" (p. 1070). Bonsett (1972) said Dr. Wynn had a most difficult job, but that it was well done. Wynn continued to serve as a professor of medical diagnosis in the new school and the successful merger was "a striking tribute to Dr. Wynn's character and to his ability that he was chosen to be a member of the committee which effected the merger of all schools to form the Indiana University School of Medicine" (p. 1070).

In 1911 Dr. Wynn wrote three articles. Two were reports on public health exhibits and another was a report on the use of a drug treatment referred to as 606 (Wynn, 1911 Wynn, 1911b; Wynn, 1911c). Probably due to the success of the educational exhibits at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association, Dr. Wynn designed various public health exhibits that he said could be permanently installed in public places like railroad stations, or post offices that would educate the general public on various public

health issues, such as the importance of regular washing, to limit the spread of contagious diseases, or the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis.

World events at this time included reports that Roald Amundsen had reached the South Pole with a team of five men and 16 dogs on December 14, 1911. The entire world was riveted to reports of this type of exploration and leadership. Ernest Shackleton, who was one of the world's foremost explorers of the day, and who had previously come closer to the pole than any other man, felt that his lecture career as an Antarctic explorer was over because Amundsen had actually reached the pole and captured the attention of the world. Shackleton immediately began to raise money and make plans to complete a trans-Antarctic traverse of the frozen continent in an attempt to regain public interest. His ill fated *Endurance* expedition has since become legendary in the annals of exemplary leadership. Dr. Wynn certainly would have read about these events and probably discussed them with fellow members of the Nature Study Club of Indiana and the Mazamas climbing club, to which he also belonged. Frank and James Wynn climbed Mount Stephen, in the Canadian Rocky Mountains in July of 1911. This time, his description of their leadership figure was, "the genuine article – a native Swiss, who assured us that Mount Stephen was a 'ferry goood glimb'" (JW journal p. 23). The entire account can be found in James' journal in the appendices.

In the fall of 1911, Dr. Wynn was involved in a murder investigation and testified in court. The victim was a Dr. Knabe who was found dead in her apartment with her throat neatly cut. The precision of the cutting initially placed suspicion on colleagues in the medical profession. Dr. Wynn was never seriously considered as a suspect in the crime, but rather was called to court during the proceedings of the trial in an attempt to

establish suspects and motives. Many details of this mysterious crime and the subsequent trial remain a mystery and are currently the subject of a doctoral study being conducted by Nicole, Kobrowski of IUPUI in Indianapolis. The researcher was provided with newspaper articles and other documents by Mrs. Kobrowski that relate to Dr. Wynn and his role in these proceedings. Evidently, Dr. Wynn served as a prefect to Dr. Knabe and Dr. Wynn encouraged her to contribute items to one of his medical exhibit displays, and Dr. Knabe's drawings can be seen in an appendix.

An article in the Indy Times, dated 30 October, 1911 indicated that a Miss McPherson was the first person to discover Dr. Knabe dead or wounded, as she thought in her bedroom. Miss McPherson said her first call was placed to the office of Dr. Frank B. Wynn because she was familiar with the number. Receiving no answer, she called Dr. Wynn's residence where Mrs. Wynn answered and informed the caller that the Dr. was in Martinsville and would not return until noon. Mrs. Wynn asked what the trouble was. When told that Dr. Knabe was hurt and needed assistance, Mrs. Wynn said she would stop at the flat on her way downtown. Miss McPherson called Augusta Knabe, a cousin to Dr. Knabe, and told her that her cousin was hurt, but did not say she was dead. Then Miss McPherson continued to call for another physician. When she again called Dr. Wynn's office, the secretary answered and suggested that Dr. Ernest Reyer could possibly come. Miss McPherson was making another call when she saw through the window, Augusta Knabe running toward the house. She dropped the phone and ran to open the door. Augusta, upon seeing her cousin lying in her bedroom, with a cut throat, sighed and said, "my poor little Helene!" Mrs. Wynn arrived next and was admitted by Miss McPherson. Dr. Reyer was the first man to enter the room. Mrs. Wynn had not

entered the bedroom but looked in from the door. Dr. C. E. Ferguson heard about the incident and he also arrived at the flat before the arrival of the police (Indy News, Oct 30, 1911. p. 18).

The investigation lasted several days and publicity was intense. A former classmate, Dr. Inghram, came from New York, as she had been a good friend of the victim in medical school and hoped that she could be of some assistance in solving the crime. She stayed at the English Hotel where she gave instructions at the desk that she would not grant interviews to any newspapers. She was, however, approached by a reporter as she was leaving the medical office of Dr. Frank B. Wynn and would only say that she wanted to help her old friend in any way possible and that she had some information that might help. All who arrived at Dr. Knabe's flat before the police arrived there, were interviewed, including Mrs. Wynn. The investigators indicated that the statements of Miss McPherson, Augusta Knabe, Mrs. Wynn, Dr. Reyer and Dr. Ferguson all agreed. Mrs. Wynn gave the following testimony.

When I answered the phone I could tell she was greatly agitated. When I told her Dr. Wynn was not at home she became more agitated and from her expressions, I knew she was in distress. I asked her if there was any trouble, and she replied that something terrible had happened to Dr. Knabe. I wanted to know what it was, and about all I could learn from her was that she believed that Dr. Knabe was dead and that she was trying to get a physician. When she asked me if I would come to Dr. Knabe's apartment at once I replied that I would and I went as quickly as possible.

Any theory other than that of murder is preposterous. When I reached the house Miss McPherson and Miss Augusta Knabe were there and I directed my efforts to trying to console them. I knew it was a case for the coroner without entering the room where Dr. Knabe lay, but I thought a man physician should be called so that someone could take charge.

Every moment it seemed Miss McPherson and Miss Knabe would collapse, and until the first physician arrived I had all I could do in looking after them. Every one should stand by those girls. They were brave under such terrible conditions and they did what they thought right when they telephoned for the physicians instead of the police. I did not go into the room where Dr. Knabe lay, but I could not avoid glancing into the room while busy in the other room. Miss Knabe and Miss McPherson have made plain and straight forward statements of the whole affair, and they should not be criticized by the police or other persons. (Indy News, Oct 31, 1911. p. 3)

Copies of newspaper clippings describing this tragedy were provided to the researcher in 2007 by Mrs. Nicole Kobrowski of Indianapolis, who is still trying to put together the whole story. The clippings are difficult to read in places and require some investigation to decipher, but reproductions of the clippings are available in the appendices, giving a more complete account of the grizzly details of the whole, sad story. One clipping from the Indianapolis Sun, a few days late, quoted statements by Otto Von Tesmar who said he knew Dr. Knabe as a girl in their native homeland of Germany. He said that she came to the United States as a poor girl and that Dr. Wynn befriended her and helped her to enter the medical profession.

In time, the Wynn family tried to put these awful events behind them and to return to the happier aspects of life and leadership in the early part of the 20th century. James Wynn, later that year, recorded another example of the aspect of leadership that guides others to follow a certain course or accomplish a particular goal. In other words, leadership often includes not only inspiring someone to pursue a certain course of action, but also involves the groundwork or preparation that makes it possible for others to follow. The example given is of the leadership work in expanding the railroad to remote areas of North America in the early part of the 20th century. Below is part of a 1912 entry from James Wynn's journal. Although this is not leadership attributable to Dr. Wynn, it is nevertheless, informative to this research as another time period example of leadership groundwork.

Travel resources have been such that exploration of European mountains has been almost easier than that of American mountains. With such a state of affairs existing, is it not praiseworthy for a railroad company to attempt to develop the wilderness so that American people may see the most matchless piece of mountain scenery in the United States? The author can think of no more fitting way to close this little introduction than by expressing, not alone for himself but for the others in his party, his respect for and appreciation of the work of Mr. Louis Hill of the Great Northern; for had it not been for Mr. Hill's laudable efforts in opening the park, the author would probably never have had the opportunity of penetrating the hidden beauties of the place. (JW journal p. 28)

This is an example of pioneering leadership. Another similar kind of pioneering leadership is demonstrated by explorers who lead the way into uncharted territory and

thus both enable and inspire others to follow. Frank Wynn may have been influenced in this manner, by widely distributed reports of explorers such as Frederick Cook, who claimed to reach the North Pole one year before Robert Peary. Cook spent more than a year fighting for survival while returning from the pole, and by the time he was able to proclaim his accomplishment, Peary had already begun to discredit Cook and make his own claims of reaching the pole in 1909. These events captured the attention and imagination of the entire world. It is hard to imagine Dr. Wynn not being influenced by the stories of these early geographic explorers. Wynn's interest in mountain climbing cannot be solely credited to the fervor surrounding the race to the poles, but it was probably influenced to some extent by these events.

To put things in historic perspective, the Titanic sank in April of 1912; and the same year Captain Robert Scott froze to death with four other men near the South Pole. Scott had been racing Roald Amundsen to the South Pole from another direction, and was disappointed to find that Amundsen had been there and gone only a few days earlier. What kind of leadership motivates men and women to risk their very lives to accomplish a certain goal? Frederick Cook said, "No explorer has returned who does not long for the remainder of his days to go back...to what purpose? – the lasing thrill of a world unknown which excites every cell of a body to the thrill of living in the face of impending death" (Cook, 1940, p. 6). Perhaps this statement offers some explanation of the feelings that Dr. Wynn had for mountain climbing adventures in that time period.

During the family visit to Glacier National Park in 1912, Dr. and Mrs. Wynn joined Frank and James along with a friend named Miss Carrie Hyatt. They visited Lake MacDonald, Sperry Glacier and Avalanche Lake on foot and by horseback. James once

again documented a valuable and interesting description of some leadership characteristics of their guide on this trip.

...one of the best guides in the park, - Mr. G. H. Jennings, of Midvale, a trapper who has hunted and tramped in Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming all of his life, who knows the Rocky Mountain passes and ranges quite as well if not better than we the sidewalks of our city streets. Perhaps the most pleasant attribute of Mr. Jennings is his versatility. Although a thoroughbred mountaineer, he is cosmopolitan enough to shift his point of view and look at the scenery through the eyes of the particular party he is conducting, whether it be a party of "New Yawkuhs" or a crowd of western "cow punchers." This attribute of course renders him invaluable as a guide and companion; for he is not the least inclined to make jest of ignorance, but rather to dispel it by good-natured explanations from his surprising store of self-acquired nature knowledge. (JW journal p. 34)

While on this vacation in Glacier Park with the family, Frank at age 52 and his son James, age 16, did something they had not done before, they climbed a major peak in the Park without a guide. Mount Jackson is the second highest peak in the Park. In his journal, James does not indicate that this is a first ascent. If it was, he probably would have noted it, nevertheless, 1912 is a very early date for a documented ascent of this mountain and noteworthy for mountaineering historians today. The four vacationers also visited many other places in the Park on this trip to Montana.



Figure 7: Glacier Park Vacation, 1912 (Barbara Wynn collection)

Mount Denali in Alaska was climbed for the first time in 1913. Frank Wynn may also have been interested in and inspired by this report. Dr. Wynn (1913) also published another article on the progress and effectiveness of his public health exhibits in this year.

Not all of Dr. Wynn's leadership activities and experience came from mountain climbing adventure. In fact, mountain climbing was merely a summer avocation and refreshing change from his many leadership activities throughout the school year. For example, Dr. Wynn played a key leadership role in conflict resolution during the historical period surrounding the controversial combining of three competing medical schools in the state of Indiana. These events were mentioned earlier in the section dealing with Dr. Wynn's character, but further details are given at this point because it was chronologically during this part of his life when these important events took place. Dr. Barnhill (1975) related from personal memory the events of this difficult and heated merger. The competing institutions were, The Central College of Physicians and Surgeons, The Medical College of Indiana, and the Fort Wayne Medical College. The

combined school would become an integral part of the University of Indiana and the only remaining medical school in the state. Barnhill recalled that,

There was much talk, some loud and some whispered, among men of all the schools; much selfishness was shown and often much bitterness was exhibited which perhaps now should better be forgotten....There were splendid men in the faculty of the Central College...That wrongs were done some of these faculty members in dropping them from the school or reducing them in rank must be admitted... Medical education continued in a primitive state almost everywhere in the last quarter of the century....Lister had put forward his antiseptic theory and those who practiced it closely believed that an entirely new era had dawned in the healing of wounds. The germ theory was argued everywhere. Chemistry and the microscope came into universal use in teaching; the laboratory was taking its place. It was expensive...Private capital could no longer bear the expense of the almost complete revolution that was taking place in medical teaching. New buildings to hold the vast laboratory equipment were demanded....The American Medical College Association now demanded larger space, much equipment and some paid laboratory instructors. (p. 33)

Barnhill (1975) continues for several pages explaining the various difficulties in uniting these medical schools. Each one of these medical schools was anxious to be taken over by the University of Indiana because a publicly funded institution would be able to support the high costs of a medical school but the University insisted that all of the existing medical schools first unite so that equal opportunity would be given to all institutions for faculty positions in the new university medical school. The problem was

that in forming just one school, it would not be possible for all faculty members in all of the school to retain their positions in the new school. The controversy grew even worse when the Purdue University agreed to take over the medical schools. This caused a fight with the University of Indiana. Purdue showed some preference in filling senior positions to faculty from the Indiana Medical College, probably because it was the older institution and also had the most property to contribute. The Central College argued however that their faculty were better teachers and thus better qualified for the senior positions. Understandably there was considerable fighting and contention.

At about this time a student from Central College was seen kicking a football on one of the school lawns. Medical students from Indiana Medical College, who were passing by, started making remarks, which resulted in a challenge. The challenge quickly escalated into a war between the two rival schools. Heavy bets were placed. The newspaper got involved and further raised the fervor of the mounting tension between the schools. The day of the game, the entire town of Indianapolis was excited. Brass bands marched down the streets. Idle boys followed the band in droves. Fist fights even broke out. Offices were closed, patients and business was forgotten. Each side tried to outdo the other in noise making. Cheerleaders made the welkin ring and probably no game was ever played in which the incentive to be noisy was present to a greater extent than on this occasion. As already stated, the fate of the participating schools seemed to hang on the outcome of this game. The players especially felt this keenly and put forth every ounce of strength and strategy to win. Never was a football game more hotly contested. Hawley of Central, a former Indiana University star, had taken advantage of a fleeting opportunity,

had seized the ball in a final triumphant moment and in a most spectacular run had crossed the line and won the game.

Winning the game carried more weight than it reasonably should have. Purdue University assumed the role of providing state medical education and put most of the Central faculty in prominent positions. Even though Indiana University opened their medical program to all medical students after the three competing schools united, most of the Central students went over to Purdue. The combination of three schools however made laboratories crowded and there was much duplication in instruction from the instructors of different schools. Indiana University argued that Purdue did not have the legal right to offer a medical education program and claimed the sole right. The fighting continued (Barnhill, 1975).

In these highly charged settings with hot emotions on all sides the efforts of Dr. Frank Wynn to reconcile differences and bring about a peaceful compromise is commendable and demonstrates a considerable amount of leadership skill and diplomacy. Leadership aspects of persuasion are exemplified in such difficult conflict resolution and reconciliation.

In June of 1913, Frank B. Wynn signed a report card for his only son, James, who would have been 17 years old at the time. The report card shows that the system of grading was somewhat different than the current common practice. For example, his grade level in most subjects is indicated to be grade VIII, but grade VI in History. The report card is shown in the figure below. His parents, Dr. and Mrs. Wynn must have been pleased to see marks of A+ in every subject on the final report.

FINAL REPORT CARD
Indianapolis Manual Training High School
M. H. STUART, Principal

Name James Arnold Wynn Date June 9, 1913

SUBJECT	Grade	Mark	Absence
Literature	VIII	A+	0
Composition	VIII	A+	1
Latin	VIII	A+	
History	VI	A+	1
Orchestra	VIII	A+	

A+, excellent. A, very good.
 B, good. C, passed.
 D, failure.

