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TRAINING THROUGH BLOOD AND FIRE: THE LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT OF JOSHUA LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN

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by

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Introduction

In his book *The Twentieth Maine*, John Pullen wrote that "leadership is a quality that is complex and not too well understood. Yet a great deal could be learned about the subject from a study of Chamberlain's life in the army."[1] While Civil War historiography focusing on Chamberlain has accelerated since then, modern Chamberlain biographers point out that Joshua L. Chamberlain was a relatively unknown until the late 1980s, when Michael Shaara wrote his novel *The Killer Angels.*[2] Since then, Chamberlain has gained popularity in the North and South, among Civil War scholars and enthusiasts alike. The body of Chamberlain literature covering his life before, during, and after the Civil War does well to cover his embodiment of leadership qualities as Pullen suggests. But for students of leadership, differing perspectives of who Chamberlain was and how he became a successful commander at the tactical and operational levels of war diminish his potency as a case study in military leadership. For example, Wallace, Pullen, and Trulock paint Chamberlain as a modest, humble, caring leader.[3] Longacre, on the other hand, offers a different perspective, pointing out that Chamberlain was often very concerned with reputation, potentially exaggerating field reports and post-war accounts of engagements to bolster his narrative and legacy.[4] Nuances aside, all Chamberlain experts assert that he had a large, positive impact in every leadership role he held, including commands at the regiment, brigade, and division levels during the war and as Governor of Maine, President of Bowdoin College, and Commander of the Maine Militia after the war.

The modern U.S. Army has also used Chamberlain as a leadership case study for over thirty years. In 1983, the Army published Field Manual 22-100, *Military Leadership*, which stated "Throughout history…leaders have often had a greater impact on the outcomes of battle than the number of soldiers or technology."[5] As LTC Fred J. Hillyard points out, the Army used

Joshua L. Chamberlain and his exploits on Little Round Top and at Appomattox to exemplify effective battlefield leadership using the Army's mantra of "BE-KNOW-DO."[6] The current Army field manual for tactical leadership, FM 6-22 "Army Leadership: Competent, Confident, Agile," continues to use Chamberlain as a centerpiece.[7] But FM 6-22 falls victim to the same "great man" theory concerning Chamberlain that perpetuates his legend. Without expanding the aperture to examine Chamberlain's upbringing, experiences at Bowdoin, early Civil War experience, and post-war life, his actions in these two snapshots in time are just great war stories. Understanding his challenges, shortcomings, leadership lessons learned, and perspectives on leadership is just as important as his actions in command.

Since FM 6-22 focuses on what effective leaders do and not necessarily how effective leaders are made, it ignores one of the most interesting and paradoxical facts about Chamberlain as a military commander: he had no military training before earning his commission as lieutenant colonel in the Maine Volunteers. To clarify, this means no "formal" military training; he did attend Major Whiting's Military Academy for a year when he was 14 years old.[8] Also, according to Longacre, he may have mustered a few times with the Maine Militia.[9] Nevertheless, until he arrived at Camp Mason for the mustering of the 20th Maine Regiment, Chamberlain had no association with the regular army. He arrived at Camp Mason in the summer of 1862. Less than a year later, in July 1863, he skillfully maneuvered his regiment at Little Round Top and culminated the engagement with a well-timed counterattack, an action that earned him the Medal of Honor. This begs the question: how did he come to personify tactical and operational success as a commander? There was a clear delineation between volunteer officers and the professional officer corps. Chamberlain wrote, while reflecting on the relative merits of the volunteer versus the regular soldiers, that "as to the regular officers, there can be no question of their superior

qualifications. They are educated for this profession, and specially in all that serves as basis for loyalty to country."[10] But as Chamberlain demonstrated, some of the volunteer officers and "political generals" had significant capacity for combat leadership. Where did it come from? And how did they learn to embrace it?

Purpose

This essay analyzes Joshua L. Chamberlain's upbringing and Civil War experience from a military leadership perspective. In so doing, it provides background and context for the leadership case study in FM 6-22 so that students in the profession or arms can put the "how" behind the "what" of Chamberlain's success as a small-unit leader. This does two important things. First, it broadens Chamberlain's applicability to a wider audience. Although the case study appears in an Army field manual, Chamberlain's life in general and his experience as an infantry commander can be a source of guidance for officers across the services and through all levels of war (tactical, operational, and strategic). Second, it personalizes his success. By putting Chamberlain's actions on Little Round Top and conduct at Appomattox on a pedestal, it becomes difficult to emulate his leadership character. Few officers will find themselves in situations such as those. Examining a broader scope of Chamberlain's experience in leadership situations makes it easier for students to relate. It also demonstrates that leadership is not inherently innate. Chamberlain worked hard to improve his qualities, and he offers a model for leaders seeking to improve themselves.

Chamberlain's success as a regimental, brigade, and division commander in the Civil War was not a product of his aura as a "great man." It was a factor of three tangible and measurable things: his personality, interactions with role models and peers as a child and young adult (his parents, teachers, and friends), the skills he developed and honed in order to succeed at

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Bowdoin as a student and professor, and the influence of his peers and superior officers in the Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac. This essay will analyze Chamberlain's personality traits, with a focus on those that fed into his capacity as a combat leader. It will then tie these traits and behavioral motivations to specific manifestations in action and decision throughout his life. Next, it provides an overview of his childhood experiences and time at institutions of higher learning. Influential people in these stages of his life imparted on him a tireless work ethic, a unique approach to learning, and senses of loyalty and integrity. Hard work and "knowing how to learn" accelerated his grasp of military command, both on and off the battlefield. Loyalty and integrity rounded out his reputation as a solid commander, because it drove him to care for his personnel and stay out of politics within the Army of the Potomac. Lastly, this essay describes Chamberlain's interactions with the other officers in the Army of Potomac to show that his talent for observation, study, and internalization allowed him to assess the other leaders in the Union Army's "spit and polish" corps. Using his skills for deep understanding through observation and analysis, he evaluated good and bad officers alike and shaped his leadership philosophy around the most effective examples.