E. H. Wynn
 Teacher in charge of Attendance.

Frank B. Wynn
 PARENT'S SIGNATURE

Carrie A. Wynn
 M.T.H.S. FORM NO. 32

Figure 8: Report Card signed by Mr. and Mrs. Frank B. Wynn

As mentioned earlier, Mount McKinley, in Alaska, also called Denali, meaning the great one, was first ascended by a party of four climbers led by Hudson Stuck, in 1913. Frederick Cook claimed to have reached the summit in 1906. This claim was almost as controversial as his claim of reaching the North Pole in 1908 before Robert Peary in 1909. All this publicity and rivalry regarding mountaineering firsts might have influenced Dr. Wynn who travelled to Mount Rainier National Park in 1913 with plans to climb the mountain with his son James, 17 years old at the time. James reported in his journal that the weather conditions were so menacing that an attempt on Mount Rainier was dangerously out of the question. The father and son team were “forced to be content with making the attempt to scale Eagle’s Peak of the Tatoosh Range” (JW journal p. 76). James recounted an incident on the summit, explaining that the swirling clouds even

denied them a view of Mount Rainer, their original goal. James Wynn (circa 1914) later related:

Though one glance reveled to us that we must forego the privilege of seeing Rainier, we were awed and in a measure satisfied by the wild chaos of seething cloud which masked our summit. In fact Father was actually moved to compose some poetry of sickly meaning but sound meter, and I followed suit with an even more unhealthy specimen of verse. These two effusions we ceremoniously sealed in an olive bottle. Then we returned to the precipice, feeling that we had duly saluted the mountain. (p. 79)

This report is humorous but also interesting because it is the first account of Dr. Wynn leaving a record on the summit of a mountain. This adds meaning and serves as a kind of foreshadowing to the more formal ceremonies Dr. Wynn would conduct on the summits of several major peaks in Glacier a few years later. More importantly related to the purposes of this research is the fact that this kind of documentation serves as a kind of metaphor of the importance of documenting all kinds of leadership accomplishments. Too often, perhaps leadership achievements go unrecorded, when they might be of historical interest or could serve as a source of inspiration to others.

James Wynn also recorded on this ascent of Eagles Peak in Mount Rainier National Park, a very close call where he slipped on an ice field and slid for several hundred feet before arresting his fall short of a 3000 foot cliff, over which, a camera, borrowed from Dr. Wynn's sister sailed, not to be recovered. The father and son never told the sister, Mrs. Wynn, nor Miss Ada Andrus, their traveling companions, on this trip,

about the close call. They bought Dr. Wynn's sister an identical camera and hoped that she would not notice the difference.

Dr. Wynn not only left records in containers on mountains but contributed numerous articles to professional journals and even published some samples of poetry. The researcher found, among family records in possession of Barbara Wynn, a poem, entitled, *My Boy*, written by Dr. Wynn. A transcription of the poem is below and a reproduction of Barbara's copy can be found in the appendices.

"My Boy!" These words thrill the hearts of true sires.

What nobler impulse? Paternal desires

Fill up the cup of life to its brim

Keep us quite steady and guard us from sin;

Train us in patience: sometimes by tears.

Mellow our hearts with growing years.

"My Boy!" His mother feels he is a part

Of her own being. Her tumultuous heart

Thrills with affection: for him she lives

Patiently bearing his faults, she forgives

Ah! The superlative love she enjoys,

No stretch of time nor space, her ardor cloy.

My Boy, the babe of our wedlock, firstborn,

In the bright sunshine of life's early morn;

Up with the birds at the first streaks of dawn

Kicking and cooing, how joyous his song!

Vibrant his body with life everywhere,
Twinkling bright eyes, golden brown hair.
My Boy in childhood with visions of strife—
Indians pursuing the white man for life;
Cowboys in action with murderous gun.
Fire-crackers, cannon—these are his fun;
Gloating in savagery, teasing the cat,
Playing with fire—the rascally brat!
My Boy the patient with fever laid low!
How deep the anguish a parent may know
When the bright eyes close in stuporous sleep;
Moaning his breath sounds that make the skin creep.
Then does the heart feel love's tendrils about
As though they'd be sundered and blood be let out,
My Boy the truant, one bright day in June,
Where will you find him? Just about noon
Search 'long the creek on the old poplar log,
There you may find him with pin-hook and dog
Fishing for "shiners;" or down in the wood
At the "Old Swimmin' Hole"—'A spanking is good!
My Boy a youth full of vigor and hope
Dreaming of triumphs, eager to cope
With the great problems which life doth entail,

Pregnant with labor, harassing travail;
Free from the sordid, there may he stand
Ideal dreamer—the hope of a land.
My Boy in college! Immersed in its life;
True to Its spirit. In action and strife
Loyal to principle, Fighting with zeal
For every precept of college ideal.
In mind receptive to truth, when ‘tis told,
Always a man; self-reliant, not bold.
My Boy awakened by passion’s wild burst;
Nature asserting by impulse her thirst;
O Great Creator, give him wise poise;
Strength for resisting the lust which destroys
Lift him above its Vile slime so impure
And give him a body with strength to endure.
My Boy a Prodigal! Wandered afar
Chasing a butterfly. Now see the scar;
Deep on his forehead engraven the shame
Of his indulgence; and O! what a pain
Racking his conscience! But come back to me
And all is forgiven — my blessing on thee!
My Boy the lover, with sweetheart quite fair;
Gifted perhaps, but with true heart there,

Tender and soothing as sunshine in June;
Modest, soft spoken — a violet in bloom;
Radiant and loving with children at play,
Fit for a mother at some future day,
My Boy the man! Virile, alert!
Fearless in duty, furious in work;
Not without fancy for beauty and mirth;
Fond of Dame Nature, all over the earth;
True to his hearth-stone—blood of his own;
Helping a brother, where hope hath flown,
My Boy the comrade of my aging days
Able to travel along my pathways;
Roaming ‘mid forests and o’er rocky hills
Far from the din of fierce commerce that kills;
Mingling, my grave with his luminous thought
Both of our lives will be more finely wrought.
My Boy a Father. Fulfilling the plan
Of our Creator, for so He made man.
Under the law He hath given to me.
So I pass on to eternity.
Blessed be Children! They’re life’s greatest Joy.
How thrilled by pride we say: “This is My Boy!”

—FRANCIS BARBOUR WYNN, M. D. From the Medical Pickwick

In July of 1913 Frank and James travelled to the Canadian Rockies where they climbed Mount Temple with a Swiss guide, Rudolf Aemmer. James recorded the following feelings from one point in this challenging climb. “Up this near-wall we crunched, taking care to keep in Rudolf’s tracks. There is nothing like a chimney drift to make one cautious and observant of the every word of one’s guide” (JW journal p. 58) This is an unusual but interesting comment regarding leadership. Aristotle suggested that acquiring the character necessary for leadership was something that needed to be obtained through experience. James Wynn struggles to explain this notion of only being able to truly know and understand something through living the experience. He tries to explain the feelings associated with mountain climbing to someone who has not had the experience.

I must make the same confession that I have so frequently made to those who seek to know what pleasure Father and I find in (as they say) risking our bones on the lonely heights. There is an influence besides the mere exhilaration of physical exercise or the witnessing of grand panoramas with which the climber is blessed. For lack of a better name I call it the spirit of the Mountains. I realize how fruitless must be the task of analyzing it; so I will not attempt a work at which real authors have failed. Instead let me exhort you to become acquainted with the high mountains; not their valleys nor plateaus, but the peaks and summits themselves. When once you have known the Spirit, you will remember these apparently lifeless lines and they will assume new meaning. (JW journal p. 60)

The Great War, later to become known as World War I, broke out in the summer of 1914. A New York Times article from 1922 indicated that Dr. Frank Wynn served as a

Captain in the Medical Corps in the World War and was Chairman of the State Executive Committee of the Volunteer Medical Service Corps (New York Times, July 28, 1922), but the researcher could find no other evidence of this possibility. Military records were found for James Wynn. His climbing journal ends after the adventures listed below in 1914, suggesting that the war years did indeed interrupt the Wynn's normal lives. An entry in a medical school yearbook called the Arbutus, substantiated much of the details already given in this research regarding Frank B. Wynn and added that he was a member of the Sigma Chi fraternity in the Indiana University school of medicine in 1914. Dr. Wynn was well into his medical practice in Indianapolis and his only son, James was 18 at the time.

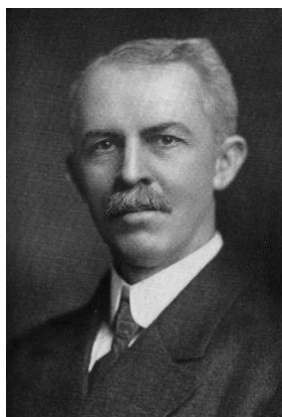


Figure 9: Dr. Wynn in 1914

Expedition Leader

James Wynn's journal describes climbing on the Carbon Glacier and the Moraine bluffs near Tacoma, Washington and then ascending Mount Rainier with the Mazama Climbing Club. James also records that, on this trip, they hiked and climbed on a Sunday, which was unusual for these men who normally were in church on the Sabbath. The journal also reveals that, during this trip, a female climber in the group began to refer to

Dr. Wynn as the Professor and the nick-name stuck throughout the outing. Even Dr. Wynn's son called his father the Professor on this trip, and related this interesting side event during the climb. "The Professor was so dazed that he performed his characteristic stunt of losing his spectacles; consequently he had the privilege of retracing his steps for almost half a mile to where he had left them, carefully folded up on a little ledge of rock" (JW journal p. 79). The next day a group of Mazamas ascended the Carbon-Winthrop Cleaver as an official club climbing event. Frank and James Wynn participated in this climb that took place in August. As the group began to tire, James observed his father and recorded the following.

The sight of that enticing pinnacle proved too much for the Professor. Several times I had noticed him pause and gaze with longing eyes toward its summit. At length, with his usual cry of "Water!" he collected the Mazamettes around a well in the ice. At this typical glacier oasis we held formal council regarding our future route. The plea to ascend the Cleaver at length swayed the rest. "Only an hour off" he declared waving his arm dramatically at the sharp rock summit which did look only a short distance above - just beyond the snow bank we were beginning to climb" (JW journal p. 81).

The tired group took strength from the professor's encouragement and ascended to the promontory, showing that Dr. Wynn had the capacity to guide and inspire others on the mountain as well as in the medical classroom. That night after supper, when all had gathered around the flowing logs, the Professor arose and duly confessed for himself and his fellow outlaws that the ascent of the Cleaver was made primarily to test the accuracy of a certain goat story told the night before by John Lee, the veteran goat seer, who could

“behold that animal where all other eyes see naught” (JW journal p. 83). The day that the Mazamas club attempted to summit the Liberty Cap Glacier, Mr. Prouty, the President of the Mazamas, asked Dr. Wynn to lead one of the rope lines of less experienced climbers. James was part of this group and recorded the following in his log of the climb.

When the writer had fastened our group of climbers together so that some six feet of slack rope was left between each, we greased our faces with thick paint and slipped on amber goggles to prevent sun blister and snow blindness. Then Dr. Wynn, the leader of our line, gave the word to start. For four hours our course lay over ridge after ridge of crevasses, all sizes, shapes, and depths. Some we avoided by long de tours, some we crossed by means of light wooden ladders, some we jumped, and still others we had to descend, cutting steps down one side and up the other. (JW p. 108)

The group dug into the snow in the evening and spent the night trying to sleep. This is the only account of Frank and James bivouacking with a group on a mountain, other than their much more camp-like night spent on Mount Mitchell, many years earlier. The next day they again pushed toward the top of Mount Rainer. Near the summit, Dr. Wynn was forced to remain at the steam vents for almost an hour with a young man who suffered acutely from the effects of mountain sickness, as the group was now over 14,000 feet above sea level. Dr. Wynn was successful in getting his patient to the apex of the mountain and his son, James said, “you can well imagine the cheer that greeted his efforts” (JW p. 109). The descent from the summit of Mount Rainer was more treacherous than the ascent due to the effect of the sun on the glacier during the day. “One member of our rope line was dismayed to have an alpenstock, which he prized

highly, sink completely out of sight at his very feet” (JW journal p. 109) An investigation showed that the climbing staff had fallen into a hidden crevasse.

A history of early climbing activity in Glacier National Park, documented by Lulie Nettleton (1914) indicated that several mountains and passes were climbed by this group including an early attempt on Mount Cleveland that was halted by rain the first day and snow the next, making the ascent impossible. Had this group, composed of the Seattle Mountaineers, succeeded in ascending Cleveland on this date, they would have laid claim to one of the most important first ascents in the park. Nettleton referred to Mount Cleveland as the clubs *big climb*, suggesting that it was to be the crowning achievement of their 1914 expedition. Accounts of the first successful ascent of Mount Cleveland prior to this study of Dr. Frank B. Wynn, have indicated that it was not accomplished until 1924 by the Sierra Club. Edwards (1995) indicated that the 1914 attempt on Mount Cleveland was carried out by thirty members of the Seattle Mountaineers on August 11, and that in total there were 115 members of this group that had hiked and climbed in Glacier Park that year.

1915 must have been a very busy year for Dr. Wynn. He had his medical practice to keep up, he lectured regularly to medical students at the amphitheatre of the Pathology Building, the World War was on, and he published an article in the Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association on the associations activities (Wynn, 1915). If that was not enough, the same year he also founded the Indiana Historical Commission, and served as its vice-president for the next six years (Bonsett, Dec., 1987). During this year he also travelled throughout the State of Indiana, as the chairman and chief driving force of the Indiana Centennial Celebration Commission, to organize and promote celebrations in

every county of the State, commemorating 100 years of confederation as one of the United States. In the culminating ceremonies at Indianapolis Dr. Wynn stepped up to make an impromptu closing speech when the Governor of Indiana was unable to attend at that location. It is also important to keep in mind that these were days of limited communication infrastructure where the letter was the main mode of communication. Travel throughout the state would have been more difficult and time consuming as well. Motor vehicles were just being developed and were far from reliable for those who could afford to have one.

Mount Rushmore Sculptor Commissioned by Wynn

Dr. Frank Wynn became a member of the Indiana Academy of Science in the annual meeting of 1916. In this year a new city library was constructed in downtown Indianapolis. This library also housed the John Bobbs Medical Library. Dr. Bobbs performed the world's first gall bladder surgery, which is a kind of leadership not extensively examined yet by this study, but must be acknowledged as one aspect or one type of leadership, preparing the way for others to follow. Dr. Wynn recognized this leadership contribution and others by Dr. Bobbs and commissioned Gutzon Borglum to create a carved sculpture of Dr. Bobbs that was placed as a memorial in the Dr. Bobbs Medical Library. Bonsett (1972) credits Dr. Wynn with being instrumental in not only commissioning the Borglum relief of Dr. Bobbs, but also credits Wynn for his leadership and determination to assemble around the Dr. Bobbs memorial an impressive medical library he had solicited from physicians around the nation. This library was the origin of the Mear's Collection with volumes from Theophilus Parvin and numerous others. The

new library was more extensive and complete in its various journals than was the old Bobbs Library, and the books were more numerous and modern.

The researcher specifically sought out the Bobbs sculpture crafted by Gutzon Borglum while in Indianapolis in his research visit in 2007. Borglum soon became world famous for his massive sculpture of Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson, and Theodore Roosevelt on Mount Rushmore. The fact that Dr. Wynn had the capacity to persuade Gutzon Borglum to create the Bobbs memorial carving in the same year Borglum was starting work on Mount Rushmore is remarkable and noteworthy.

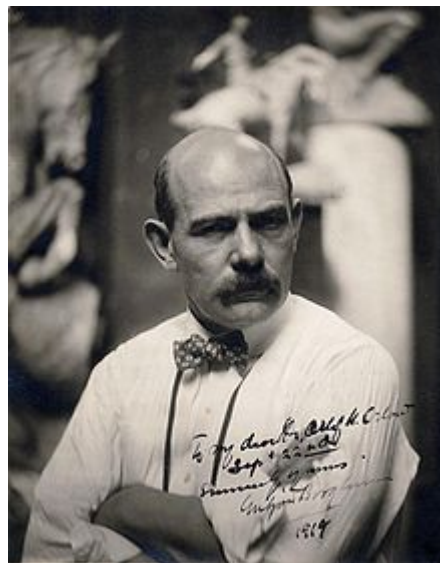


Figure 10: Gutzon Borglum, Mt. Rushmore Sculptor, 1919

Dr. Wynn published an article on the necessity of co-coordinating methods in the diagnosis of pulmonary tuberculosis lesions (Wynn, 1917).

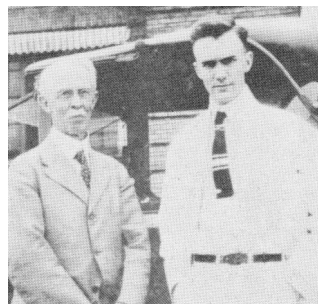


Figure 11: Dr. Wynn and son, James, 1918

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wynn must have been proud when their son, James attended Depauw University and graduated from Indiana University with a Bachelor of Science degree. Two years after receiving his B. S. degree, James Wynn graduated with an M. D. in 1919 and M. D. cum laude the following year, and received the Ravdin Medal for the highest scholarship average in the class (Bonsett, Aug., 1987). Below is a picture of James Wynn standing with Boy Scouts. Scouting was a leadership development movement for boys that was started by Lord Baden-Powell about ten years earlier.



Figure 12: Dr. James Wynn with Boy Scouts of America, 1919

This same year Dr. Frank B. Wynn (July, 1919) published an article on psychic factors in temperature disturbance in the Journal of the American Medical Association. That same year, Dr. Henry H. Goddard contacted Dr. Wynn asking for advice on

climbing Going-to-the-Sun Mountain in Glacier National Park. A record of this request was found by the researcher in the collection of Henry H. Goddard's memoirs in the Archives of the History of American Psychology at Akron, Ohio. A copy of a communication from Dr. Wynn to Dr. Goddard, documenting the climb can be found in the appendix. Apparently, Dr. Goddard had Dr. Wynn's description of the climb transcribed, possibly by a secretary, on his own stationary. The instructions for climbing the mountain is in point form and reads as follows.

August 8, 1919, by Dr. Frank B. Wynn of Indianapolis.

Placed the official Record Book (in enamel box chained to stone) of the Mazema [sic] Mountain Club of Portland, Oregon. Climb strenuous from timberline to summit and return nine hours. Accomplished to within 500 feet of top by D. B. Clapp and Sidney Daily both of Indiana. Route of Ascent: From open park near trail, N.W. side of Mt., go up to rim overlooking Sexton Glacier: thence to the right in the shale up near precipitous cliffs; after a half mile veering to south around cliffs when a negotiable gulch will be found; near its top veer to south over ledges. Balance easy.

(Signed) Frank B. Wynn.

Note. If trip is made in party of three or four take 20 foot rope so the confident experienced climber can help the timid over steep places. There are many ledges 6 to 20 or more feet which look impossible to inexperienced climber. In such climbing always make sure of hand holds. Keep a cool head. Have patience. Save your breath by frequent rests. Win the top and you'll be proud of the achievement.

(Signed) Dr. F. B. Wynn, Indianapolis, Ind..

A chronology of events in Dr. Goddard's memoirs in the Archives at The University of Akron, indicated that Dr. Goddard followed Dr. Wynn's directions for climbing Going-to-the-Sun Mountain and that Goddard climbed it with a companion by the name of Riddles, in the summer of 1919.

Prominent Mountaineer

Dr. Charles Bonsett, neurologist and historian from Indianapolis, wrote several articles on Dr. Wynn's medical and mountain climbing accomplishments. Bonsett (Nov., 1985) retells the following account in the words of Dr. Wynn, indicating that he may have been the first person ever to record a successful summit of Going-to-the-Sun Mountain.

Until this year, 1919, not a single record book had been placed upon any summit. Six years ago I made the ascent of Mount Jackson, and this year I was resolved to climb Going-to-the-Sun Mountain. or Sun Mountain as it is commonly called. . . . On two previous visits to the region I had been upon the west, south, and east sides of the peak, and was convinced that these approaches were impossible. It was therefore decided by our little party (Sidney F. Daily, Daniel Boone Clapp and Frank B. Wynn) that we would make the attempt from the north side. We estimated the total distance from Sun chalets and return would be 30 miles. To Conserve our strength for the climb we took horses to the timberline on the north—nine miles. This approach presented a cirque of many narrow ledges and sliding shale. In the morning we had noted a goat feeding high upon these ledges. We made satisfactory progress until one o'clock, when the lead brought us up against sheer walls. We made several attempts up chimneys, each of which

brought us to a precipitate jump-off of 3,000 feet down upon Sexton 'Glacier.

This was our situation at three o'clock, when it was decided that we would have to abandon the climb for the day. The other two gentlemen went on down, leaving me to reconnoiter for the subsequent attempt. I followed a narrow ledge for a half-mile, around to where we had seen the goats in the morning. Here another chimney was found, which I believed negotiable. The other two men were too far away to hail, and the hour was too late to overtake them and bring them to this point of attempt. So I determined, contrary to mountain rules, to try it alone. The chimney was steep, and at several points, difficult to negotiate. Many times I wished for a rope and somebody to give me a boost. Aside from a disfigured camera, and some tremulousness incident to the physical strain, I reached the summit without mishap. There was, of course, great joy in the achievement but sadness over the fact that I had not my colleagues with me.

The top of Sun Mountain is a well weathered plateau, in the center of which is a huge pile of disintegrating rocks quite similar to the pinnacle found upon the summit of Shasta. There was no evidence anywhere of any former climber. I built a cairn, placed the Mazama Record Box within it, and chained the box to a large upright stone. Then placing my mountain stick by the cairn and my hat upon it, I took a photograph as the only evidence in proof of the ascent.

The photograph below was found among the personal papers of Dr. Goddard in Akron Ohio. The researcher did not realize the significance of this photo until 2009 during the analysis of all data and images collected in 2007. The photo was either send by Dr. Wynn to Dr. Goddard in his letter with instructions or it was taken by Goddard's

party the following year. In either case it is similar to that described by Dr. Wynn. The photograph taken on the summit of Going-to-the-sun in 1919 is shown below.

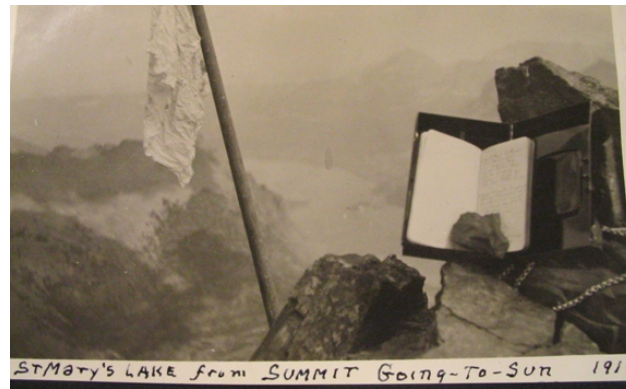


Figure 13: Summit photograph of Going-to-Sun Mountain, 1919

Comments by J. Gordon Edwards in his mountain climbing guidebook help to fill in some of the missing pieces regarding Dr. Wynn's several ascents in Glacier Park during this time period. Edwards (1995) provides a valuable chronological history of early climbing in the park and Dr. Wynn is listed as the most important contributor to the Park's climbing history from 1919 to 1922. The following quote is taken from his *Guidebook to Glacier National Park*. Of particular interest in this account is Edward's reference to flat metal boxes that were placed on the summit of several mountains in the Park. He indicated that all of these boxes were lost as of his writing in 1995. The researcher, by a remarkable accident, found one of these boxes below the summit of Mount Cleveland in 2001, and has the box and its historical contents in his possession at present. This unlikely discovery, on Mount Cleveland, constituted the researcher's introduction to Dr. Wynn and his leadership story. Interestingly, the list of mountains where these boxes were placed, given by Edwards below, does not include Mount Cleveland. This means that the register found by the researcher, below the summit of Mount Cleveland, was removed by accident or on purpose prior to J. Gordon Edwards

climbing in the Park before the 1960's. In fact, the first recorded ascent of Mount Cleveland, according to all present Internet searches, puts the date at 1924 by the California based Sierra Club suggesting that Norman Clyde currently claims the honor that should now, rightfully, go to Dr. Wynn. The thin metal box placed on Cleveland by Dr. Frank B. Wynn in 1920 must have been removed one way or another shortly after it was placed. These facts make the discovery of the register both interesting and important to Glacier Park and US, geographic, leadership history. The following are the comments from Edwards (1995) guidebook originally published in 1961, reprinted and updated in 1995.

1919 - 1922, Members of the Nature Study Club of Indiana climbed many peaks and left registers in flat metal boxes on Edwards Mountain, Going-to-the-Sun Mountain, Mt. Gould, Mt. Jackson, Mt. Reynolds, Chief Mountain, and Grinnell Mountain. On each summit they built a small fire with twigs carried up from the valleys, then "as the smoke ascended heavenward" Dr. Frank B. Wynn read a "dedication." Many may find it overly effusive today, but it is pleasant to picture those enthusiastic gentlemen sitting on the summit with rapt attention as the following dedication was read: "To the God of the open air we dedicate this mountain summit. To us has been given the rare privilege of its attainment. Splendid and inspiring is the reward of the toilsome ascent! Its rugged course most trying was, but now triumphant visions greet us everywhere, symbolizing the blessings to the steadfast traveler along life's trail. The flame we here do kindle typifies the awakening of the inert dead into flaming life, rising far beyond our reach and ken, wafts upward the spirit of our aspiration toward the beneficent

and Infinite One, whose presence and power we acknowledge with grateful hearts.”

As a member of the Nature Study Club, the author [Edwards, 1995] had heard of a mountain-climbing president of prior years, but never knew where he had climbed. Twenty years later, on my first climb of Mt. Jackson, I opened the metal box on the summit and was startled to see the register book headed “Guest Register of the Nature Study Club of Indiana.” The mystery was solved! I later found identical registers on all of the mountains mentioned above, and left them all in place. Gradually they have all disappeared. (p. 40)

The only record of the 1920 ascent of Mount Cleveland is in the possession of the researcher. From details in the thin metal box, the following account has been reconstructed. Dr. Frank B. Wynn led the small group of three men, including Harry R. Horn and John F. Habbe. They collected some small sticks from trees at the base of the mountain and stuffed them into a bag that they carried all day, to the top of the mountain. Once on the windy summit they made a fire and as the smoke rose heavenward, Harry R. W. Horn read the same *Mountain Top Dedication* quoted by Edwards.

The prayer was recorded on the first page of a logbook printed especially for the purpose of leaving on the summit of mountains in Glacier National Park in the United States of America by members of the Nature Study Club of Indiana. They placed the date of August 12 on the register and entered a zero after the pre-printed year 192_, suggesting that this was the first year such logbooks were put in use by the Club. The title page of the log book also contained other pre-printed lines that the trio completed as follows: “A committee of the Club carried this register to the Summit and dedicated it to the

Mountain and to its visitors ____ John F. Habbe ____ kindled a fire of fagots carried up from the valley and as the smoke ascended heavenward, ____ Harry R. W. Horn ____ recited the Mountain Top Dedication. There was no worry that the fire would spread, because there was nothing flammable on the summit other than the twigs they brought for that purpose. The summit of Mount Cleveland consists of a gigantic rock pile. The three men signed their names on the title page as committee members with Dr. Wynn's signature as leader. His was also the first name on the next page lined for the purpose of entering additional names and comments of future visitors. After affixing their names to the register, they then gathered together a number of the summit stones and created a cairn similar to those placed by other exploration parties in this time period. The thin metal box was then attached by wire to one of the stones to keep it in place through all kinds of weather conditions. The group then probably ate their lunch and Dr. Wynn most likely took a few pictures, as he was a "crack" with the camera according to his son, James. They then started the long descent from the mountain.

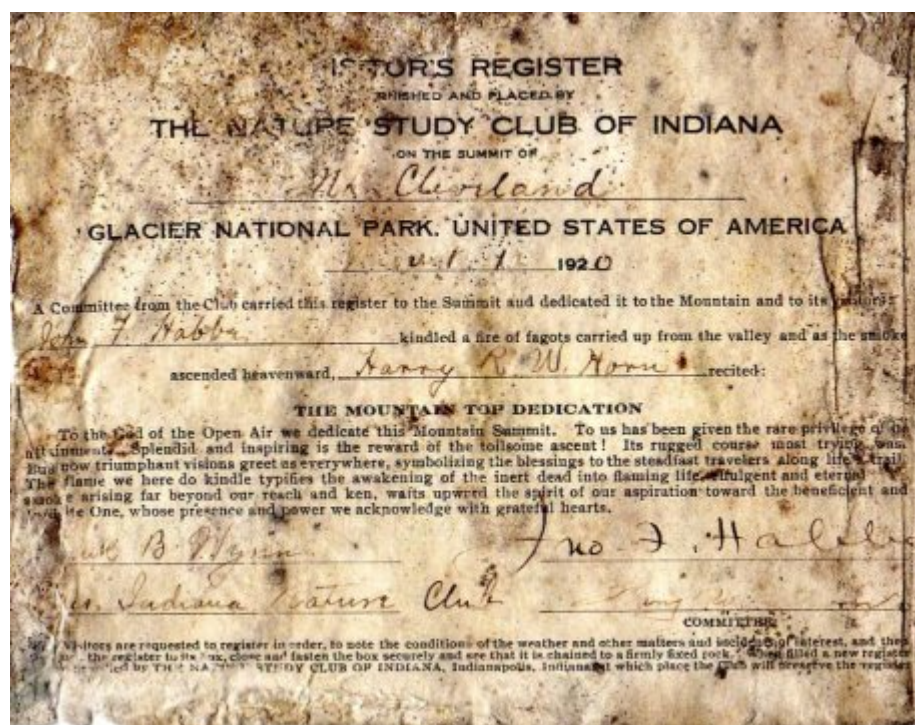


Figure 14: Title Page of Mount Cleveland Register, 1920

Dr. Henry Goddard's memoirs in the Archives of the American Psychology Association at the University of Akron contain a scrapbook with a few photographs of mountain climbing adventures that Dr. Goddard participated in. One of these photographs shows Dr. Wynn and Dr. Goddard with others on the summit of Mount Reynolds. Another shows Dr. Goddard and three other men on the summit of Mount Edwards. This photograph was quite likely taken by Dr. Wynn, but more interesting, is the fact that the man seated beside Dr. Goddard is holding one of the thin metal boxes that contained the mountain top register. This metal box is identical, except for signs of aging, to the metal box found in 2001 by the researcher near the summit of Mount Cleveland.



Figure 15: Climbers with metal register box on Mount Edwards, 1921

The reader may wonder why this research would include so many mountain climbing stories, like this, in a scholarly study of leadership, when Dr. Wynn's mountain climbing adventures appear to be something done outside of his professional leadership activities. The reason is two fold. First, these accounts provide striking examples of the literal form of leading discussed earlier, in the etymology of leadership terms. The concept of one person guiding another along a trail, toward a summit, or over unfamiliar territory is a classic, literal example of leadership. Secondly, the accounts provide interesting and remarkable metaphors of the more common forms of leadership in organizations. Wynn's suggestion of roping up inexperienced or timid climbers to help them over difficult terrain can be applied to countless leadership scenarios in modern settings. Therefore this account serves as both a literal and a figurative example of how leadership is accomplished. Commenting on Dr. Wynn's climbing activities, Bonsett said that the motto of the Mazamas climbing club, to which Dr. Wynn belonged was, *Nesika klatawa sahale*, from the Chinook, meaning *we climb high*, applied particularly to Dr. Wynn because, "he climbed high in all his endeavors – whether climbing mountains,

practicing medicine, or engaging in any of his numerous activities and interests”

(Bonsett, Jan. 1977 p. 1).



Figure 16: Dr. Wynn on Mount Reynolds summit, 1921

Dr. Wynn made another trip to Glacier National Park to spend part of his summer in 1920 doing what he loved as an avocation, climbing mountains. In company with Harry R. Horn, and Henry H. Goddard these men accomplished the first recorded ascent of Mount Gould. Modern guidebooks to the Park indicate that Mount Gould is probably the most photographed mountain in the Park, sitting picturesquely at the end of Grinnell Lake. Below is just one such image of this mountain, that is often featured on post cards and calendars.



Figure 17: Photograph of Mount Gould, first climbed by Dr. Wynn

Source of Wisdom and Vision

On October 26, 1920 Dr. Wynn presented a message to the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Medical Association, entitled Present Trends in Medical Practice. In this presentation Dr. Wynn used the word *workmanship* and suggested its meaning in 1920. This is interesting and informative to the present study of the term *leadership*. Dr. Wynn was commenting on the trend at the time of automation and specialization in the workforce. His comment suggests that workmanship is a perfected ability to do some work. The counterpart then would be that leadership is a perfected ability to lead others. Below is the context in which the term workmanship appeared. The passage is from a report of the presentation published in the Chicago Medical Recorder and also provides an insight in Dr. Wynn's general character (Wynn, 1920).

...specialization may reveal wireless telegraphy, produce a marvelous machine and bring luxuries with the reach of all; but do we stop to think of the multitude who become mere thinking cogs in the wheel of industry; who grind their lives away without initiative; whose hearts do not pulsate with the joy of their work; whose single thought is to produce quantity and receive the wage? ...The goal held is not contentment in life, joy in labor, perfection in workmanship – but how well will it pay? It is pertinent to ask if medicine has shared in this world-wide trend toward materialism? If so, let us beware lest our profession degenerate to the level of a trade. (p. 449)

The article consists of thirteen pages in the Chicago Medical Journal (Wynn, 1920) and reveals a great deal about the general character and leadership of the man. The entire article is available in the appendices for further study and consideration. The quote

below provides some sense of the vision Dr. Wynn had for the medical profession and also shows how he was a leader in promoting the nobler aspects of practice among his colleagues.

In the next place there needs to be developed among general practitioners an *esprit des corps*-a loyalty and solidarity of effect for mutual betterment. There must be more mingling of those engaged in general practice which will beget enthusiasm, clinical alertness and scientific morale. In this way will be aroused a consciousness of the magnitude and dignity of the work, and pride in the accomplishment of its great tasks. There will come a new vision of the possibilities of general practice.