Chamberlain's Personality

Chamberlain's depiction in *The Killer Angels* and his actions at Appomattox (described briefly in FM 6-22) portray him as a highly sympathetic and humble leader. In *The Killer Angels*, one of the strongest vignettes is his handling of the mutineers from the Second Maine Regiment. Having been duped by a Maine recruiter into signing three-year enlistments while the rest of the regiment had only signed for two years, about 150 men were arrested and put under guard for failing to obey orders and perform duties. Receiving these men as a newly promoted regimental commander shortly before Gettysburg, Chamberlain leveled with the men, hoping to diffuse the

situation by "treating them like soldiers," not criminals. He also promised to address their concerns with Governor Washburn of Maine.[11]

However, Chamberlain, like most people, was a mixture of somewhat competing personality traits and motivations. He was sympathetic and empathetic as this vignette shows; but he was also labeled a strict disciplinarian.[12] Likewise, he was humble, even bashful at times, arguably stemming from his speech impediment as a child. But when examining his personal correspondence and memoirs, it is difficult to ignore his ambition and sense of entitlement to occupy positions of esteem and prestige. For example, after mustering out of the Union Volunteers as a Brigadier General and losing his title as Brevet Major General (earned for actions at Quaker Road), he wrote a letter to Senator Lot Morrill lobbying for a permanent commission to that rank, saying that "Others have been appointed to every grade, whose military record I am not afraid to have brought into comparison with my own."[13] This dichotomy between humility and ambition was just one example of Chamberlain's competing personality traits. In the struggle to maintain humility and appear humble to his peers and subordinates, he gained respect. Because of his drive to achieve success and appear successful to others, he worked harder than most. Both of these were essential to his success with the 20th Maine. The following paragraphs summarize a variety of personality traits and motivations that enabled Chamberlain to succeed in combat leadership. These include "sensation-seeking," ambitious, empathetic, disciplined (both self-disciplined and "strict but fair" with others), deliberate in thought, courageous (both under fire and for protection of integrity), humble, and patriotic.

Many of Chamberlain's post-war writings lead readers to believe that patriotism was the reason he volunteered for the Union. This was, no doubt, a large part of the equation. According to Chamberlain, "The flag of the nation had been insulted. The honor and authority of the Union

had been assaulted in open and bitter war. The north was at last awake to the intent and the magnitude of the Rebellion…"[14] In a letter to Samuel Abbott in 1911, he summed up his views on why the North fought:

> …We were fighting for our Country, with all that this involves,-not only for the defence of its institutions, but for the realization of its vital principles and declared ideals. The crisis marked not merely an incident of time, but a momentum of force in the nation's life. The fight to preserve it from destruction has a historical, if not moral, value which should not be lost sight of. I am not in sympathy with any movement or proposition which would deny, obscure or ignore that fact.[15]

But Chamberlain was also an adventure-seeker and romantic. After graduating Bowdoin, Chamberlain attended a theological seminary in Maine, but he soon realized that a subsequent career as a minister was not going to fully satisfy his "sensation-seeking" personality. He wrote that instead of languishing in a parish performing sermons day in and day out, he would prefer instead to go to some "heathen place" as a missionary.[16] The same adventure-seeking motivation held true for his military service. As Pullen wrote, "To Chamberlain, the war would act as an adventure."[17] This remained true even after the war; having been offered a commission as a Colonel in the regular army, Chamberlain turned it down, writing that "Soldiering in a time of peace is almost as much against my grain as being a peace man in time of war."[18] Granted, his Petersburg wound greatly diminished his capacity to lead operations in the field. But, in his own words, the need for a high-paced, high risk lifestyle in or outside of the military was his nature. Patriotism was an important part of Chamberlain's leadership character, but it might have been incomplete were it not for his "sensation-seeking" personality as well.[19]

The preponderance of Chamberlain writers tend to focus on Chamberlain's sympathetic and empathetic nature. There were countless manifestations of this throughout his life. His actions during the first night at Fredericksburg, Virginia were a great example. As the Twentieth Maine lay prone on the field in front of Marye's Heights, their advance checked by well-fortified

Confederate positions, many Union soldiers lay wounded and dying through the night. Before the ambulances and medics arrived, Chamberlain moved around in the dark administering as much treatment as he could and took down the last wishes of the dying.[20] Also, the incident of the 2d Maine Regiment mutiny is an often-cited example of Chamberlain's sympathetic nature and "servant leadership" style. Not only did Chamberlain attend to these men's basic needs (food, rest, etc.), he stayed true to his promise of addressing their grievance with Governor Washburn of Maine. After Chamberlain's death, an unidentified author wrote a letter to his daughter Grace, who at the time was compiling a biography. This admirer looked for a record of 120 to 150 Maine men guilty of mutiny during the Civil War. He found no records, indicating that Chamberlain had in fact "did all that he could" to the point where no mutineer was recorded as such. In effect, he gave them all clean records on account of their actions at Gettysburg.[21] Even after he mustered out of the Army, he worked to set things right for those under his command. In a letter to Secretary of State William Henry Seward, he asked that back-pay be sent to a family in Germany for a deceased member of the First Maine Cavalry named George Summatt.[22] He also consistently wrote letters and attended hearings to bolster the reputations of his peer generals, like his friend General Alexander S. Webb, for whom he wrote a letter to the Senate in 1900 extolling the general's actions at Gettysburg, hoping to restore his retirement benefits.[23] He went so far as to risk his own personal reputation testifying on behalf of his colleagues to justify their command decisions in combat, as was the case with Governeur Warren.[24] And, as Appomattox demonstrated, he also sympathized with the enemy: "At the same time, no one must doubt the heartiness and wholeness with which I recognize the manhood, the brotherhood, and the deep unity of a common faith with our own, on the part of those against whom we had to carry our contention to the triumphant end."[25]

But as Wallace points out, Chamberlain could wield the stick as well. In discipline, he was strict but fair.[26] In Chamberlain's own words, "discipline was the soul of armies…taken in the long run, and in all vicissitudes, an army is effective in proportion to its discipline."[27] After the war, having seen three years of combat, he realized that discipline served as a source of fighting spirit when the novelties of patriotism and camaraderie wore off under the tide of bloody conflict. As Chamberlain said, "there seemed some slackening of the old nerve and verve; and service was sustained more from the habit of obedience and instinct of duty, than with the sympathetic intuition which inspires men to exceed the literal of orders or of obligations."[28]

There is strong evidence to support Wallace's claim that Chamberlain was a disciplinarian, and that he put his views on discipline into practice. After assuming command of the Twentieth Maine, he learned of Union and Confederate fraternization occurring across the Rappahannock as the Army began moving towards Gettysburg. Out of fear that secrecy might be compromised, he ordered it stopped at once and had the adjutant order the picket leader to shoot any Union soldier returning from the Rappahannock. It had the intended effect, incidents of fraternization within the Twentieth Maine stopped without any actual punishments; the show of force was enough.[29] He had one of his company commanders, Lieutenant James H. Nichols, arrested for a week for being drunk on duty.[30] Because of recurring alcohol incidents, Chamberlain did not endorse him for promotion despite his battlefield conduct. However, he transferred him out of the infantry to the cavalry because of his "personal courage and enterprise."[31] His handling of the Second Maine mutiny was not positive for all involved, either. He made good on his promise of "the heavy hand" for the mutineers who would not come around (namely Charles C. Brown, William H. Wentworth, and Henry H. Moor). After Gettysburg, he wrote to the adjutant recommending that these men be removed under provost

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guard and brought to trial.[32] There was also the incident of an inadvertent discharge during the march back to Washington after Appomattox, which mortally wounded a nearby officer. Chamberlain even admitted that it might have been an "accident," but he doled out punishment anyway.[33] These examples do not detract from Chamberlain's sympathetic hand or father-like persona. What they show is that an effective balance of discipline and sympathy is a requisite for effective command.

Chamberlain held himself to high standards, knowing that setting the example of self-discipline was crucial for expecting discipline in others. He wrote that

> while yielding to none in my appreciation of the honor due to 'the man behind the musket,' that the military efficiency of such is largely affected by the instruction, discipline, and influence of those in authority and responsibility over them, and their success and fame largely due to the manner in which they are 'handled.' A command is likely to be what its commander is. There are crises when confidence in his ability turns the scale of the battle.[34]

Chamberlain meant that if a commander maintains a level of mediocrity, either from lack of study or disregard for proficiency, the regiment also fails to achieve its true potential. Trying not to undermine the motivation and talent of the individual soldier, he was convinced that they would emulate the behavior and mindset of the officers in charge. Consequently, self-discipline was crucial for building a disciplined unit.

Self-discipline was a large part of his life. At school in Brewer, Maine, he suffered a bruised hand without a word, delivered by an older classmate who was put in charge for a day. He then returned the favor the next day when it was his turn to be in charge, out of principle, not revenge. He willfully dealt with a life-long speech impediment to become a professor of oration at Bowdoin and highly sought-after lecturer. He taught himself breathing techniques to slow down before having to pronounce the letters "b", "p," and "t," and he also learned to scan a page for the hurdle syllables and melodically sing his way through a reading.[35] This puritan

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persistence demonstrated a work ethic that would serve Chamberlain well throughout his life. He was largely self-taught, but met the strict entry requirements into Bowdoin College, teaching himself Greek and polishing his Latin under the tutelage of William Hyde (a former teacher from Whiting Academy).[36] One can speculate that Chamberlain worked himself to exhaustion; he often suffered unknown illnesses that would lay him out for weeks or months. He missed an entire year at Bowdoin because of an unknown illness.[37] He also missed months of campaigning during the Civil War because of medical leave, sometimes due to "malarial fever," sometimes for unknown reasons. A pattern emerged that involved months of hard work to the point of physical collapse, followed by weeks or months of doctor-prescribed bed rest.[38]

Another personality paradox consisted of Chamberlain's humility that tamed a healthy ambition. His humility led him to make some very important decisions that contributed to his development into a strong small-unit leader. When writing to Governor Washburn of Maine offering his services in the Maine Volunteers, he wrote that "I know nothing of military affairs, but know how to learn."[39] Despite his lack of preparation, Washburn offered him a colonelcy and command of a regiment, which he declined, preferring to be second command instead.[40] Had he accepted command like many of the "political generals" of the day, he would not have met Brevet Major General Adelbert Ames, his first immediate supervisor in the Civil War who had a large influence on his leadership philosophy. Despite his success throughout the war, he remained humble until the end. At Appomattox, he was almost put in charge of a division when General Samuel W. Crawford, then commanding the Third Division of the Fifth Corps, was dragging his feet. But Chamberlain turned it down, telling his then V Corps commander Brigadier General Charles Griffin "pardon me, but you must not do that. I would make trouble for everybody, and I do not desire the position. It would make a great disturbance among

Crawford's friends, and if you will pardon the suggestion they may have influence enough at Washington to block your confirmation as Major-General. Besides, I think General [Henry] Baxter of the Third Division is my senior; that must settle it."[41]

Humility ran throughout Chamberlain's leadership philosophy, forcing him to work hard so that he could learn the business, and it also helped him gain respect amongst his peers and superiors. Even Chamberlain admitted, however, that it was a somewhat forced humility. Responding to those that asked him how he won the honor of receiving the surrender at Appomattox, he wrote that "I had never indulged in loose talk, had minded my own business, did not curry favor with newspaper reporters, did not hang around superior headquarters, and in general had disciplined myself in self-control and the practice of patience, which virtue was not prominent among my natural endowments."[42] This suggests that Chamberlain had a healthy streak of confidence and ambition that he purposefully muted. Even in young adulthood, Chamberlain was concerned with public perception. When asked by his Bowdoin friends to speak at their commencement, he declined despite their persistence: "I declined on the spot and have resigned formally; but they will not listen to any refusal on my part, and I don't know what I shall do. I am sure I shall do nothing even to sustain my present reputation."[43] In a letter to his wife Fannie, he wrote that "I do not think I am a very great genius, but I sometimes think such thoughts as are drifting thru my head may sometimes be turned to good."[44] He would not boast or seek advancement within military circles, but he did use Fannie as an outlet for bragging. He also asked her to lobby back home for political support for a promotion to colonel should Ames leave the regiment as a new brigade commander.[45] Once the Civil War ended, Chamberlain became emboldened regarding self-promotion; the aforementioned letter to Senator Morrill in which Chamberlain lobbied for his own appointment to major general is a perfect example.[46]

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Much like the paradox between Chamberlain's sympathetic and disciplinary streaks, his humility and ambition seem contradictory. In reality, Chamberlain capitalized on the positives inherent within each to establish an effective leadership presence. His humility prevented him from becoming overconfident. That combined with a strong desire to succeed drove him to work harder than most, which resulted in respect and credibility from superiors, subordinates, and peers during the war.

Of course, no discussion of Chamberlain's personality would be complete without reviewing his courage, which was two-fold. His battlefield courage was without question, and much of it stemmed from a combination of four things. The first was his religious faith. To his sister Sally, he wrote that "Most likely I shall be hit somewhere at some time, but all 'my times are in His hand,' and I cannot die without his appointing." Another was his sense of humor. In reference to Professor Smyth, a Bowdoin professor who did all he could to keep Chamberlain from volunteering for service, he wrote in the same letter that "if I do return 'shattered,' I think there are those who will hold me in some degree of favor."[47] While that latter part was a subtle joke, he told his sister Sally in 1895 that "some unregenerate observer of life says 'there is a secret satisfaction in the aspect of other people's discomfiture.' I don't accept that, but when 'things' get very bad, I am apt to laugh. This has carried me through many rough and dark places."[48]

Another source of courage for Chamberlain was his long-distance relationship with Fannie. Their marriage soured after the war, but their letters indicated that his thoughts about family provided motivation in combat: "I thought of it on the battle field the other day and I felt a thrill of pleasure in the midst of the awful uproar, when I thought that you must know how I loved you, if I fell. When the air was all ablaze above me with busting shell, it stopped itself

sometimes with bright pictures of you and darling Daisy, my noble boy, and I smiled and said almost aloud 'god bless those dear ones' and pressed on calmer and braver and purer than ever."[49] Lastly, Chamberlain came to understand and grasp a sense of responsibility to conduct himself well for the sake of his troops in the field. While he listed his different views of combat motivation in general, i.e. going forward "to have it over with" or to purposely meet the same fate as a friend, Chamberlain wrote that "for the officers…the sense of responsibility for his men, for his cause, or for the fight that the thought of personal peril has no place whatever governing his actions. The instinct to seek safety is overcome by the instinct of honor."[50]