In the future advancement of the profession, general practitioners and specialists will co-operate more fully one with another. The old idea of professional exclusiveness and selfishness is rapidly passing. The medical society has led the way. Medical men need only to be brought together to prove that their interests are mutual and not antagonistic. That man is apt to be a poor doctor who has not as his most trusted and beloved friend another doctor. This spirit of good-fellowship is becoming manifest all over the country in the assembling of physicians' offices in the same building; or in the more intimate association of men in groups. Special and general men are associating themselves not so much for financial reasons as to study medical problems in common. The phenomenal success of the Rochester Clinic has given tremendous momentum to this idea. (p. 436)

Dr. Wynn also published another version of this article under the title, *The Physician: The Triumphs and Dangers of Specialization*. This was the sixth in a series of articles by Dr. Wynn, printed in the *Journal of The Indiana State Medical Association* in 1920 and 1921. The eighth article in the series, entitled *The Physician: Obligations to Reading and Study*, offers a very interesting insight into Dr. Wynn's opinion regarding the value of being selective in reading material. He begins by relating that his grandfather settled in Brooksville, Indiana in 1818 and brought with him a small collection of books that he freely lent to people in the area. Later in the article he states that Abraham Lincoln who spent his formative years in the wilds of southern Indiana read only seven volumes, but read them over and over, *The Bible*, *Aesop's Fables*, *Bunyan's Pilgrims Progress*, *History of the United States*, *Green's Life of Washington*, and the *Statutes of Indiana*. Wynn imagined the young Lincoln sprawled on the cabin floor devouring these precious books. "There was not confusion of brain from multiplicity of books. He was not compelled to stem the tide of frothy literature which sweeps the world today, effervescent with erratic theories and steaming with sensationalism" (Wynn Dec. 1920 p. 401).

Wynn's list of good books to read began with the Bible because of its exposition of the first historic attempt at preventive medicine, instituted by Moses who was also the first law giver. Wynn asked what in literature was more sublime than the poetry of David or more heroic than the drama of Job? Where will be found sounder philosophy or keener wisdom than in the Proverbs of Solomon? Next to the Bible, Dr. Wynn recommended Shakespeare, as a most critical student of human weakness and human powers. In the field of romance he suggested Charles Dickens (p. 401).

In June of the next year, Dr. Wynn (1921) published the thirteenth article in his series entitled, *The Physician: Pathies, Isms, and Cults in Medicine*. If Dr. Wynn read Aristotle, it is not known, but his reference to excess in the medical profession suggests that he understood the doctrine of the golden mean. Early in the article he admitted that as any great movement gains momentum, influence, power, and errors creep in and acquire respectability, approved and supported by the organized mass. He went on to say that “If medical evolution be studied in the light of this idea, it will be found that the profession at one time has been led into errors of excess by prevailing fashions” (p. 186). The article advocates for finding a middle ground between accepting new medical ideas and practices too readily or at the other extreme, rejecting them too quickly. On this point he said, “The conservatism of long usage and the consciousness of past achievement make us morally astigmatic and unable to see virtue outside the fold of regular medicine”. (p. 186) Dr. Wynn also used the term *leadership* in this article. The sense in which the word is used suggests that it means the ability to persuade. The use of the adjective *aggressive* combined with the word leadership, further stresses the ability to influence. The following is the sentence in which the word occurs. “Physiomedicalism under the aggressive leadership of its founder Thomson, like eclecticism, stressed the use of herbal products....” (p. 187). This example of usage for the word *leadership*, by Dr. Wynn also refers to a position of authority or precedence. The word is used to communicate the combination of the position and the influence the person in such a position is able to demonstrate.



Figure 18: Dr. Wynn on Chief Mountain, 1921

Dr. Bonsett's (1975) article shows a picture of Frank B. Wynn climbing Chief Mountain on July 30, 1921. In this same summer, Dr. Goddard's personal summer chronology showed that he climbed Mount Wilber accompanied by Dr. Wynn, Habe [sic], McFall and others. This climb was also verified by Dr. Hurty in a newspaper article, indicating that it took place on August 10, 1921. Hurty filled in some names missing from Dr. Goddard's notes, including William N. Wishard, Russell T. McFall and his son, Russell T. McFall Jr. of Indianapolis, and Walter Davis of New York. Hurty also said that Mr. John Habbe was also to be a member of the party, but that he returned to Indianapolis with a knee injury. Hurty said that the party succeeded to within 700 feet of the summit of Mount St. Wilbur, a feat no one had yet been able to accomplish. Hurty also reported in the same article that on August 17, 1921 a group attempted Mount St. Nicholas, one of the steepest peaks in the world, but that heavy rain and snow turned them back, denying them the summit. Harry R. W. Horn was quoted in this article saying that "the feat of Dr. Wynn and his party in getting so near the top of St. Wilbur is one that

will go down in the records of the government park commission” (Indianapolis News, July 29, 1922).

Dr. Charles Bonsett’s Medical Museum Notes (July, 1985), provide additional details of Dr. Wynn’s 1921 trip to Glacier Park. The article quotes from a letter written by Dr. Wynn to Dr. William Niles Wishard Jr. inviting him to join the mountain climbing party in Montana. The article also included a picture that, when magnified by modern computer technology, reveals the entire planned itinerary of the proposed trip. The text of the letter is quoted below and the image of the itinerary is available for further examination in the appendices.

Dear doctor Wishard:

I am enclosing you the tentative itinerary for our trip in the mountains of Glacier Park. This may be modified somewhat as we go along, but in the main it will be adhered to. This round will insure to one who has not previously been there a visit to the most scenic areas, and besides many places off the beaten trail. The only condition which would be placed upon William Niles would be that he join the Indiana Nature Study Club, since this expedition is one of a series the Club is conducting in response to the suggestion of Mr. Stephen Mather, Director of National Parks, who is desirous that our organization should take over the charting of the mountain peaks of surpassing interest, climb them, place official records upon the summits, take pictures, and finally submit the routes of ascent to the National Government. Has promised he would print this for us if properly whipped into shape. He is very anxious a Mountain Climbing Manual should be developed, giving routes for hikes and climbs, the purpose being to encourage

mountain climbing and hiking as a sport. So our expedition there is both for the joy of it and with a constructive purpose in mind. We carry to the noteworthy summits a galvanized iron box, containing an Official Record of the Club. We dedicate quite formally every noteworthy summit we ascend, sign the Record, place it in the middle of a cairn, for others to sign should they make the ascent. The Rocky Mountain Club of Denver, the Mazama Mountain Club of Portland are doing similar work for their respective regions.

We will aim to follow the harder climbs by a day of rest, when we may fish a little, or take some of the easier or usual hikes. Camp fires are an interesting feature of our outing. These have often been very delightful. There are always a few congenial souls from the outside who ask to join us in these open-air feasts, when we sing college songs, have recitations, fun, mock trials, (a la Wishard at Yellowstone) and always some serious talk on a scientific or open air subject.

Our Party. The personnel of our mountain party this year is as follows:

John F. Habbe... Harry R. W. Horn – Defiance, Ohio – A prince of comrades, who three years ago followed directions we left on the Camp Register at Sun Camp, and climbed Going-to-the-Sun Mountain according to those directions, finding the record and writing me a letter and asking that he might become a member of our next expedition... James A. Wynn – for several years a regular participant, but now deprived by professional duties at the Peter Bent Hospital in Boston. George Batchelor... Russell McFall, Jr. Harry Glossbrenner... F. B. Wynn, otherwise known to the Black Feet Indians [sic] Tribe as Ininapiksi – Flying Bird.

From perusal of this it will be noted that the Presbyterians have an over-weening influence, but the Methodists will do all they can to hold them down to earth.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Frank B. Wynn

On this same outing in August, 1921 after an 18 mile hike, Dr. Wynn and some companions stopped at a ranger's cabin in the Park and found a woman there in need of a physician. One had been sent for 50 miles away. Dr. Wynn acknowledged that he was a physician and offered to do what he could to help her. A while later a healthy ten pound boy was born. His mother named him Wynn Mitchell (Indianapolis News, July 29, 1922).

This same busy year, Dr. Wynn lobbied diligently to convince Marshal Ferdinand Foch to visit Indianapolis as part of a brief visit to the United States. Wynn published a book entitled Marshal Foch Day, detailing the visit. Marshal Foch was a French General who was the chief commanding officer of the Allied Forces at the end of The First World War. In the book Wynn (1921b) said,

No man since the dawn of history ever held under his command armies even approximating in numbers those directed by this military genius. The combined forces of fifteen allied nations were subject to his orders. In his hands rested the fate of more than 800,000,000 free people. His commands had only to be given to be obeyed. But none can say that this military leader misused or abused the power assigned him. (p. 5)

Wynn (1921) also published an article, that same busy year, on renal tuberculosis dealing with its early recognition and management, and another discussed the dangers of forming habits due to the prolonged use of certain drugs prescribed by physicians such as morphine, opium or cocaine (Wynn Nov., 1921). In reading this article, the researcher was reminded of Aristotle's discussions of good and bad habits formed by human beings and how they can be beneficial or destructive when found in excess. The researcher was reminded again of Aristotle's discussions when reading Dr. Wynn's (Dec. 1921) article entitled, *The Physician: The Rejuvenation of Medical Ethics*. In this article Wynn began by explaining that the general public had a misconception of the core intent of medical ethics. He then asserted that,

It represents a most commendable effort on the part of the intelligent and progressive elements of medicine, to conserve the idealism of the medical past. It seeks to elevate the standards of practice and scientific attainment, of gentlemanly and moral conduct, for the benefit of the patient first of all: for the mutual instruction and elevation of the profession; and in the interest of the public weal. Should we ever fall from these high standards, we will no longer be worthy the designation of a profession, but must march in the ranks of tradesmen. (p. 422)

Dr. Wynn continued the article suggesting that every worthy organization has a code, charter, by-laws, or constitution. He said, "...think of the American Commonwealth without a Constitution, a religion without a creed, or the Bible without its Ten Commandments" (p. 423). He then confessed that the code of medical ethics was not a perfect instrument and never could be. With the evolution in medical progress it would need to be revised to meet the changes that wisdom and experience would prove

out, but he suggested that “for the present it will be our mutual advantage to know better our commandments of Shalts and Shalt-nots” (p. 423). This article was published in the December 1921 issue of the Journal of the Indiana Medical Association. The following year Dr. Wynn (1922) in fact published a document entitled The Ten Commandments of Medical Ethics. He probably wrote it in December and published it by January of 1922, because a copy of his Ten Commandments along with a commentary of his December 1921 article was printed in the February issue of the California State Journal of Medicine. The author or editor said that Dr. Wynn’s article should be read and pondered by every physician everywhere, and ought also to be read by the public. Wynn’s Ten Commandments of Medical Ethics was reprinted entirely in the California State Medical Journal (1922). The Ten Commandments document was reproduced in poster sized format and was presented to graduating students from the Indiana Medical School for at least 50 years following the original publication. Charles Bonsett (1977; 1987) reprinted Wynn’s Ten Commandments in the Journal of Indiana State Medical Association and in Indiana Medicine. A figure of the publication is shown below and a copy of the document can be found in the appendices. Dr. Bonsett graciously also provided the researcher with a copy of the poster sized document.



Figure 19: Dr. Wynn's Ten Commandments of Medical Ethics

Dr. Wynn, in this same year, also conceived the idea of creating a memorial for Abraham Lincoln in the State of Indiana. The thought struck him that Kentucky had created a memorial for the birthplace of the famous American president, but that Lincoln had actually spent most of the formative years of his youth in the southern part of the State of Indiana. Wynn imagined, while on a trip of the Nature Study Club of Indiana, the creation of a memorial park for the recent president. Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb was present when Dr. Wynn proposed the founding of the Lincoln Memorial Association and described its objectives. Dr. Wynn was immediately appointed the president of the association. Mrs. Rabb gave the following detailed account of these events in a yearbook publication of the Nature Study Club of Indiana (Myers, 1932).

The Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association was organized on June 26, 1922. As a chartered member and secretary of this body, I have been asked to recall my memories of its organization.

On June 25, 1922, a party composed of some members of the Nature Study Club of Indiana , the Indiana Sons of the Revolution and two representatives of the Indiana Historical Commission went down to Jeffersonville, Indiana to attend the unveiling by Ann Rogers Clark Chapter, D.A. R., of a marker on the site of George Rogers Clark's home at Clarksville, Indiana.

At the close of the ceremonies, the following persons drove to Hodgenville, Kentucky, to visit the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln – an excursion planned by the Nature Study Club of Indiana under the leadership of Harry W. Glossbrenner; Dr. Frank B. Wynn, president of The Nature Study Club; Dr. John W. Oliver and Miss Lucy Elliott of the Historical Commission; Eugene Foster, now of the Indianapolis Foundation; Kenneth Cohee, a Purdue student, Misses Lucy Campbell, Edna Gearhart, Martha Rihl, Vivian Sowers, Ruth Armstrong, Harry Glossbrenner and Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb of The Nature Study Club.

On the train, on the way to Jeffersonville, Dr. Wynn seemed in unusual spirits, and presently he confided to me that he had a most interesting plan which he intended to lay before the pilgrims on their arrival at Hodgenville. After a while, he showed to me a resolution which he had drawn up for the organization of a body which should erect a suitable memorial to Abraham Lincoln in the state in which he had grown from boyhood to young manhood, and together we talked at length over the possibilities of such a plan as he had outlined.

As a complete account of this trip from Jeffersonville to Hodgenville was written a few days after the trip for my column in the Indianapolis Star, "A Hoosier Listening Post", I have made some excerpts from this in order better to

give the reader an idea of the charm of this “little journey” and the enthusiasm with which the members received Dr. Wynn’s suggestion.

The party of twelve made the trip from Jeffersonville in two motor cars for the occasion. We left Jeffersonville in the late afternoon. “The landscape was beautiful; the houses, typical old Kentucky homes, many of them with little porticoes in front and double galleries at the side. The corn was not yet ripe, but it was growing straight and tall and the tropical-like tobacco plant demanded admiration. Color was provided by masses of wild roses and every fence and tree was wreathed with trumpet flower, the pendulous bloom a brilliant scarlet against the deep green background. It was still daylight when we stove into Elizabethtown.”

The next paragraphs describe the exploration of this little town and the supper at the hotel, and the story continues:

“On the way again with twelve miles between us and Hodgenville, and over a part of the Dixie Highway which the Courier Journal saw fit to apologize for in an editorial the very next day.—The editorial was not called forth by any criticism from this party, however. We bounced about good naturedly when the cars struck unsuspected hollows in the road ;—who could be cross when the car lights were making fairy scenes of the woodland on either side’ When woodbine and other woodland perfumes breathed enchantment and when above us hung so low a deep blue sky thick set with brilliant constellations. Bursts of song showed the influence of the night—’My Old Kentucky Home’, ‘Dixie’, ‘Old Black Joe’, ‘Suwannee River’; then like Coleridge and his Genevieve, moved by ‘the rich and

balmy eve', the more sentimental songs— 'Sweet Genevieve', 'Juniata', and 'In the Gloaming'. And it was to such song that we came into Hodgenville and saw dimly in the starlight, the little old courthouse with its outside stairways and before it, in bronze, a statue of Lincoln.

"It was only nine-thirty when the Indianapolis party registered at the Hodgenville, Ky. hotel, and after the rooms were assigned, the party again assembled before the hotel and began explorations . . . The various members of the party soon returned to sit before the hotel in the splint-bottom chairs which have been consecrated to hotel loafers from time immemorial and spent the remainder of the evening in watching the passers-by and exchanging stories. Not all, however, for it was discovered when the roll was called that one member of the party had sought her couch immediately on her arrival, in order to get her beauty sleep, and that the part known as youth and beauty were still exploring under the starry skies of Hodgenville. We lingered long, for this town, unlike other country towns, does not go to bed early, but the sight of the night watchman on his rounds, with his lantern, a Shakespearean figure, sent us upstairs at eleven. "Breakfast was announced for eight o'clock, as it was Sunday morning. and it seemed but a moment after the sight of the night-watchman until we were awakened at seven o'clock by the 'Terramas song' in Dr. Wynn's mellow tones as he marched up and down the halls: Good morning to you, Good morning to you, Good morning Terramas, Good morning to all.

“For Dr. Wynn is the founder of the mountain climbing club which he named Terramas (earth Lovers) and in such a pleasant fashion were we called to rise and breakfast.

“In a pleasant, airy upstairs dining-room the party gathered slowly to another miracle in the way of food—fruit, breakfast food, hot biscuits, ham and eggs, fried apples,—urged on to haste by Mr. Glossbrenner who wished to start out to the memorial. It was discovered that two were missing and presently youth and beauty appeared, panting, rosy, with sparkling eyes, to announce that they had risen at six o’clock and had walked the four miles out to the memorial. No one would believe their story at first, but their appetites proved it.