Chamberlain also knew that politics were part-and-parcel to military leadership, and that even officers who worked hard and acted in the best interests of their units might suffer negative consequences based on perception. In this light, he learned that professional courage was just as important as battlefield courage for effective leaders. High-profile firings, like Major General Fitz-John Porter's removal as Fifth Corps commander and Brigadier General Governor Warren's relief from that position later on, were intimate examples. Nevertheless, it was important to act in accordance with personal and organizational values. In so doing, leaders can live with adverse consequences stemming from disagreement and politics. After the war, he wrote

> I am by no means sure but that injustice must be taken by a military officer as a necessary part of his risks, of the conditions and chances of his service, to be suffered in the same way as wounds and sicknesses, in patience and humility. But when one feels that his honor and the truth itself are impugned, then that larger personality is concerned wherein one belongs to others and his worth is somehow theirs. Then he does not satisfy himself with regret,-that strange complex feeling that something is right which is now impossible,-and even the truth made known becomes a consolation.[51]

In summary, Chamberlain had a well-rounded set of personality traits and behavioral motivations that were conducive for effective leadership. These consisted of a balance between empathy and discipline, humility and ambition, a sense of adventure, patriotism and courage.

Next, this paper examines external influences prior to Chamberlain's entry into military service to see how they interacted with and affected his personality with a focus on leadership philosophy.

External Influences Prior to Military Service

From childhood through his commission, Chamberlain learned a set of lessons that served him well during the Civil War. In general, Chamberlain was exposed to a mixture of Calvinist, Puritan, Democratic, Pilgrim, and Huguenot ideals as a child. As he later wrote, this was "good for the conscience and constitution," and it imparted the strong work ethic and self-discipline previously discussed.[52] Chamberlain had notable influences from his father and William Hyde, a teacher at the Whiting Military School, who both taught him lessons important for his military career.

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Chamberlain's family lineage may have made a military career a forgone conclusion. His father, Joshua Chamberlain, was a lieutenant colonel in the Maine Militia who "had 'a chivalrous strain of blood in his composition' and taught Chamberlain lessons of honor, courtesy, and magnanimity towards foes."[53] His grandfather was a colonel in the militia as well, and his great-grandfather had served in the Revolutionary War.[54] Chamberlain was born as Lawrence Joshua, named in honor of Commodore James Lawrence, the famous ship captain that uttered the words "Don't give up the ship" in 1813.[55] In light of this heritage, Chamberlain's father engrained a strong sense of Victorian manhood in his son. As Goulka points out, "This was a principled, sentimental, chivalric manhood with a focus on service, honor, and knightly action. Stories of Old Testament generals like his namesake Joshua and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* were drummed into…" his ears.[56]

Interestingly enough, Chamberlain went down the path of a preacher's career despite the military tradition of the Chamberlain men. Longacre points out that his parents removed him from Whiting's Military Academy at age 14 because of financial difficulty, not indifference to military training.[57] This did not stop Chamberlain from learning valuable life lessons that would prepare him for the difficulties of combat command. One was a well reported incident when, attempting to cross a stream with an oxcart full of hay, a wheel got stuck on a rock. When he asked his father how to get the cart unstuck, his father responded "Do it, that's how!" Using sheer muscle, Chamberlain lifted the cart just barely off the ground. This action spurred the ox, which jumped forward and cleared the wheel over the rock.[58] Chamberlain later referred to this as "an order for life."[59] A similar incident occurred with a particularly heavy rock in the hay field. When Chamberlain and his brother asked their father how they should remove the rock, he said "Move it." Again, with sheer muscle, they were able to lift the rock free. Trulock points out that "Chamberlain's growing mind was forced to seek creative solutions to problems…stimulating his quick intellect to notice everything that could be useful to him."[60]

The other notable influence on Chamberlain's military capacity was William Hyde. Chamberlain spent months of "wood-splitting and head-splitting" to stay in shape and get academically ready for the Bowdoin entry exam. For exercise, Chamberlain spent hours chopping knotty wood or sword-fighting with his father. But more importantly, he was studying Greek and Latin and reciting classic texts word-for-word to his tutor, Hyde. Hyde knew exactly what the Bowdoin admissions board would be looking for out of Chamberlain, and he grilled him incessantly until his recitations were perfect. Until then, he had known no Latin or Greek, but he passed the entrance exams for the spring term in 1848.[61] As Golay writes, "he applied "overachiever's single-mindedness," which was the same approach he would apply to the study

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of tactics later on.[62] But just as important, it showed Chamberlain what intense, guided study with a knowledgeable expert could do for his grasp on complex problems. 14 years later, this experience repeated itself with Adelbert Ames.

On a trip to Canada with his father in May 1853, Chamberlain found that he had a capacity to endure, if not enjoy, harsh conditions. Writing to his sister about his trip, he wrote: "Positively, I do not think I ever suffered such pain in my life. But I was determined not to complain and to keep up with the others. Father was very careful and kind to me, but there was no help and I resolved to "grin and bear it" I've found meaning in that phrase I tell you particularly the grin. It was actually a relief to me when in crossing a furious river on some logs that were floating down, I got on one that was too small and sunk in-it felt so refreshing."[63] He said the same thing campaigning in Northern Virginia 9 years later, writing in a letter to Fannie that "We bivouac as we can--some taking more pains and some less. I take my saddle for a pillow--rubber talma for a bed--shawl for a covering and a big chestnut tree for a canopy and let it blow. A dashing rain and furious gale in the night make me put on a skull-cap (given me by the major) and pull the talma over my--head and all--curl up so as to bring myself into a bunch--and enjoy it hugely."[64]

Chamberlain experienced Bowdoin as both a student and professor, graduating from a theological seminary in between. As a student, Chamberlain abstained from drinking and rarely engaged with his friends outside of class; his extracurricular activities consisted of church and the occasional visit to a professor's house for social gatherings. This did not stop him from gaining the respect of his peers, who cordially referred to him as "Jack." Although he refused to drink, he did not look down upon those who did. It was a personal choice to ensure academic focus, and he made it "without putting on superior airs."[65] There was one incident, however, that

tested his principles and honor with the students. It occurred on one of Chamberlain's rare excursions with his classmates. While searching for a Christmas tree to transplant from the woods to the Bowdoin grounds, his friends brought a considerable amount of cider and made quite a disturbance in the Brunswick area. When asked by President Woods, the head of Bowdoin, for names of the classmates that were intoxicated, Chamberlain refused to supply them and was sent home. When his friends found out his punishment, they went to Woods and confessed to the alcohol, an act which exonerated Chamberlain.[66] This no doubt taught Chamberlain a key lesson in loyalty, a principle that would create a strong bond between him and his subordinates, peers, and superiors in the Fifth Corps.