“It is useless to attempt to describe this beautiful summer morning—the trees, the birds, the flowers and finally the park-like hill on which stands the beautiful temple of sparkling Vermont granite, with its stately approach of stone steps, within which stands the rude log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born. ‘Here’, runs the inscription on the outside of the building, ‘over the log cabin where Abraham Lincoln was born, destined to preserve the Union and free the slave, a grateful people have dedicated this memorial to unity, peace, and brotherhood among the states.’ Three sentences of Lincoln’s are also sculptured on the outside of this memorial, ‘With malice toward none, with charity for all’; ‘Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty’; and ‘Stand with anybody that stands right, stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong.’

“Reverently we went within to read the inscriptions cut on the walls, and sitting on the stone seats about the walls, looked at the tiny one-room log cabin and through the windows at the beautiful view from this hill-top. The perfume of the woods came to us, the bird song filled the air, the world seemed very far away. The college boy, with a reverence that made us love him, whispered to his neighbor as we came out that it made him feel as though some one should have said a prayer. We had all had the same feeling—that of being in a sacred presence.

“While we sat in the little stone temple, after having read the inscriptions and inspected the cabin, Dr. Wynn called the meeting to order. He had long had a certain project in mind, he said, and he felt that the time was propitious for proposing it. He then read the following resolution:

“In this solemn historic presence, we, the undersigned residents of the state of Indiana here assembled, recognize in this splendid memorial, fitting tribute to the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, probably the greatest of American presidents. As Kentucky was his birthplace, so was Indiana the residence of his youth. As such, we as loyal citizens of the Hoosier commonwealth, owe it to our historic conscience as well as state pride, to adequately memorialize the site where, in the molding period of life, the foundations were laid for the character, wisdom and patriotism of his mature years. In the furtherance of this end, we this day, upon ground made sacred by his birth, organize ourselves into the Indiana Abraham Lincoln Memorial Association. We pledge ourselves not to rest in the prosecution

of this movement until the full realization of a splendid memorial shrine is builded commemorative of the youth of Lincoln spent upon Indiana soil.

“In furtherance of this historic enterprise, it is moved that a committee be appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws, and make recommendations to a subsequent meeting upon the best course to pursue.

“The resolution was adopted and signed by all present, as charter members, a committee organized, and the subject discussed at length. Under the spell of the surroundings it was easy to visualize a beautiful memorial to the boy Lincoln in the southern Indiana county in which his boyhood days were spent.”

An organization was soon perfected, with Dr. Wynn as President, and the first Board of Trustees included the following: Mrs. Laura Fletcher Hodges, Claude G. Bowers, Thomas James de la Hunt, L. N. Hines, Will A. Hough, Charles W. Moores, John W. Oliver, John C. Shirk, and Jesse W. Weik.

It was hoped by Dr. Wynn to build up a nation-wide membership, large enough that the annual fees would eventually enable the Association to purchase the land and erect the Lincoln Memorial. One of the first gifts was that of One Hundred Dollars from the Nature Study Club.

Unfortunately Dr. Wynn's death occurred almost immediately after the organization of the Association, he was succeeded in the Presidency by Hon. W. A. Guthrie, and Mr. Guthrie in turn, by Linnaeus Hines of Terre Haute.

Several trips were made to Lincoln City, and very definite plans discussed by the officers and trustees, especially the possibility of the removal of old buildings and re-routing of the railroad, since accomplished by the Lincoln Union. Dr. Wynn's

cherished plan for a large membership did not meet with popular appeal, so the membership fees were dropped, and efforts devoted to promulgating another plan, which on February 12, 1923 culminated in the passing of a bill by the Legislature in which an appropriation was authorized for the purchase of a tract of land adjoining the graveyard in which Nancy Hanks Lincoln is buried, and including the land on which the Lincoln home stood.

After this bill was passed by the State Legislature, Governor McCray appointed the Lincoln Memorial Commission whose function was to purchase the land, and take over the memorial project. No member of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association was given a place on this Commission, so the organization was left, in a measure, powerless to act, and although the work since accomplished in the purchase of the land and its development, with the removal of the buildings and the railroad, has been done almost exactly as originally contemplated by the Lincoln Memorial Association, it has been through the Lincoln Union.

The Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association, which has ceased to exist except in name only, may rightfully take the credit for laying the foundation for the Indiana memorial to Lincoln, and since Dr. Wynn was the author of the plan, it seems only fair that he be given this tardy tribute, for it was his vision and zeal which first set in motion the machinery to make possible the erection of the memorial to Lincoln, "Champion of plain people, guardian of the truth". - KATE MILNER RABB. (pp. 5-8)

This account by Mrs. Rabb is more than just a nice tribute to Dr. Wynn, but rather, it is important evidence necessary for the correction of a historical oversight relative to the Lincoln Memorial in Spencer County, Indiana. When the researcher visited the memorial park in 2007 he was surprised to find that there was no mention of Dr. Wynn's role in the conception of the park. Even more puzzling was the cool reception that the park interpreters gave to the suggestion that Dr. Wynn had anything whatsoever to do with the establishment of the memorial. The Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial takes great pride in preserving history and portraying the past accurately to the public. Thousands of American Citizens visit the park each year where live actors and interpreters dressed in period costume reenact life as it was in Lincoln's day, chopping wood and carrying water to the cabin, collecting eggs from the chicken coop and tending to the cows and other animals that live on the recreated Lincoln homestead. When the researcher questioned the interpreters about the history of the establishment of the memorial park he was directed to documents in the historical library at the memorial center and visited with the director. One of the principle documents used to determine the history of the creation of the memorial was a report issued by The Indiana Lincoln Union in 1938. A copy of the first fifteen pages of this report are available in the appendix of this dissertation. Some passages from the report are stated below. Strangely, the report makes no mention of Dr. Wynn, nor of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association. However, it is interesting to note that the report of the Indiana Lincoln Union indicates that the Indiana Lincoln Union was established on December 22, 1926, well after the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association was organized and the Union's report lists Mrs. Kate Milner Rabb as a member of the committee. This means that Mrs. Rabb in 1932

recognized Dr. Wynn as the originator of the plan, but also indicated at the end of her account that by 1932 the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association was no longer existent except in name but that the work done by the Lincoln Union was almost exactly as planned by the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association. Mrs. Rabb's description of the events, being an active member of both organizations, is probably the most accurate and reliable of any available.

Untimely and Unexpected Death

Dr. Wynn was an accomplished mountaineer. He had climbed many of the highest peaks in Europe, The United States, and Canada; and even had some first ascents to his credit. He was unsuccessful, however in climbing Mount Siyeh on his first ascend and returned to Glacier National Park in the summer of 1922 to attempt it a second time. His wife, Carrie and his son James accompanied him to the Park but were waiting at the Many Glaciers Hotel for other guests to arrive. Dr. Wynn invited Dr. Henry Goddard, his climbing companion for the past two years, to accompany him on an attempt to scale Mount Siyeh while they awaited other climbing friends to arrive from various parts of the country. The researcher found the only eye witness account of the events of that climb, in the personal memoirs of Dr. Henry Goddard, in the Archives of the History of American Psychology. These memoirs are only searchable by prior reservation with the curators of the archives at the University of Akron, in Ohio. Dr. Goddard's memoirs consist of almost 40 boxes of documents in file folders. Dr. Goddard had become world famous for introducing IQ testing to North America. He had a considerable number of mountain climbing pamphlets, catalogs, notes and letters, some of which are duplicated and

available in the appendices. Among those papers was found the following, handwritten account of their Mount Siyeh climb.

Dr. Wynn and I left Many Glacier Hotel about 10 a.m.. on Wednesday, proposing to camp near the top of Piegan Pass and climb Mt. Siyeh on the morrow. We carried our sleeping bags and food on our backs. We travelled slowly and enjoyed the trip. We lunched near Morning Eagle Falls, took some pictures and ascended the Pass. We arrived about four p.m. and made camp a few rods below summit of Pass. After a comfortable night we arose about daybreak and prepared breakfast. At 5.45 we started for Siyeh. We left the trail about on level with the saddle between Cataract Mt and the Siyeh range. Reaching the saddle Dr. Wynn took some pictures and we proceeded to ascend toward the visible summit. The rocks were good and we hoped to reach the high slope and so to the afore mentioned summit. Dr. Wynn as in excellent spirits and said this was just the kind of climbing he liked. We picked our way but found no difficulty and no dangerous places.

Dr. Wynn was leading. He came to a point where he said "I don't know which is the better way" to go along the rocks nearly horizontal or to climb up to the next shelf. He chose the latter. The horizontal way was entirely feasible as I could see. I could not see the other as I was a few feet below him and to the left. Be he evidently thought it better to climb up to the next shelf. He put his knee on the rock and seemed to start up. I was about to step to where he had been standing when he seemed to step back and the next instant fell headlong backwards to the

shelf below – perhaps six feet down. He rolled off this and on down the Mt. for quite a distance.

In my judgment he must have had a sudden physical disturbance, probably apoplexy. He could not have slipped because there was no difficulty to cause a slip and had he done so he would easily have recovered himself or at the worst would have slid down feet first clutching at the rocks. He made no sign of an effort to save himself. He uttered no sound. I was looking at him all of the time and jumped to help but could not reach him – so quick was the movement. Moreover he had let go his ice axe which he almost certainly would not have done had he been conscious, as it would have been his greatest aid in recovery.

I at once descended to where he lay on the rocks. He was not breathing nor was there any pulse or sign of life. I arranged the body slightly and hastened to Many Glacier Hotel for help. I reached there at 11 a.m. The tragedy occurred at 7.30 a.m. A party was at once sent out and the body recovered as promptly as the difficulties would permit.

I have climbed with Dr. Wynn now for two years. He was an excellent mountaineer, always cautious and using good judgment. He took no risks. This also makes me certain that this was not a mountaineering accident, but rather, a sudden physical seizure of some kind.

Henry H. Goddard, Many Glacier Hotel, Thursday July 27, 1922. (Goddard, 1922)

The researcher spent a week in the Archives in Akron and gathered information not only on Dr. Wynn, but also enough information from primary sources to compose a

biography of many leadership activities of Dr. Henry Goddard as well. Prior to the examination of documents in these archives, the researcher was hopeful but had no assurance of finding anything related to Dr. Wynn. Finding the handwritten account of the details of his mysterious climbing death was a very satisfying event in the research process. Other personal papers in Dr. Goddard's files indicate that he did all he could to comfort Mrs. Carrie Wynn and their son James. Dr. Goddard assisted in convincing a clerk at the Hotel that he should allow the distraught wife and son to cash travelers' checks that the clerk said needed to be signed by Dr. Wynn. The family needed these funds in order to pay for the Hotel and their fares back to Indianapolis.

The news of Dr. Wynn's death travelled quickly considering the technology of the day. A news dispatch was transmitted back to Indianapolis and the evening newspaper printed the following article on July 28, the day after the accident. A hand written note, evidently Dr. Goddard's, was found by the researchers beside one clipping of a newspaper article, covering the event. Dr. Goddard (1922), states in the note that this particular news report was "about as inaccurate account as could be concocted." Goddard marked all the inaccuracies in red ink. The article is quoted verbatim below, and Dr. Goddard's editing marks can be found on a copy in the appendices.

American Alpine Club President Killed in Fall From Mountain Peak.

Glacier Park, Mont. July 27. -(By Associated Press.)- Dr. Frank B. Wynn, 58, of Indianapolis, President of the American Alpine club and one of the country's foremost mountain climbers, was killed today in a 300-foot fall from a cliff near the summit of Mount Siyeh, one of the highest peaks in Glacier National park.

According to Dr. H. Goddard, also of Indianapolis, who was a few minutes behind Dr. Wynn on the trail, the latter's fall followed what appeared to be an apoplectic stroke.

It was believed the 10,000 foot altitude and the exertion of the climb brought on the illness.

They had just neared an unusually steep position of the trail, Dr. Goddard said, when Dr. Wynn, who has [sic] leading, turned and opened his mouth as if to speak. Then, without uttering a word, he pitched forward on the trail. Before Dr. Goddard could cover the intervening distance his body had rolled over the rocky ledge and disappeared. (H. H.. Goddard memoires)

Another clipping from the New York Times, also confused some of the details in the rush to get out the startling news. The contents of the clip are quoted in the block quote below. A reproduction is also available in the appendices for further study and examination.

A DESPATCH [sic] from Glacier National Park today says: Hours of persistent work last night in the fastness of Mount Siyeh in Glacier National Park, resulted in the recovery of the body of Dr. Frank B. Wynn, aged 58 years, of Indianapolis, killed yesterday in a 300-foot fall from a cliff near the mountain's summit. The ledge upon which the body lodged was almos [sic] inaccessible.

Dr. Wynn, president of the American Alpine Club, and one of America's foremost mountain climbers, in company with Dr. H. Goddard, also of Indianapolis, had almost reached top of the mountain, one of the highest peaks in the park, when his companion said, he appeared to suffer an apoplectic stroke and

fell from a narrow ledge. Dr. Goddard was a few minutes behind Dr. Wynn on the trail. The body of Dr. Wynn will be taken to Indianapolis.

The party which Dr. Wynn was leading was composed of a dozen of the most prominent members of the American Alpine Club. Dr. Wynn has guided similar parties through Glacier Park for the past eight years, each year scaling a new mountain and leaving the club mark at the summit. In addition to these expeditions, Dr. Wynn had to his credit the scaling of several of the most difficult alpine peaks. Mount Siyeh and Mount St. Nicholas were the only peaks in the Park which he had never climbed. Twice before his parties attempted Mount Siyeh, but failed. It was hoped that this year would see the club emblem on its summit. Mrs. Wynn, and their son were among the party in the Park, although not on the trip which brought Dr. Wynn's death.

Bonsett (1972) indicated that there were no facilities for postmortem study or embalming in the Park. He said the body was returned to Indianapolis by train where a postmortem study was done, but the delay in performing the test and the autolysis that had by then occurred precluded a definite answer to the cause of death of this most remarkable man. "It seems ironic that his own unusual death was not explained" (p. 1068), says Bonsett (1972) when throughout his entire professional life Dr. Wynn had stressed the importance of the postmortem examination to the understanding of a disease process.

Tributes to Dr. Wynn's Work and Leadership

McBride (1922) reported the passing of Dr. Frank Wynn in Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science and said that he was one of the most useful and

distinguished members of the Academy. He was said to be prompt in his attendance and helpful and practical in his suggestions. In keeping with Aristotle's description of noble leadership attributes, the Proceedings stated, speaking of Dr. Wynn, "In his varied activities he represented the highest type of American manhood" (p.25). Newspaper clippings saved by granddaughter, Barbara Wynn of Monterey California indicate that the funeral for her grandfather was held at his home at 4047 North Pennsylvania Street in Indianapolis. This residence was visited personally by the researcher in the summer of 2007. The present owners were not familiar with Dr. Wynn and were unable to provide any information on his life or activities. The funeral service was conducted by Dr. H. A. Gobin of Depauw University and Dr. C. E. Bacon, superintendent of the Indianapolis district of the Methodist Episcopalian church. Depauw University had conferred upon Dr. Wynn the honorary degree of Doctor of Science, just one month before his unexpected death.



Figure 20: Dr. Hillary A. Gobin, front left, jointly conducted funeral

At the funeral service Dr. Bacon said that Dr. Wynn was a man full of the finest qualities. Loyal, progressive, generous, and broad visioned, are adjectives appropriate in describing his character. These comments are especially meaningful when compared with

the noble states of character such as continence, liberality, and magnificence discussed by Aristotle and reviewed in this study.

At the funeral, Dr. Bacon also spoke of how he had been associated with Dr. Wynn in their joint interest in Depauw University, in the Methodist Hospital, and church work, and that he had always found him a quiet, consistent Christian. Members of the Indianapolis Medical Society in a body, and many other friends of Dr. Wynn attended the services at the home. The active pallbearers were John S. Wright, James M. Ogden, Dr. J. D. Garrett, Dr. Fred Warfel, Dr. John W. Oliver, and Samuel E. Perkins, all of Indianapolis. Honorary pallbearers were Harlow Lindley, a climbing companion of Richmond, William Blanchard of Greencastle, Dr. John N. Hurty, Dr. David Ross, Russell T McFall, and Dr. John H. Oliver, all of Indianapolis. At the funeral, the first formal statement from Henry H. Goddard, who was with Dr. Wynn when he died on Siyeh mountain in Glacier, Montana, was received. Mr. Goddard was the only witness of Dr. Wynn's fall and he was convinced that he suffered a stroke of apoplexy and was dead before the body struck the projecting rocks.

Burial followed the funeral service in Crown Hill Cemetery. The researcher visited Crown Hill Cemetery in 2007 and after some searching found the area where Dr. Wynn and other members of his family are buried. There is even a stone marker there for Barbara Wynn who is still living in California, reserving a place for her along side her parents and grandparents in Indiana.

Newspaper clippings at the museum in the Old Pathology Building on the historic Indiana University campus, examined by the researcher, indicate that Memorial services for Dr. Wynn were held by the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association and the Indiana

Nature Study Club on the Saturday following the funeral. This is an important historical event partly because it established the fact that the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association was operational in 1922. As discussed elsewhere, the timing and the activities of this organization in laying the founding work for the establishment of the Lincoln Memorial in the state has been overlooked in historical records. On Monday evening the Indianapolis Medical Society held their own memorial service for Dr. Wynn attesting to the influence he had in his profession. Dr. Lafayette Page presided over the medical society meeting held at the Indiana Dental College. The Indiana Historical Commission met to honor Dr. Wynn's service just prior to the funeral services. Dr. Page said that "Dr. Wynn's service to the local medical society and to the profession was so splendid and so far reaching that we are not prepared in this hour of sorrow and grief to estimate all that he has been to us" (para 14). Page went on to say that Dr. Wynn had been one of the leading torch bearers ever since he became a member of the society, more than a quarter of a century previous. Page said Wynn's papers were models of scientific study, always admirably presented. He said Wynn always stood and fought for the highest ideals in medicine and his courage, energy and persistence in attaining these fine ideals was unflinching throughout his professional life. These comments again reflect states of character such as courage and continence discussed by Aristotle.

Dr. Hurty (1922), state health commissioner, made the following remarks in tribute to Dr. Wynn. He said Dr. Wynn "did not know the art of making enemies. If he harbored envy or jealousy I never perceived it" (para 16). The commissioner went on to say that

Wynn's sincerity and conscientiousness were evident. His attitude was always open, honest and generous. I frequently worked with him when he was city sanitarian and many times noted his mild and kind character, but he was not soft and afraid as some may have thought. He was a student, a wide and careful reader. He was of the class that can think. His writings showed, in many cases, research. He appreciated poetry and art, and he had a decided religious nature. Dr. Wynn has gone from among us, but his example, his high ideals, his morality, his patient industry, his goodness of heart, his love of his fellow-men and of nature, his fine character, are still before us. (para 17)

Other tributes were paid by Dr. Charles P. Emerson, Dr. John Cunningham, Dr. S. E. Earp, Dr. James H. Taylor, Dr. Murray N. Hadley, and Dr. A. L. Wilson. Resolutions were prepared by a committee consisting of Dr. John W. Oliver, Dr. John McDonald, and Dr. David Ross and were adopted by the medical society, in part as follows.

Again we, are called upon, while enshrouded with grief, to note the passing of a beloved and honored member of our society. It is impossible for your committee to attempt in mere words and phrases adequately to express the measure of loss which the medical profession of this city, state and nation has sustained in the death of Dr. Wynn. He will be missed in almost an equal measure in those things which appeal to the good and progressive citizen, interested in the betterment of mankind.

It seems fitting and wholly appropriate that we quote here the following paragraph of Dr. Wynn's memorial tribute to his great clinical contemporary, the late Dr. Alberta C. Kimberlin.

At this time whilst our memories hark back to the intimacy of our mingling with him, his devotion to this society, his frequent and enlightening participation in its proceedings, his exhaustive and informing articles upon medical subjects, his fine and satisfying grasp of clinical medicine., The wisdom of his counsel, the goodness of his heart, the gentleness of his spirit, the sincerity of his friendship and the greatness of his soul will all be cherished by us as a precious heritage. This eloquent tribute to his departed friend applies equally to him in every measure. Dr. Wynn was a consistent Christian citizen, loyal to his God, but without bigotry or ostentation; loyal to his country, which he served in its hours of trouble; loyal to his family with a tenderness that beggars description, and last of all, loyal to his profession as a teacher and practitioner to the last ounce of his vigorous soul. (para 22)

The Indiana Nature Study Club, is no longer active, but was the organization Dr. Wynn represented when he placed the register on Mount Cleveland in 1920 and was later found by the researcher. This club passed the following resolution shortly after Dr. Wynn's passing.

The death of our worthy president, Dr. Frank B. Wynn on July 27, has taken from us a delightful companion, a sincere friend and a leader whose scientific knowledge and fine enthusiasm have been to the members of this club, a constant incentive to study and to love the universal religion of God's great out-of-doors. To the world of the Nature Study Club he brought the freedom, buoyancy of spirit, and clearness of vision acquired by treading nature's heights and searching wide and deep through his intimate professional life, he gave to us human

sympathy and love, from the laboratory come careful observation and exact judgment and from all the varied walks of life, into which his activities carried him, he brought to us the religious, the philosophical, the scientific and the economic truths which he correlated for the club to the pleasure, instruction and enlightenment of all.

We have suffered a loss irreparable and severe. Of all men, he alone to us combined the many traits to bridge the wide expanse that lies between the difficult, hidden truths of science and their interpretation for the common practice of our daily needs.

What though he was not spared to fulfill the allotted three-score years and ten. Can years alone measure the fullness of a life such as this? His voice shall go ringing down the ages and generations yet unborn shall be the richer for his life. It is for us to use the inspiration of his life and work in the furtherance of those helpful arts of human intellect and emotion to which he gave unselfishly his time and effort. (para 27)

Important to the present study, is the fact that the previous tribute indicated that Dr. Wynn's life and work were an *inspiration* to others. Equally informative is the following tribute, in which Dr. Wynn is referred to as a *leader*. The Lincoln Memorial Association passed the following resolution in appreciation of Dr. Wynn. The resolution below was signed by W. A Guthrie, chairman of the state conservation commission, Dr. John W. Oliver, secretary of the Indiana Historical Commission, Kate Milner Rabb, Harlow Lindley, and Harry Glossbrenner.

Whereas our friend and leader, Dr. Frank B. Wynn distinguished citizen; scholar and nature lover, organizer and founder of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association, has been suddenly taken from our midst, and, Whereas, It was through Dr. Wynn's vision and consecration to the ideals of Abraham Lincoln that a little more than a month ago, twelve loyal Hoosiers, led by his enthusiasm, gathered in the solemn presence of the Lincoln Memorial at the place of his birth, near Hodgenville, Kentucky and then and there pledged themselves not to rest until a memorial shrine is builded in Indiana, commemorating the youth of Lincoln , spent upon Indiana soil, and Whereas, Dr. Wynn was in recognition of his enthusiasm and interest in the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association, unanimously elected its first president: therefore be it Resolved, That we the members of this committee representing the charter members of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association do in this solemn hour express our deepest sorrow and grief over the loss of our friend and president and we each pledge ourselves anew to carry out the purposes of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association the organization of which marked the crowning achievement of the brilliant career of this noble man. (para 34)

The State Department of Conservation issued a proclamation which can be seen in the figure below. This was signed by W. A Guthrie, Chairman, John W. Hollyman, Stanley Coulter, and Ela Wilson.

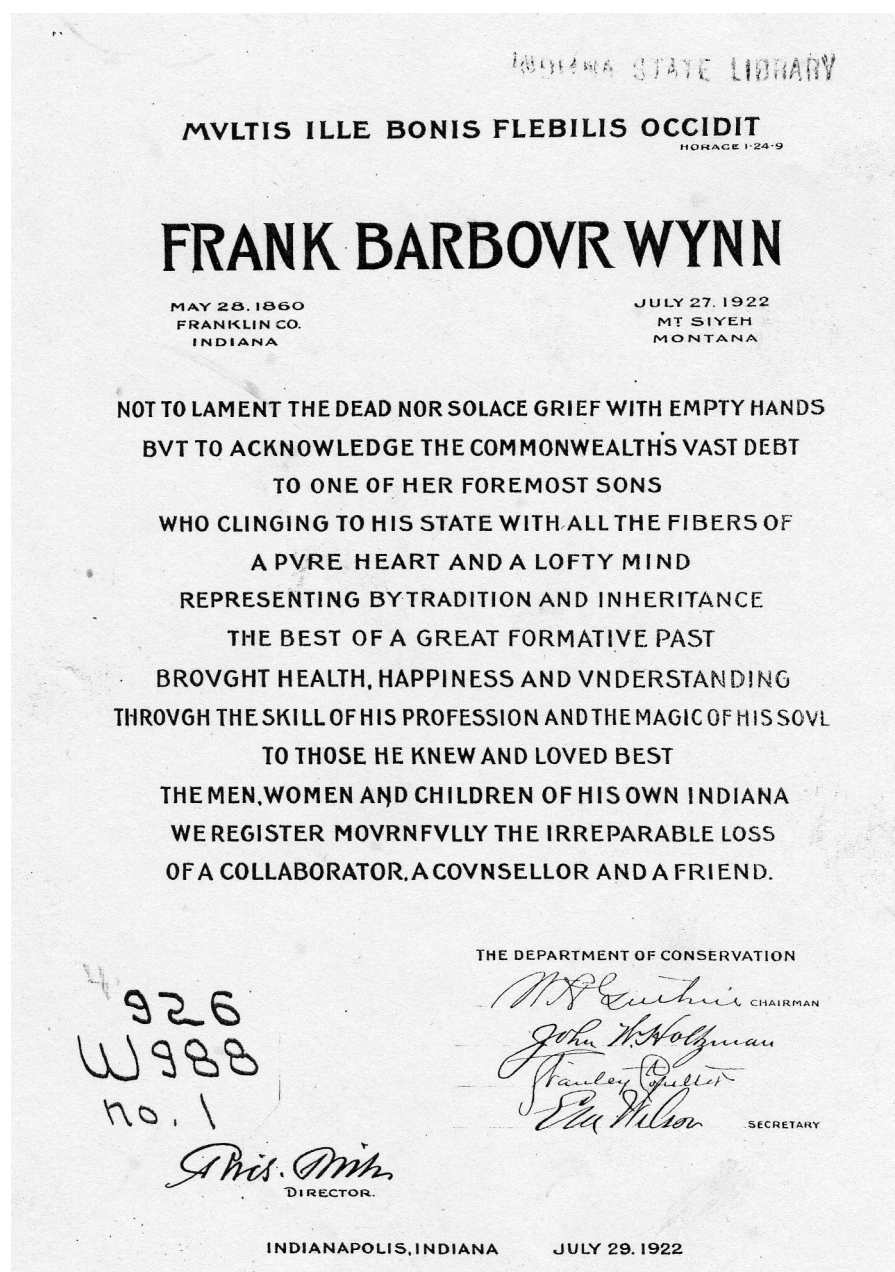


Figure 21: State Department Memorial to Dr. Wynn

Mrs. Frank Wynn received letters of condolence from various parties. One came from Governor McCray of the State of Indiana, and another from Senator Watson of The Congress of the United States. Reproductions of these letters are provided in the Appendices. Another letter came from The Indiana Historical Commission in which Dr. Wynn had been serving as vice-president for a number of years. The letter was

postmarked, August 3, 1922 and contained the resolution shown above and also the following text in the body of the personal letter. Reproductions of these letters can be found in the appendices.

Dear Mrs. Wynn:

The enclosed Resolutions only feebly express the feelings of the Committee appointed to prepare them. On such occasions words of course fall short, but we have endeavored to say that which we sincerely felt regarding the loss that has befallen this organization and kindred organizations with which your distinguished and brilliant husband so ably served. With kindest and most sincere sympathy, I am Very cordially John W. Oliver, Director.

Page 2

RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS: — Our friend and leader Dr. Frank B. Wynn, distinguished citizen, scholar and nature lover, organizer and founder of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association, has been suddenly taken from our midst, and

WHEREAS: — It was through Dr. Wynn's vision and consecration to the ideals of Abraham Lincoln that, a little more than a month ago, twelve loyal Hoosiers led by his enthusiasm, gathered in the solemn presence of the Lincoln Memorial, at the place of his birth, near Hodgenville, Ky., and then and there pledged themselves not to rest until a memorial shrine is builded in Indiana, commemorating the youth of Lincoln, spent upon Indiana soil, and

WHEREAS: - Dr. Wynn was, in recognition of his enthusiasm and interest in the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association. unanimously elected its first President; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: - That we the members of this committee representing the charter members of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association do in this solemn hour express our deepest sorrow and grief over the Loss of our friend and President; and we each pledge ourselves anew to carry on the purposes of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association, the organization of which marked the crowning achievement of the brilliant career of this noble man; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: - That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minute book of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association, and that a copy also be sent to the bereaved family of our deceased friend and co-worker.

John W. Oliver

Kate Milner Rabb

Harlow Lindley

Harry W. Glossbrenner

William A. Guthrie

Mr. John W. Oliver also sat on the Indiana Medical Committee and sent the resolutions mentioned above and a personal letter to Mrs. Frank B. Wynn and her son, James Wynn. The contents of the letter are transcribed below and a copy of the original letter can be found in the appendices. The deep impression Dr. Wynn had made on his colleagues can be sensed in these letters and tributes following his passing.

DR JOHN H. OLIVER

August 4, 1922

Mrs. Frank B. Wynn, and Dr. James A. Wynn,

4047 N. Pensylvania Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

My dear Friends;

I am enclosing the resolutions passed by the Indianapolis Medical Society at a special meeting July 31st. I am pleased to say that the meeting was largely attended, and at no time, as far as I am aware, has there been greater expression of sorrow than was evidenced that night. On behalf of the Committee,

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Oliver.

Another letter came containing a poem composed as a tribute to Dr. Wynn from Mrs. Ada Schweitzer, M. D. The poem is transcribed below and the original, which was mailed to Mrs. Wynn, is reproduced in the appendices.

A Tribute to Dr. Frank Barbour Wynn.

Courage and Strength joy of Life communed with him upon the mountain tops.
Old doubts, the Nagging Cares and Petty Greed of men slunk far below, outdistanced hours before.

And as he thus communed, swayed in the embrace of a Thousand Winds, that sweep and roar through nature's silence, his Soul, new-born yearned for the Heights beyond.

Unselfishly he shared his Inspiration, His circle of Disciples grew, He was their Guide and Counsellor and Friend. He led the way to Heights before unknown, and there he placed a Shrine. ---The Stars together sang a Benediction.

Back in the busy Haunts of Men, he scaled the mountain peaks of Progress.

From one he saw a City Beauteous. Doubters with smoke-dimmed eyes refused the ascent. --- In later years by slow degrees the Transformation came.

From yet another peak, he saw Children of the Commonwealth at play. Today Great chasms, primeval forests, rivers and streams that twist and turn and then flow peacefully remind us of our Century of growth.

Up from the hovering fogs of Ignorance and Superstition, he led scores of Aesculpeans to summits of the Healing Art, where they discerned the un-scaled Peaks beyond.

With undaunted courage, he cleared away the tangled growth of Narrowness and Custom, urging the City ever onward and upward to the Heights of Municipal Expansion.

Always he worshipped, --- Whether in storied temples built by men or in Cathedrals wrought by Nature's forces. --- With reverence he sought communion with the Souls of Men and while he talked with God.

In one short Life he lived so many Lives, all nobly filled with dignity and hope; until at last "Well done" came whispering down the mountain side to set him free.

Loosing its earthly bands his soul triumphant sang on to the goal of his longings, and his prayers.

By Ada E. Schweitzer, M. D. July 30, 1922.

Evidence of Dr. Wynn's Leadership Legacy

References to Dr. Wynn two years after his death is but one indicator of the impression he made on his associates and legacy that would linger for some time. In a

publication of the Nature Study Club of Indiana (1923-1924), an entry for February , 1923 indicates that the Mazamas Club of which Dr. Wynn, Mr. Habbe, and Mr. MacFall were members, sent greens and a young mountain pine to grace the feast. The greens were later placed on the grave of Dr. Wynn, and the pine was planted at Woollen's Gardens near the boulder, where it flourished (p. 4) The club treasurer, Harry W. Glossbrenner, used the apparent influence of Dr. Wynn as part of his explanation for the necessity to increase club dues. He said,

Ever mindful of the interests of the club and conscious of its possibilities, Dr. Wynn, less than thirty days before his passing, spoke of the probable necessity for increasing our dues, and remarked that 'sooner or later our dues must be increased, perhaps, even to \$5.00.' No other similar organization of which we have any knowledge offers so much for so little. (p. 3)

Perhaps the most moving tribute and indication of the legacy Dr. Wynn would leave on the club was evidenced in a resolution unanimously adopted on May 28, 1923.

WHEREAS, The wooded hill known as Block A in Hasselman's Addition, has been acquired by the Department of Public Parks as a small park near Thirty-eighth street boulevard; and,

WHEREAS, The lots immediately south of it, to the south of Watson Road, are still in a state of nature, with large trees, thick undergrowth and a profusion of wild flowers; in short, a bird paradise in the heart of the city; and,

WHEREAS, A woodland park at this place, with Watson Road passing through it, would make a unique, most restful and enjoyable small park; therefore,

Be It Resolved, That the Nature Study Club of Indiana hereby petition the Department of Public Parks of Indianapolis to further purchase the ground south of Watson Road, extending to the first east and west alley and immediately south of Block A, which, including Block A, would contain about six acres, and that the whole be named Wynn Park in memory of Dr. Frank Barbour Wynn, who for many years was a most prominent worker in civic, medical and altruistic lines.