As a Bowdoin professor, Chamberlain honed his own intellectual capacity by sharpening the minds of his students. He would spend long hours developing new teaching methods in rhetoric, which combined writing, speech, and great literature. He provided personal attention to each student, encouraging good mental discipline, thought processes, and habits of mind. [67] He instituted a process of "rewriting," which involved an iterative process of drafts, feedback, and final revision, in order to get at the student's mind.[68]

While unrelated to his role as professor, his time and relationships forged at Bowdoin contributed to his decision to volunteer. His correspondence with Walter Poor, a former student then posted at Fortress Monroe, VA, gave him insight into what an enlisted man expected from his officers having seen effective battlefield leadership by the Confederates.[69] Poor wrote "If you could see the soldiers drill, hear the confused murmur of voices in the ranks drowning the commands of the officers and distracting the attention of the men, the beardless boys, and see the lifeless and characterless men who command them, you would not be surprised at the panic at Bull Run. The southern social system produced officers accustomed to command, and rank and

file accustomed to obey. We want cool, self-reliant, self-controlling officers and disciplined, silent, obedient men."[70] The emphasis Poor put on the need for leadership struck Chamberlain deeply. Chamberlain's military curiosity kicked in, perhaps from his family heritage or time at the Whiting Academy, and he began to ask Poor for information, such as "what is the difference between a fort and fortress?"[71] He began observing student drills by the Bowdoin Guards and Bowdoin Zouaves, "listening intently to commands and observing the responses."[72]

This review of Chamberlain's pre-service influences is not all-inclusive. But these examples demonstrate potential sources for some of Chamberlain's leadership philosophy elements. His tireless work ethic and ability to endure harsh conditions stemmed from experiences with his father and William Hyde. His loyalty, ability to earn peoples respect, and ability to elevate intellectual understanding through advanced study habits came from his student experience at Bowdoin. And lastly, his time as Bowdoin professor not only opened up relationships with military professionals that piqued his curiosity for combat, but it provided a template of an instructor-student relationship that would suit him well in the Fifth Corps.

Civil War Experience

Chamberlain's military education, and the Twentieth Maine's, started the day Adelbert Ames arrived at Camp Mason. For Chamberlain specifically, his arrival started a highly effective process of professional military education that involved rigorous self-study, instruction for tactics and military administration, and observation. Having been assigned to the Fifth Corps, he was blessed to be surrounded by quality officers like Ames, Colonel Strong Vincent, Brigadier General Charles Griffin, and Major General Governeur Warren. Chamberlain's memoirs and the history of the Twentieth Maine show that, while Chamberlain's self-study habits and work ethic had a lot to do with his success as a tactical commander in the Civil War, his observation and

lessons-learned from these superior officers had a major impact on his leadership style at the regiment, brigade, and division levels.

As discussed, Chamberlain may or may not have had a few musters with the Maine militia; it is difficult to tell. Longacre makes this claim but does not provide much evidence. Nevertheless, he is correct when he assessed that Chamberlain's education in military affairs was "meager" prior to his commission.[73] Fortunately for him, the Twentieth Maine was assigned to the Third Brigade, First Division, Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac. Chamberlain called this assignment fortuitous, because it forced the Twentieth (and him) to achieve high standards. Under Porter and McClellan, it was referred to as "a model for the rest of the Army."[74] The volunteers found themselves trying to assimilate its culture, which was formed around a nucleus of the only division of regulars in the Union. Its political reputation suffered because of the well-known controversy between Brigadier General Fitz-John Porter (former Fifth Corps commander) and Major General John Pope at Bull Run.[75] Nevertheless, the Fifth Corps expected a lot out of its regiments, and leaders that fostered unit cultures around discipline strove to meet those expectations. Chamberlain called

> discipline about the Corps…quite severe…The required personal relations between officers and men were quite novel and but slowly acquiesced in by volunteers who were first-class citizens at home…For example, my brother, Tom, when a private in my regiment came sometimes to see me in my tent, but would not think of sitting down in my presence unless specially invited to do so[76]

Camp Mason, the muster location for the Twentieth Maine just outside of Portland, did not act as much more than a marshal area for the regiment and study hall for Chamberlain. Not enough training occurred there; Ames did not arrive until later, and before long the regiment was deploying to northern Virginia. The regiment's commissioned Major and West Point graduate, Charles Gilmore, was a decent drill instructor. Assisting Chamberlain, who was in command

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until Ames arrived, he did some preliminary training and set up a makeshift camp administration. But for the most part, the Twentieth Maine was far from a combat unit, and Chamberlain had to rely on his rigorous self-study habits and unique ability to "think things out" for his initial military education. He read Casey's *Infantry Tactics*, and Cullum's translation of *Elements of Military Art and History*, written by Duparcq. This latter book had underlined text by Chamberlain about the psychological shock possible by a rapid switch from the defense to the offense.[77] The passage underlined involved the 1805 battle of Caldiero: …"the commander of the French force, finding himself cut off and surrounded by Austrian legions, launched a bayonet charge whose unexpectedness and ability to inspire terror carried the day."[78] Passages such as this would appear strikingly similar to mission reports concerning the Little Round Top engagement.

Adelbert Ames

Ames had been a drill instructor of volunteers before his combat experience at Bull Run. Overall, his initial perception of volunteers and the Twentieth men was negative; to him, citizen-soldiers would need a heavy dose of discipline and strict handling.[79] In reality, this was not an unreasonable assumption. Before Ames arrived at Camp Mason, his battlefield command experience was limited to artillery during which he organized small teams to handle numerous cannon with machine-like precision.[80] When he saw the Twentieth Maine, he called it "a hell of a regiment," because it was undisciplined and running the enterprise with town-meeting-like administration.[81] Ames would teach Chamberlain much, both through example and direct, one-on-one instruction.