THE NATURE STUDY CLUB OF INDIANA. (P. 5)

On page 15 of the Nature Study Club of Indiana for 1923-24, Mrs. Frank B Wynn is listed as an active member living at 4047 North Pennsylvania Street and her son, Dr. James A Wynn is also listed as a separate member living at 421 in the Hume-Mansur Building. James would have married Louise Wolfe in 1923. Their daughter, Barbara was born January 24, 1924.

After the death of James Wynn on Dec. 4, 1931, the following tribute in the Indiana University Alumni Quarterly (1932) was paid; which is complementary to both James Wynn and his father, Dr. Frank B. Wynn.

Few of the younger Indianapolis physicians had attracted more favorable attention or won greater admiration from their colleagues. He brought to the profession the mind of a scholar, the unflagging interest of the scientist, and the human touch that makes for the greatest proficiency in medicine. In addition he was a man of fine literary and musical judgment and attainments. Dr. Wynn was a son of Dr. Frank B. Wynn, who for many years was one of the best known physicians in Indiana. No greater tribute could be paid Dr. James Wynn than to say that during

the comparatively short time it was given him to lead an active life he strove unceasingly to be a worthy successor to his father.

Dr. James Wynn was survived by his wife, Louise Wolfe and their only daughter, Barbara, who had not yet reached her eighth birthday. He also had two aunts, and an uncle John living at the time in Wisconsin. Barbara Wynn, however was the only relative the researcher was able to contact. Barbara, upon being interviewed, indicated that she only knows of one other relative, and that she thought he was last known to be living in Paris, France.



Figure 22: Louise, Barbara and James Wynn

Dr. Frank B. Wynn and his work was again mentioned ten years after his passing in the yearbook of The Nature Study Club of Indiana. William A. Myers (1932), president of the club opened the book with comments on the nature appreciation activities of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Then he said,

It is not strange then, that the idea of an appropriate Indiana memorial should be announced by our own Dr. Wynn and developed into a plan during a trip of several members of our club through this part of southern Indiana, and to

Hodgenville, Kentucky. The club not only lent its active support to the plan but contributed of its means. (Forward)

Norman Clyde was one of the most ambitious mountain climbers of his day and a member of the Sierra Club out of California. Clyde was well known for achieving over 100 first ascents, many in California's Sierra Nevada and in Montana. When Clyde successfully climbed Mount Siyeh a few years after Wynn's death on the mountain, Clyde spent several hours on the summit constructing a seven foot high cairn of rocks and dedicated the monument to the memory of Dr. Wynn. The Department of the Interior under the direction of President Woodrow Wilson renamed Point mountain in Glacier National Park, Mount Wynn in honor and recognition of Dr. Wynn's accomplishments and leadership in medicine, education and conservation.

Fifty years after Dr. Wynn's death, Dr. Charles Bonsett (Oct., 1972) noticed a bronze plaque on the wall of the Methodist Hospital in Indianapolis, reading *Frank B. Wynn, MD., D Sc. 1860-1922 Eminent Physician, Teacher, Citizen. A Lover of Nature*. The plaque was placed there in 1923 by colleagues and dedicated to Dr. Wynn's memory with "an address by Dr. William N. Wishard who eulogized Dr. Wynn's noble life" (p. 1067). Bonsett (Oct., 1972) felt it was fitting to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. Wynn's passing with a tribute consisting of five pages in The Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association. A full text copy of the article can be found in the appendix. Below are a few passages from the article summarizing a unique leader in American history.

The 62 years of Dr. Wynn's life was crowded with achievement....He made lasting contributions to all his fields of endeavor, and his life provides an inspiring

chapter in the history of Indiana medicine, worthy of emulation.... He was a quiet, kind, capable, energetic man of many talents who generously shared with others the fruits of his labor. (p. 1067)

General information on Dr. Wynn stated throughout this dissertation, that is not otherwise specifically cited, comes from Dr. Bonsett's articles, or conversations, interviews, letters and email exchanges with Dr. Bonsett and Barbara Wynn, in California. Bonsett (1972) concluded his commemorative article on the life of Dr. Wynn by stating that,

The present paper does not consider Dr. Wynn as lecturer, photographer, poet, writer, (medical or otherwise), deacon and church worker. These and most of the other activities mentioned in this paper were things that Dr. Wynn did in his *spare* time. He was primarily engaged in the full-time private practice of medicine, itself a most demanding activity, but not a subject of this paper. How he managed to do so many things and to do them superbly is a distinguishing characteristic which sets him apart from most of us. (p. 1071)

President John F. Kennedy signed an act of Congress in February of 1962, making the Lincoln Boyhood Memorial a fully recognized and full-funded park in the National Park System. During a visit to this park in 2007, the researcher was able to walk through the reconstructed homestead of the Lincoln family examine the marble murals depicting the stages of development in Lincoln's life and gain a greater appreciation for the importance of this memorial and tribute to a remarkable president of the United States.



Figure 23: John F. Kennedy signs act adopting Lincoln Boyhood Memorial

One of the most enduring indicators of Dr. Wynn's legacy is the mountain that was named in his honor. Physician and historian, Charles Bonsett wrote an article detailing the fact that three Indiana physicians had mountains named after them, including Mount Evans near Denver Colorado, Mount Jordan in Kings River Canyon, California and Mount Wynn in Glacier National Park (Bonsett, Feb., 1983). Dr. Bonsett indicated that Dr. Wynn was recognized by the government Parks commission for his work with the Indiana State Park system and also the national park system (Bonsett, 1994) In yet another article, recognizing the work of Dr. Wynn, Dr. Bonsett (Aug., 1985) quoted from a 1923 Indianapolis News clipping that he received from Dr. William B. Niles. The clipping read as follows.

Friends of Dr. Frank B. Wynn – and they were numbered by the thousands – will be glad to know that a mountain peak in Glacier National Park is to bear his name. This peak, designated by the National Geographic Board, rises impressively at the mouth of Canyon Creek, where one of the most used trails of the glacier region winds to Cracker Lake.

Dr. Wynn had climbed mountains in Switzerland, Canada and this country for more than 25 years. He had served as president of the American Alpine Club and had cooperated with the Department of the Interior in mapping trails that less venturesome climbers might use during their excursions in Glacier National Park. Some of his climbing feats, notably his effort to scale Mt. St. Wilbur, have not been duplicated. He died last year while climbing from Piegan Pass up the sides of Mt. Siyeh, one of the Glacier Park peaks.

Nothing could be more fitting as a lasting memorial to the intrepid nature of Dr. Wynn than the action that the government had taken. He loved nature as few love it, and it is especially appropriate that one of nature's monuments should bear his name. Dr. Wynn found companionship in mountains because he was like them. His spirit soared beyond the peaks and his beliefs were as well grounded as the foundations from which the mountains tower. The conservation commission truthfully said of him that it sought only to acknowledge the Commonwealth's vast debt to one of her foremost sons, who clinging to his state with all the fibers of a pure heart and a lofty mind, representing by tradition and inheritance the debt of a great formative past, brought health, happiness and understanding through the skill of his profession and the magic of his soul to those he knew and loved best. In 1919, Dr. Wynn was the first to ascend Going-to-the-Sun Mountain, where he left this original poem in a cairn at the peak to commemorate the event:

Mountain-Top Prayer

Dear Lord, I thank Thee for this view of paradise.

The fearsome trail was hard to do, But worth the price.

The arching canopy of art in Heaven wrought,
Encompasses the very heart of beauteous thought.
In nature's lap of forest green, rests tranquilly
The shimmering lake; the glinting stream leaps joyously.
The serried ranks of snow-clad peaks attention stand,
Like faithful, white-robed sheiks await command.
Thy handiwork! How wondrous and how beautiful!
My soul enraptured bids my hand be dutiful!
The trudging up yon toilsome trail how well repaid!
'Twill help me in life's sore travail, hath courage made!
For strength of limb and will to do and try again,
I thank Thee, Lord, and pledge anew my faith. Amen! (p. 646)

Sixty-five years after the passing of Frank B. Wynn, Dr. Bonsett paid a tribute to the legacy that Dr. Wynn left. Dr. Bonsett said that Dr. Wynn lived at a time when there were relatively few laboratory aids to diagnosis, and that the physician had to mainly rely upon his senses for diagnostic information. "Wynn had unusual acumen and technical ability. He could see, hear, smell and feel subtle manifestations of disease where others of lesser sensibility would fail. And yet he was a very modest person" (p. 1140) In this same article, Bonsett went on to say that in 1987 when the article was written, Dr. Wynn was essentially forgotten, and that his name was not associated with any Indiana structure or institution, yet he performed more essential services for his profession and for the people of the State than perhaps any other physician. Dr. Bonsett then reported on efforts by the medical research librarian at the Indiana Historical Society's Library to gather data on Dr.

Wynn for an educational documentary on his life and services. Upon reading the information on Dr. Wynn the librarian said that “Indiana had no other physician like Dr. Wynn; that since his loss, no one has taken his place. He stands alone, and his shadow is long” (p. 1140).

Conclusion of Wynn’s Biography

For the purposes of this research study, the biography of Dr. Frank B. Wynn concludes here. In time, the researcher may discover more information on the life of this remarkable man, that will add more detail to his history. The facts presented here, thus far, have been gathered, one at a time, piece by piece. Through Internet searches, telephone and email communications, but the overwhelming majority of the data came from personal visits by the researcher to museums, libraries, historical sites, special collections and restricted archives. The Internet searches, phone calls, and email communication were mainly to point toward and arrange to visit the locations where the primary sources of data were found. Helpful data and historical information was obtained directly from Dr. Charles Bonsett and Barbara Wynn.

The data were discovered in random order, here a little and there a little. The researcher has attempted to use the data to reconstruct Dr. Wynn’s life in chronological order for the most part, rather than by themes. The intent was to give the reader an appreciation for how Dr. Wynn’s leadership opportunities came about and how his leadership skills and abilities were developed over time. The events portrayed by this biography provide numerous examples of how the capacity to guide, inspire, motivate, influence and persuade are acquired partly by nature, partly by education and partly through experience. The noble character traits that Dr. Wynn acquired throughout his

lifetime of service are noteworthy exemplars of the states of character described by Aristotle as noble and laudable virtues. The many tributes to Dr. Wynn following his unexpected death are a testament of the degree to which he developed these traits in his life and used them appropriately in his leadership activities.

CHAPTER FIVE

Introduction

The problem this study addressed was the multiplicity of definitions of leadership currently in circulation and the confusion that naturally results from such a state of affairs. This problem became apparent when a study of the life and leadership of Dr. Frank B. Wynn was initially proposed. In the process of establishing the standard by which leadership qualities were to be used for this research, it became immediately obvious that no such standard existed owing to more than 300 definitions of what leadership *might* be.

The central research question of the study asked what elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, what principles are inherently operational within those elements, and can those elements and principles be illuminated in a specific example of leadership when examined from holistic criteria? A literature review was conducted to show what research has been conducted to date relative to the definition of leadership. To further advance the body of knowledge relative to the definition of leadership and to answer the specific research question, the proposed study consisted of four phases of research. In phase one, an etymology of leadership terms was conducted. In phase two, leadership was examined from a logical and historical perspective, independent of context. The writings of Aristotle were the main focus of this logical and historical examination. In the third phase, the researcher examined the purpose, process, forms and rules of definition. In the final phase, the biography of a relatively unknown leader, from another leadership context, was constructed from holistic criteria taken from primary sources of information and historical data.

Conclusions from a Logical and Historical Examination of Leadership

The teachings of Aristotle proved to be extremely valuable to this research because they logically examined leadership concepts as they affect the individual, society, and state. *Nicomachean Ethics* was studied looking for human qualities, states of character, and/or virtues that have proven to be logically and historically effective for human relationship such as leadership, independent of contexts of time period, culture, or conditions. Aristotle's teachings regarding certain human virtues have withstood the test of time, from 350 BCE to the present. He also used many examples of leadership concepts in his teachings from civilizations that predated his time. In other words, he took examples of successful and non successful leaders from all the history he knew and then by means of a logical discussion, outlined the kind of ethical behavior and the states of character that made these individuals successful. The states of character or qualities of leadership that he admonished good men and women to acquire included, courage, temperance, and justice. These three are referred to as the moral virtues. Next came, the intellectual virtues of speculative wisdom and practical wisdom or prudence (which when combined with the moral virtues are called the cardinal virtues). Finally, liberality, magnificence, pride, continence, and friendship constitute Aristotle's complete list of virtues. Aristotle taught that these states of character and mind, referred to as virtues, in general, were acquired and perfected in three ways, by nature, education, and habit (practice or experience). Given Aristotle argued that leadership requires virtuous character and education, it would appear that he addressed and answered over 2,000 years ago the question leadership scholars ask today, that is, how is leadership acquired. Theories have arisen in the past 100 years attempting to answer this question by simply

acknowledging a single aspect of Aristotle's insight. For example, the Great Man theory of leadership would argue leadership is a function of nature, but omits education and habit.

But Aristotle did not argue that these three qualities *are* leadership, but rather through nature acquired by birth, education gifted to us by a teacher, and habit gained from experience, the essential ability necessary to leadership, specifically, the ability to determine the golden mean in the application of the cardinal virtues, forms the leader in the purest sense of leadership. Aristotle, distinct from others before, during, and after him, saw nature, habit, and education as integral to leadership.

Conclusions regarding Definitions of Leadership

In this portion of the study, the logical forms of definition were examined. The purpose was to make certain that in evaluating and formulating definitions of leadership, logical requirements proper to all definitions are followed. As previously noted, there have been an overwhelming number of definitions of leadership in the past century. In fact, as shown in the literature review, Rost reviewed 221 definitions in 1991 and there were an estimated 300 working definitions of leadership by the end of the century.

This research has provided an explanation, at least in part, for the plethora of definitions, the primary insight originating from Aristotle. The key to the explanation lies in the observation Aristotle provided regarding nature, education, and habit being *integral* to leadership. The word integral means nature, education, and habit must exist united as a single attribute or that attribute, leadership, does not exist. Hence, Alexander the Great, clearly having natural qualities suitable for leadership, suspended his vision of Greece and became the student of Aristotle until he has gained the education necessary to

lead. Having achieved an education, Alexander the Great then acquired the habit of leadership through practice and experience. The difficulty with many definitions and, hence, concepts of leadership is the division of nature, education, and habit into separate and independent attributes rather than their integral unity as a single attribute. Aristotle argues that nature itself does not provide leadership; education alone does not create leadership, and experience by itself does not result in a leader. Aristotle saw leadership as the unity of nature, education, and habit, each of which is essential to the whole. This distinction is very useful in understanding the issues in today's leadership theories.

Recommendations for Proposing Definitions

One of the purposes of this research was to provide a structure that would guide the evaluation and development of definition. Some of the greatest philosophers of all time have wrestled with the notion of definition. Aristotle advanced using what is called real definition, defining by illuminating the essence of the concept being defined and then differentiating among members within the same concept that differ specifically rather than nominally or accidentally from other members of the same kind. Aristotle provided different forms of definition as well as rules that guide the formation of definition so as to uniquely describe. These forms and the subsequent rules are specifically proposed here as the standard for evaluating as well as forming definitions. Further, the construct for definition that is provided below is recommended for scholars to use as the form by which previous definitions may be analyzed and future definitions of leadership proposed until such time as additional scholarship has improved upon these forms and criteria.

The quality of definition sought in the literature by so many of the present leadership scholars requires, *a priori*, a blueprint of form capable of producing that level of quality. The following construct is recommended to provide this standard.

The purpose of definition is to uniquely describe. This may be achieved by using (a) essential definition, (b) definition by property, and/or (c) definition by cause so long as the following criteria are met. These forms of definition are explained beginning on page 155.

1. The definition must have a genus and difference, preferably a proximate genus and a specific difference;
2. The definition must be simpler than the definiendum. This includes not using negatives, a form or derivative of the definiendum, circular form, or concepts more complex than the definiendum.
3. The definiendum and the definition must be convertible.

Reflection

This research sought to explore the leadership qualities, if any, of Dr. Frank B. Wynn and present those qualities in the form of a biography covering his life experiences. In order to accomplish this goal, it was necessary to first establish the fundamental principles of leadership. A review of the literature indicated a great deal of confusion regarding the nature of leadership, having over 200 definitions in the modern era alone. Therefore, a review of the etymological derivation of the concept of leadership was proposed in order to identify leadership qualities and rationally guide an examination of Dr. Wynn's life with respect to leadership characteristics.

Further, this research proposed developing a set of criteria that would serve as a standard to both judge the validity of existing definitions as well as develop new definitions. Finally, this research sought to provide an objective definition of leadership based upon the research conducted on historical concepts of leadership, etymology of the concept, and the standards of definition set forth in the conclusions.

To this point, this research has successfully researched the historical signification of leadership, conducted an exhaustive examination of the etymology of leadership, and provided a standard for the development and evaluation of definition. Having met these proposed objectives without formulating an objective definition of leadership, it has become apparent that sufficient understandings of leadership have been revealed, to more than adequately identify the leadership qualities that might be present in Dr. Frank B. Wynn or any other person. Further, providing an objective definition of leadership *per se* will not contribute further to the primary goal of identifying and setting forth the qualities of leadership in the person of Dr. Frank B. Wynn; consequently, the relevant conclusions from the etymological analysis of leadership have been provided in order to summarize those qualities of leadership that have been found to be enduring throughout time.

Etymological Synthesis

The following aspects of leadership can be traced from its many meanings as they matured over the centuries, and/or to concepts closely related or derived from the etymology of leadership. These qualities were subsequently used as the lens through which Dr. Wynn's life and leadership were examined.

The research question asked what elements of leadership are historically and logically independent of context, and what principles are inherently operational within

those elements. When the findings of this research from the etymology and the logical and historical analysis in this research are summarized, the following elements and principles appear to be independent of context.

1. Leadership always involves an agent and an object. The agent or leader is typically found in a position of precedence or authority relative to the object or follower(s).
2. Leadership involves some kind of movement or action by the object or follower(s) initiated in some way by the agent or leader.
3. Leadership can be accomplished in an incalculable number of ways, but the most effective methods incorporate virtuous means such as guidance, direction, inspiration, motivation, influence, and persuasion with the common good as the objective.
4. The agent or leader ought to possess virtue, vision, skill, knowledge, or ability; and those agents with these qualities are, therefore, those who ought to lead.
5. The qualities that have logically and historically proven to be most effective for leadership include, courage, temperance, liberality, magnificence, pride, moral virtue, scientific knowledge, art, intuitive reason, practical wisdom or prudence, continence, and friendship, all of which are found in the mean as extensively discussed and illustrated by Aristotle and has been reviewed beginning on page 94.
6. The qualities listed above are states of character developed from that which is granted by nature, enhanced through education and perfected through experience.

7. Leadership includes the principle that a leader ought to be the source of excellence in the follower rather than a mere trainer; and that their interaction ought to result in progress toward a common good.

These constitute the conclusions from this study regarding enduring elements and principles of leadership that have been identified independent of context and relevant to this research. This means, that these elements should be found in any leadership setting and can be used to analyze any leader or any leadership activity in any time period. These elements and principles should be considered in the formation of any definition of leadership and, as noted, these are the elements and principles that were used to analyze the leadership activities of Dr. Frank B. Wynn.

Conclusions regarding the Study of Dr. Frank B. Wynn

Introduction to the biographical conclusions

The reconstruction of the life history of Dr. Frank B. Wynn was a challenging but interesting and rewarding experience for the researcher. Over 6000 kilometers of travel was required to gather historical data from special collections, museums, and archives in Indiana, and Ohio. Personal visits were also made to important historical locations such as Dr. Wynn's former residences in Indianapolis, the Old Pathology Building where he lectured, the location of the bronze relief carved by Gutzon Borglum, the Lincoln Boyhood Memorial that Wynn proposed, and the Lincoln State Park near Evansville, Indiana. Barbara Wynn was also visited in Monterey California, providing valuable, unpublished information to the study, that otherwise would have never been found, including James Wynn's informative journal and several, moving condolence letters written to Dr. Wynn's surviving family. Barbara also provided access to some personal

items used by Dr. Wynn such as the binoculars he took on his mountain climbing adventures and nature studies. The researcher climbed Mount Siyeh, tracing the footsteps by Dr. Wynn and Dr. Goddard on that fateful, two day trip. This was done, including sleeping on the location they described above Morning Eagle Falls, to ascertain, as closely as possible, how and where Dr. Wynn fell on the mountain. The ascent of Mount Cleveland, by the researcher in 2001, was the event that led to the discovery of the mountain top register documenting Dr. Wynn's claim as the first man to record this achievement. This new discovery of mountain climbing leadership history, in Glacier National Park, generated the initial interest to further explore the accomplishments of this remarkable man.

Elements of Leadership Illuminated in the Biography

A remarkable number of the elements of leadership independent of context, identified in the etymology and analysis of Aristotle's teachings can be illuminated in the life of Dr. Wynn. He was able to act as an agent or leader to influence not only the medical students he taught in the pathology building, but also a nation of medical colleagues through his considerable publications in professional journals. He was able figuratively to move people toward conflict resolution in the combination of the medical institutions of Indiana. Likewise, he was able to literally move people he was guiding up a mountain. Not a single example of physical force or coercion was found by the researcher in all of Dr. Wynn's dealings with people, but he was able to persuade Marshal Foch, the most powerful General in World War I, and commander of the combined military troops of fifteen allied nations, to visit Indianapolis during a brief and busy visit to the United States following the Great War. Statements in the biography,

indicating that he was one of best diagnosticians in the nation, are evidence that he possessed superior skills, and knowledge. Statements regarding his moral integrity, given at his funeral services, attest to his superior character and fitness to lead. He demonstrated courage in mountain climbing as well as in conflict resolution. He showed temperance in his reverence for things spiritual and, the physical, human body. He demonstrated liberality, magnificence, and pride in such activities as commissioning a statue of a respected predecessor, establishing an impressive medical library and specimen collection, and proposing a memorial to honor and commemorate the early life of Abraham Lincoln spend on Indiana soil. His medial articles and emergency delivery of a baby in a ranger's cabin in the mountains, are just some examples of his diverse scientific and practical knowledge. His poetry and photography demonstrate the acquisition of Aristotle's character called *art*. Dr. Wynn demonstrated intuitive reasoning by his skill in diagnosing disease with remarkable ability in a time period prior to the advent of modern medical technology. His establishment of the Indiana Historical Society shows practical wisdom. His ability to publish articles, organize statewide centennial celebrations, keep up his medical practice and lecture medical students throughout the World War years is evidence of continence and determination. And finally, the many eulogies and letters of condolence from prominent citizens of Indiana including the governor and a senator indicate his wide circle of friendship and influence.

Dr. Wynn's life depicted in biographical form illustrates the three-fold combination of nature, education and experience in the development of element essential to leadership ability. He was undoubtedly gifted by nature with certain abilities, but his education in Europe and America combined with life-long study and learning, coupled

with years of habituation or life experiences, perfected his ability to lead, guide, direct, motivate, and influence others in his profession sphere and wide circle of acquaintances. Examples of how he was a source of excellence in others include the large number of medical professionals and institutions that followed his lead and participated in exhibitions at the annual conventions of the American Medical Association. The fact that his son, James followed in his father's footsteps in medicine is another example. And as final witnesses of how he was a source of excellence in others, the world has the impressive Lincoln Boyhood Memorial in southern Indiana visited by tens of thousands annually and the majestic Mount Wynn in Glacier National Park, dedicated to Dr. Wynn for his conservation efforts throughout the United States.

A newspaper article written two days after his death said that "no man stood higher in his profession and none stood higher in the esteem of his fellow-citizens" (Ind. News. July 28, 1922). The same article said there was a steady call for the application of his learning and wisdom. He was interested in history, understood nature's moods and ways, loved his garden, knew the poets, and the great and simple truth of life. He had a large circle of friends who had the highest respect for him as a physician and love for him as a man.

Final Recommendations

To understand the findings of this study, it is necessary to distinguish between the *how* and the *what* of leadership. Many of the 300 or more definitions of leadership, currently in circulation deal with *how* leadership is performed or *how* it is accomplished. This study has focused on *what* leadership is. Although it may not seem so at first, there is a difference between *what* leaders do and *how* they do it. The difference can be

especially tricky or confusing in differentiating between *what* leaders do and *how* they behave. The casual person might see little or no difference between what a leader does and how he or she performs. However, understanding this difference must be understood in order to fully comprehend the conclusions. The difference can, perhaps, be made more clear by way of the following sentences. Leadership is demonstrated when people are guided, directed, inspired, motivated, influenced or persuaded to do something. Guidance, direction, inspiration, motivation, influence, and persuasion can be accomplished in an infinite number of ways, but when any of these things occur, then leadership is what caused it to happen. Leadership is *what* some people are able to demonstrate more or less than others. The techniques of leadership are *how* they actually achieve or demonstrate leadership. This is the difference between *what* leadership is and *how* it is demonstrated or accomplished.

The first recommendation resulting from this study, is that scholars and practitioners should be more careful and more precise in their language when discussing leadership concepts. Part of the problem with dialog surrounding leadership study is that the word means so many different things to so many people. To be more precise in usage, the word *leadership* should be combined with other adjectives or modifiers to better communicate intended meaning. Especially when leadership in common usage can refer to a predominant position, a group of people at the head of an organization, a set of behaviors, or a passionate stirring of emotions. To be all things to all people is asking much of a single word, and is responsible for much of the confusion and discord identified as the problem in this study.

To resolve this problem, and to clarify meaning, the use of descriptive adjectives in describing leadership concepts would be very helpful. The word *leadership* itself can be used as an adjective in many cases rather than alone, as a noun, so that the intended meaning is better communicated and understood. For example, rather than saying, *the leadership of the party is up for election this fall*, a more precise statement would be, *the leadership office of the party is up for election this fall*. In the latter phrase, the office or position is the object of the sentence and the focus of the statement. Rather than saying, *young people coming into the profession lack leadership*, it would be more precise to say, *young people coming into the profession lack leadership ability*. In the latter phrase, again the meaning of the word *leadership* need not change in order to communicate the intention of the sentence. Rather than using the phrase, *there is a leadership meeting this afternoon*, it would be better to say, *there is a meeting for the leadership group this afternoon*. In this latter way, the focus of the sentence is on a body of people, where the focus is intended, rather than on their abilities to persuade or inspire. *There is a leadership meeting this afternoon*, could be stated as, *there is a leadership development meeting this afternoon*, if the focus of the meeting is on development of leadership *skills and qualities* rather than a budget or planning meeting for the leadership *group*. Other examples of using the word leadership as a precisising adjective would include such phrases as, leadership attributes, leadership behavior, and leadership performance. Even when the term *leadership* is used as an ability or skill, the precise meaning of the word can be better communicated if it is used as an adjective, such as in the phrases, leadership ability, leadership inspiration, or leadership influence. In these cases the meaning is made especially clear.

The second recommendation, is very similar, in intent, to the first recommendation. Understanding is facilitated when the term *leadership* is preceded by a clarifying or precisising adjective. In other words, it is recommended that phrases such as transformational leadership, servant leadership, or bureaucratic leadership, be continued as a useful means of describing *how* leadership guidance or influence is accomplished. These precisising phrases help distinguish between all the various ways in which leaders are able to guide, inspire, motivate, influence or persuade. Such distinctions will always be necessary as the leadership phenomenon is further studied.

A rule of thumb for these first two recommendations is that, because of the wide range of meaning currently associated with the leadership term, whenever possible, the word should always be used as an adjective or in conjunction with another adjective, in order to communicate more precise meaning. Use couplets such as *leadership team* when referring to a group at the head of an organization, *leadership behavior* when discussing certain actions or mannerisms, and phrases like *democratic leadership*, when describing a specific approach to leading or directing an organization. In all of these cases, the definition of the word leadership need not change. A new definition is not needed for every aspect or special condition of leadership.

One of the strongest recommendations coming from this study is that the leadership community should cease to argue over the definition of leadership. It should accept a fundamental definition for leadership and then to adopt the practice of using precisising couplets or leadership phrases to uniquely describe specific leadership aspects or leadership concepts. For example, some persons may have good reason to argue that leadership should be defined as a power. Expressed in terms of a genus and differentia,

this could be, *leadership is the power to influence others*. While the researcher has little difficulty accepting this definition, this aspect of leadership could just as easily be expressed as, *leadership power, is a force that influences others to do something*. Using this definition allows an author or researcher to explore leadership power without the need to convince the entire leadership community that they all need to change their definition of leadership and accept the suggestion that it is a *power*. This is important because many people currently hold that leadership is a relationship rather than a power. Those who so believe need not argue with those who believe it is a power. Each camp merely needs to coin precising terms for their concept, such as *leadership power* or *leadership relationship*, or if they do not like the combination of two *ships*, they could adopt the term *leading relationship* or perhaps *leadership relations* and give the term a precising definition such as, *leadership relations are bonds between members of a group that allow, encourage and facilitate mutual guidance and motivation toward a common goal*. Rather than having 300 definitions of leadership all vying for supremacy, it seems much more practical, more logical and more productive to have a common basic definition for leadership and then as many leadership couplets as necessary to identify and distinguish particular and various leadership concepts that require further study.

The final recommendation is that, because there are an infinite number of ways in which a leader can guide, direct, inspire, motivate, influence and persuade others, and because this ability is acquired through nature, education, and practice, it is recommended that the lives of many other leaders be examined in biographical detail, such as has been done in the case of Dr. Frank B. Wynn. Many more studies of this kind would be beneficial in showing how various people acquired their leadership abilities

through their own personal experiences and in their own unique context. Exploring an entire life shows how leaders are able to use successes and failures at different stages in life in order to find the golden mean in the acquisition of various character traits or leadership techniques. Descriptive biographies of numerous leaders can not only be instructional and informative on leadership behavior, but the stories themselves can be a source of inspiration and motivation for leadership practitioners.

Dr. Bonsett (1974) wrote an article on Sarah Bolton, who was Indiana's Pioneer Poet Laureate. Sarah Bolton's best known poem is Paddle Your Own Canoe. Dr. Bonsett said that this was not her best poem but the most widely published. This poem makes a suitable ending to this research and reinforces the idea that examining the acquisition of leadership ability can result from studying the lives of various, individuals in a variety of settings.

Voyager upon life's sea,
To yourself be true,
And whatever your lot may be,
Paddle your own canoe.
Never, though the winds may rave,
Falter or look back;
But upon the darkest wave
Leave a shining track.
Paddle your own canoe.

Nobly dare the wildest storm,

Stem the hardest gale,
Brave of heart and strong of arm
You will never fail.

When the world is cold and dark,
Keep your aim in view;
And toward the beacon work,
Paddle your own canoe. ...

..Would you crush the giant wrong,
In the world's free fight?
With a spirit brave and strong,
Battle for the right.
And to break the chains that bind
The many to the few
To enfranchise slavish mind,-
Paddle your own canoe.

Nothing great is lightly won,
Nothing won is lost,
Every good deed, nobly done,
Will repay the cost.
Leave to Heaven, in humble trust,
All you will to do:

But if succeed, you must

Paddle your own canoe. (Bolton, 1851)

Research Summary

The impetus for this study was the desire to examine the leadership of a person from another time period and cultural setting. This introduced the problem of assessing leadership in various contexts, which in turn led to the realization that, currently there is no commonly accepted definition of leadership, independent from any specific context. On the contrary, there are hundreds of definitions in circulation, each dealing with various perceptions of leadership relative to specific leadership settings. To address this problem, the goal of the research was to identify elements and principles of leadership that would be integral to leadership per se. To identify the common elements of leadership and work toward a definition that would apply to any setting, this research began by conducting a thorough etymology, tracing the origins of the words, lead, leader and leadership in the English language. This examination showed that while the term *leadership* has only been used in English for about 200 years, the words *lead* and *leader* can be found in even the very oldest extant English texts. Equivalencies of the word *leadership* can be found in older languages such as the Greek word, *hegemony*.

The study then examined Aristotle's works entitled *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* for elements of leadership applicable to any context. Virtuous states of character honed by the doctrine of the mean emerged as integral to the nature of leadership independent of setting. The virtues such as courage, temperance, liberality, magnificence, magnanimity, pride, good temper, truthfulness, wittiness, friendliness, modesty, and

righteous indignation were shown to be characteristics of leadership necessary for individuals and communities seeking a common good.

Having examined the origins and elements of leadership, the study then turned to the exploration of the criteria necessary for the proper formation of a definiens or definition that will uniquely describe the definiendum or the concept to be defined. The various kinds of definitions and their rules of formation were outlined.

Finally, using the data gathered in the etymology of leadership terms, combined with Aristotle's doctrine of the mean and virtuous states of character, the life of Dr. Frank B. Wynn was researched and reconstructed as an interpretive biography. Leadership activity by Dr. Wynn that illustrated examples from the etymology or virtuous states of character discussed by Aristotle were identified. This study laid much of the groundwork necessary for the formulation of an objective definition of leadership capable of providing the qualities of leadership necessary for all contexts in which leadership is exercised.

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APPENDICES

Note: The appendices to this dissertation consist of over 300 pages of digitally reproduced primary sources and documentation. Many of these pages contain high definition graphics which can be enlarged for detailed reading and examination. The high definition of these images makes the file size of the entire dissertation too great for distribution through email in electronic format. The appendices are therefore available as a separate document, available in some digital repositories or obtainable directly from the author, David Clyde Walters. At publication time, David Clyde Walters resides in Taber, Alberta Canada and can be reached at 5214 – 51 St. Taber, Alberta, Canada, T1G 1M3. By telephone at 403- 223-0039 or by email at david.walters@horizon.ab.ca or waltdc@uleth.ca