At first glance at the memoirs, letters, and other original documents, it would appear that Ames was an overly strict and overbearing outsider that cared little for the Twentieth Maine. For

example, Chamberlain's brother Thomas wrote that "He is the most savage man…the men might shoot him the first time we fight." [82] Another member of the Twentieth wrote: "I wish he would get promoted or resign, even though he is the best…he has an eye like a hawk."[83] Despite his harsh treatment, they respected him. A few engagements later, including Fredericksburg and Gettysburg, they would realize that his leadership had immeasurable impact on their effectiveness in combat. Ames was apparently getting criticized in Maine newspapers about his treatment of the Twentieth. At some point after Burnside's "Mud March" while Chamberlain was on leave in Maine, a group of sergeants and junior officers wrote a letter in defense of Ames: "To whom it may concern…(refuting) harsh and unnecessarily severe discipline through the fault of the CO. The 20th has not performed any kind of service that has not been performed by other Rgts of the Brigade. It is due to him (Ames) that the Rgt is so well-drilled, that it has been able to face the fire of the enemy with unwavering lines, and fully to sustain the proud reputation of the state of Maine."[84]

Ames brought a courage and credibility that no doubt left an imprint on Chamberlain. Pullen writes that Ames had an aura of "stick-to-it-ivenes" about him.[85] At First Bull Run, "having taken a Minie ball commanding an artillery battery, he had refused to leave the field, sat himself on a caisson as the battery moved around the battlefield, he continued to command until his boot filled with blood (thigh wound) and he passed [out]."[86] At Marye's Heights near Fredericksburg in December 1862, which was the Twentieth's first major engagement, Ames' battlefield leadership was exemplary. He was seen "coolly" stepping over the prone soldiers of another Union regiment under heavy fire, saying "who is your colonel? My men and I will relieve you," as he moved his line forward.[87] His battlefield display of calm under fire came back to Chamberlain at Little Round Top.[88]

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His Bull Run experience demonstrated the importance of discipline, and the Twentieth Maine had anything but when he took command in August 1862.[89] Subsequently, Ames tailored his leadership style to get the Twentieth ready for combat, one that emphasized endless drill, physical stamina, and strict discipline.[90] He also tailored his instruction to the Twentieth's skill level. Step one was to ingrain the "School of the Soldier" into every man, so that they could perform the nine steps of muzzle loading automatically and reduce the risk of battlefield errors.[91] Step two was to teach Casey's *Infantry Tactics*, starting with rudimentary maneuvers first since he did not know how much time he would have until their next engagement. For example, he ignored moving from column to line and line back to column for later since it was overly complicated at the time.[92] They would eventually reach this level of skill, however, learning the process of complex line changes and maneuver which proved critical throughout the war. As early as Fredericksburg, the process of numbering odd and even men, remembering those numbers, and using them to execute movements in the "School of the Regiment" handbook proved reliable in many capacities. Ames and Chamberlain used it to perform an adhoc retrograde plan during their second night at Marye's Heights. The even-numbered men dug while the odd moved to the rear 100 yards and started digging, creating a leap-frog entrenchment system.[93]

At times, Ames may have gone too far. Between Antietam and Fredericksburg, he continued to drill his regiment harshly even though many were sick (some died) due to disease in an unsanitary bivouac.[94] But his style was required to solve a specific leadership problem: he had little time to get the Twentieth Maine ready for fierce modern combat. One manner to do this was to fortify bonds, discipline, and skill throughout the ranks by making them hate him. Pullen writes that "Their ability was growing at a rapid pace equal to their hatred for them. From the

beginning he had been deliberately lashing them into a 'we'll show 'em' attitude."[95] And even some members of the Twentieth understood his approach. Thomas Chamberlain's letter home showed the unit's contempt, but in it he admitted that Ames was "bringing out the soldier in them."[96]

There was clearly more to Ames than the harsh disciplinarian so prevalent in personal letters. Trulock characterized Ames' early military experience differently from the harshness of his treatment to the Twentieth: "Later proving himself daring but exceedingly calm under fire, he communicated in an invariably polite way to his aides and fellow officers, his orders couched in the form of requests. The profane language of the drill field was gone."[97] Ames would occasionally let his other side come out with the Twentieth. After the first engagement by the Twentieth at Marye's Height despite its minimal gains and overall contribution, he walked among the regiment as they bivouacked in the town saying that they had done well. At this point, he may have softened up because he knew the regiment had arrived.[98]

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Ames was not with the Twentieth Maine during the Gettysburg campaign. In the spring of 1863, he was promoted and moved to the Eleventh Corps. Chamberlain was subsequently promoted and given command of the Twentieth. But Ames' legacy in the regiment was ultimately positive, and his influence on Chamberlain cannot be understated. One member from the regiment wrote "a solitary candle burned in the HQ tent where Ames was giving his LT COL a special course in tactics."[99] In a letter to Fannie, Chamberlain wrote that it was "no small labor to master the evolutions of a Battalion or Brigade…I study, I tell you, every military work I can find..Send me my copy of Jomini…the Colonel and I are going to read it. He to instruct me, as he is kindly doing in everything right now."[100] After Little Round Top, Ames sent a note of congratulations to the Twentieth and Chamberlain, and then went to visit them the day after to

thank them in person, saying he was "very proud." He was later cheered by the Twentieth when he reviewed the Third Brigade with the Fifth Corps commander.[101] Nobody in the Twentieth Maine had any doubt who or what made them into a respected, storied regiment. They sent him gifts, a sword and sash, after Gettysburg as he was promoted to Brigadier General. When the Twentieth received a new battle flag, they sent the old one to Ames, who wasn't even part of the Third Brigade, let alone the regiment, at Little Round Top.[102] He clearly had a positive impact on the men, and his impact on Chamberlain was lasting. Later, Chamberlain wrote "It is the discipline which is the soul of armies, as indeed the soul of power in all intelligence. Other things-moral considerations, impulses of sentiment, and even natural excitement-may lead men to great deeds. But taken in the long run, and in all vicissitudes, an army is effective in proportion to its discipline."[103]

Other Influential Officers in the Army of the Potomac

Chamberlain was a curious, impressionable student during his first two years with the Fifth Corps. Ames, having almost a full year to bunk with and tutor Chamberlain in the art of command, had the bulk of the influence. But this did not keep Chamberlain from observing and learning from other officers in the Corps. Strong Vincent, the senior regimental commander in the Third Brigade, was a close friend and mentor until his death on Little Round Top. Chamberlain was also heavily influenced by Charles Griffin; many of his writings concerning the period after Gettysburg speak of his experience as regimental and brigade commander in the First Division under Griffin. The learning process never stopped, as it never should for leaders; his writings continued to show a student-like analysis of leaders throughout the Army of the Potomac. He wrote extensively about his experience of combined-arms fighting at Five Forks, when the Fifth Corps was tasked to support a cavalry action under Phil Sheridan. And after the

war, he wrote an analysis of the generalship of Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, even though he had little interaction with either of them face-to-face on the battlefield.

In the period between Fredericksburg and Gettysburg, the Twentieth Maine had a lot of down time. They had a period of winter quarters after Fredericksburg, followed by the misery of Burnside's "Mud March," and then a small-pox quarantine during the Chancellorsville campaign. While much of this time was spent drilling and learning under Ames, Chamberlain networked with the other officers in the First Division as well. These relationships had a force multiplying effect and would serve dividends throughout the war. After the war, Chamberlain wrote about the confusion at Five Forks, saying

> The relationships of the commanders within the V Corps, forged over a couple of years of hard-fighting, made the melee at Five Forks easy to deal with: Our commands were queerly mixed, men of every division of the corps came within my jurisdiction, and something like this was probably the case with several other commanders. But that made no difference; men and officers were good friends. There was no jealousy among us subordinate commanders. We had eaten salt together when we had not much else. This liveliness of mutual interest and support, I may remark, is sometimes of great importance in the developments of a battle.[104]

Since most of his superiors were West Point graduates, Chamberlain asked for and encouraged an organized "evening school."[105] Chamberlain applied his usual academic and intellectual rigor, as the course covered all aspects of military leadership, including battlefield tactics and military administration. While not explicitly mentioned in any of his writings or the writings of Chamberlain experts, it is safe to assume that leadership themes ran throughout these topics. Colonel Thomas Stockton, Third Brigade commander until he resigned his commission after Chancellorsville, was the overall manager of the program. Chamberlain was very attentive to him and another West Point graduate instructing these lessons, Colonel Patrick O'Rourke, who was commander of the One Hundred Fortieth New York Regiment in the Second Brigade.[106] Interestingly enough, Colonel Strong Vincent was one of the primary tutors in the

program who briefed lessons-learned from the Peninsular Campaign, Second Bull Run, Antietam, and Fredericksburg. Like Chamberlain, Vincent was a product of a liberal arts education. Naturally, Chamberlain became very close with Vincent, who commanded the Eighty-Third Pennsylvania and then took command of the Third Brigade when Stockton retired.

These discussions, combined with his self-study and tutelage under Adelbert Ames, turned Chamberlain into a highly effective small-unit leader. His innovation and efficiency on and off the battlefield was remarkable. For example, he became adept in the manner in which he marched his troops to expedite forced marches and cut down on straggling. Wallace wrote that

> Chamberlain had the knack of holding them together. He rested them frequently, and although he was often criticized for this procedure, it was presently noted that he always brought them in on time and in condition to fight. Nor did he waste their energy marching and countermarching to form camp. He would send an officer ahead to reconnoiter the ground, then, on the basis of the officer's report, he would decide the particular maneuver which would place the troops in the proper order for camp. His weary men never forgot such consideration.[107]

He approached the battlefield with the same deliberate thought. Pullen called Chamberlain the "scientific worrier." He had absorbed the ability to view terrain and imagine possibilities in any situation, giving him much-needed anticipation. Pullen wrote that "To his men it afterward seemed that the COL had the ability to see through forests and trees and to know what was coming…the magical gift of infantry officers…a matter of studying terrain closely, imagining all types of horrible things that might happen…and plan countermeasures."[108] He would study the terrain, asking questions like: what happens if a regiment size force comes from over that hill? What about cavalry from over there? Or that defilade position to the left, what if there is infantry waiting there?[109] Trulock points out that Chamberlain attributed this to his learned skill of scanning a page and coming up with a plan to handle his dreaded "p, b, t" syllables.[110] For example, Pullen writes "he had studied a hill, and considered what would

happen if a battery opened up on them." At Pole Cat Creek, he anticipated it so well that when a battery did open up on his brigade, Chamberlain had a plan already. He assaulted with part of his force up the hill, and sent the rest flanking wide as a screened movement, telling his men to shoot the horses first to disable the retreating guns.[111] But while the skills learned to overcome his speech impediment showed the importance of anticipation, self-study and intimate tutoring from willing peers and supervisors gave him ideas on how to handle those anticipated tactical problems.

In many ways, Chamberlain developed the ability to decide on textbook solutions and make slight innovations to mitigate risk and increase tactical effectiveness. Little Round Top was a great example. While many say that the right angle and right wheel "like a swinging gate" was not found in any books, in reality the proper term is "refusing the line," and the swinging motion might have happened naturally, and not by design. Forming the right angle convex into the left flank was a logical solution to a growing problem. Chamberlain observed a marching column moving to his left, screened by the main Confederate advance. The textbook countermove to seeing a maneuver that could potentially flank and envelop your line is to turn your regiment to the left against it, i.e. "refuse" it. However, doing so on Little Round Top while remaining anchored on the Eighty-Third Pennsylvania, which was to the Twentieth Maine's right, would have given up precious real estate on Little Round Top. Chamberlain modified the "refusal" maneuver slightly by accepting risk: he thinned out the line, ordering every other man to take a few steps to the left, and the surplus of personnel created by doing this at the left end was bent back 90 degrees to meet the Confederate assault. This effectively maintained ground on Little Round Top while "refusing" Oates' flanking maneuver.[112] The fact that the Twentieth Maine

carried this out under fire from the Texans was a testament to their training and discipline.[113] Chamberlain was surprised out how well it was done under fire.[114]

The wheeling maneuver ("like a swinging door on a gate post") started from Chamberlain's simple "Bayonet" command, which was his solution to overwhelming force from Oates and the Twentieth's diminishing ammunition.[115] Had the fight continued at its present intensity, the Twentieth would have lost by exhaustion. The "right wheel" was never an official order, according to numerous official reports and accounts of the battle. Even Chamberlain wrote in his official report: "I ordered the bayonet. The word was enough…"[116] Nesbitt writes that the wheeling effect may have occurred from Captain Ellis Spears' wing (left) having less resistance in enemy and terrain to deal with than the right wing (Chamberlain's). As a result, they were able to sweep down the hill faster and get ahead of the right wing.[117]

Many speculate that the counterattack in general was the fruit of Chamberlain's study of Jomini: "Every army which maintains a strictly defensive attitude must, if attacked, be at last driven from its position; whilst by profiting by all the advantages of the defensive system, and holding itself ready to take the offensive when occasion offers, it may hope for the greatest success."[118] Jomini also wrote that "When the assailant, after suffering severely, finds himself strongly assailed at the moment when the victory seemed to be in his hands, the advantage will, in all probability, be his no longer, for the moral effect of such a counter-attack upon the part of an adversary supposed to be beaten is certainly enough to stagger the boldest troops."[119] In the end, Chamberlain's defense of Little Round Top was a textbook defense with an innovative twist.

As a brigade commander, Chamberlain showed hints of tactical adaptation that were not fully realized until World War I. Wallace points out that Chamberlain was not skeptical of long-

distance bayonet charges, especially against fortified systems of defensive breast-works, because improved small arms technology would often cause heavy casualties to the attacking line. Instead, he explained, Chamberlain would order "rifles on the shoulder" until his lines were within a sprint distance so that they could return volleys of fire until the bayonet made sense. He also directed "loose" formations, forcing the Confederates to spread out their defensive fires. Wallace wrote that tactics such as these were not common until World War I technology made them mandatory to avoid catastrophic levels of casualties.[120]

Much like Ames' effect on the Twentieth Maine, Charles Griffin commanded a certain amount of respect from the First Division after taking command after Gettysburg. Before the review of the Army of the Potomac in 1865, the Fifth Corps officers put together a parting gift for Griffin: a diamond-studded pin with a Maltese Cross, the Fifth Corps emblem.[121] Chamberlain presented him the gift, saying "…a worthy token of the deep regard in which he was held in this division so honorably known as his in the last campaign, and with which he had been conspicuously associated since the heroic days of Fitz-John Porter."[122]

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Chamberlain's actions on Quaker Road, which was the key to Petersburg, were epic. But the engagement also caused him to reflect on Griffin's leadership. Having been knocked unconscious by a deflected minié ball, Chamberlain awoke just in time to check his retreating right flank.[123] For the most part, his brigade had broken and could have cost the First Division and Fifth Corps dearly. But Griffin had trust in his actions; he allowed Chamberlain to fight with his two regiments instead of bringing up reinforcements and held the Third Brigade in reserve.[124] Chamberlain felt that Griffin had purposely allowed him to finish the fight in order get proper recognition, a lesson he later drew upon. Chamberlain later wrote

> I was very grateful for the kindness, and possibly the favor, of General Griffin in so ordering my reinforcements as not to deprive me of the command of the field

> till my fight was over. In the exigency of the situation, instead of sending me four regiments from the other two brigades of the division, he might very properly have put in Bartlett's, with his fine brigade, and that gallant officer would doubtless have carried all before him. But that noble sense of fairness, that delicate recognition of honorable sensibilities, in thoughtfully permitting, and even helping, a subordinate to fight his fight through, if he could, and receive whatever credit might belong to it…[125]

This idea of remaining in the background came about after the war. According to Golay, Chamberlain remained in Washington longer than the Twentieth so that they could return to the state as heroes. He was well-aware of his own aura and fame, but did not want to dilute their accomplishment by overshadowing their homecoming with his own.[126]

Chamberlain also learned from Phil Sheridan at Five Forks, despite the controversy associated with the battle because of Warren's subsequent firing. At the time, Chamberlain was a Brigadier General in command of the First Brigade, First Division, which consisted of two regiments. The Union offensive, consisting of multiple divisions of the Fifth Corps under Warren and Sheridan's cavalry resulted in a successful flanking maneuver and envelopment of the Confederate breastworks.[127] When Sheridan briefed his plan at Five Forks, the division and brigade commanders were highly motivated by his ideas and method of communication. Referring to Sheridan's briefing on the upcoming assault, Chamberlain wrote that it "was perfectly clear, and struck us all as a splendid piece of tactics, cyclone- and Sheridan-like, promising that what jaded faculties were roused to their full force."[128] Sheridan provided Chamberlain with a different style of leadership, one that was fiery and energetic. Five Forks happened very near to the end of the Civil War; the sequence of minor engagements that occurred after it led to Appomattox. While there is no evidence that Chamberlain used Sheridan's motivational style after Five Forks, it may have surfaced later on had the Civil War continued longer.

In direct contrast to Sheridan was Warren, who Chamberlain admired as the Fifth Corps commander and defended in post-Civil War hearings about his removal. Warren's dismissal by Sheridan, despite the Fifth Corps' performance at Five Forks under his leadership, taught Chamberlain another lesson. On the one hand, he criticized Warren's command style, saying that he "had a certain ardor of temperament which, although it brought him distinction as a subordinate commander, seemed to work against him as a corps commander."[129] But it also taught him that commanders run the risk of losing their jobs for whatever reason, albeit politics or performance. But as long as the commander makes sound decisions based on available resources and the information presented at the time, their conscience should not be plagued by a negative outcome. Chamberlain wrote that "I am by no means sure but that injustice must be taken by a military officer as a necessary part of his risks, of the conditions and chances of his service, to be suffered in the same way as wounds and sicknesses, in patience and humility. But when one feels that his honor and the truth itself are impugned, then that larger personality is concerned wherein one belongs to others and his worth is somehow theirs. Then he does not satisfy himself with regret…"[130]

Some of the best insights into Chamberlain's leadership style and tactical intelligence come from his observations of higher ranking officers with which he had almost no interaction. Like a tactical level operator analyzing and commenting on strategic level decisions, Chamberlain reflected on Hooker's handling of his Grand Division at Fredericksburg, Burnside's fall from grace, and Grant's handling of the army after Gettysburg. In Hooker's case, Chamberlain had the odd chance to let his observations be known. His confrontation with Hooker after Fredericksburg indicated two things. One was that he was not afraid to tell his boss the truth. Two, was that even at an early stage in his Civil War experience, he was starting to

apply his basic knowledge of battlefield theory at higher levels of war. With the concepts of mass and concentration from Jomini on his mind, he told Hooker that "You should have sent us in. Instead, we went in piecemeal, on toasting forks."[131]

He learned a valuable leadership lesson watching Burnside's operational failure at Fredericksburg. In light of the "piecemeal" execution by the Grand Division commanders like Hooker, he wrote that although "the battle was not fought according to Burnside's intention, and that his plan was mutilated by distrust and disharmony among his subordinate commanders, does not exonerate him. It is part of the great trust and place of a chief commander to control reluctant and incongruous elements and to make subordinates and opponents submit to his imperial purpose."[132] This is a bold statement to make about the commander of the Army by somebody who was second in command of a regiment at the time. Nevertheless, it was an understanding that even at the operational level of war, commanders are responsible for achievement of objectives regardless of the sentiment or disagreement by subordinates at the tactical level.

His higher level analysis about leadership and warfare extended to strategic levels. He wrote what amounted to an evaluation of Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee. In it one can find insights into Chamberlain's overarching concepts of military leadership that can apply to all levels of war. He starts out by saying that

> a correct definition of great generalship regards not so much the power to command resources, or the conditions of a grand theater of action, as the ability to handle successfully the forces available, be they small or great. And this, it will be seen, involves many qualities not readily thought of as military. Among these is economy in the expenditure of force. Another is foresight, the ability to count the cost beforehand and to discriminate between probabilities and possibilities,-prudence might be the word for this, did it not border on hesitation, which has wrecked some reputations, if it has made others. There is also astuteness, the ability to judge characters and the probable action of an adversary in given conditions. And we may add humanity, regard for the well-being of the men employed in military operations, which might come also under the head of economics.[133]

With that definition as a guiding concept, he analyzed Grant, saying that he "he was a strategist; he was not an economist. He saw what was to be done, and he set himself to do it, without being much controlled by consideration of cost or probabilities." A negative side-effect to this management style, albeit a necessary one to finish the war, was that "great cost of human life involved in a proposed plan was not taken into the reckoning beforehand; though regretted afterwards, it was not given weight in laying plans following."[134] While this may seem overly critical, Chamberlain realized that Grant's approach was effective. In many ways, much like Ames' strict discipline was required to harden the Twentieth Maine, Grant's bloody strategy of attrition brought the Army of Northern Virginia to its knees. In Chamberlain's words,

> Grant was necessary to bring that war to a close, whether by triumph of force or exhaustion of resources. His positive qualities, his power to wield force to the bitter end, must entitle him to rank high as a commanding general. His concentration of energies, inflexible purpose, unselfishness, patience, imperturbable long-suffering, his masterly reticence, ignoring either advice or criticism, his magnanimity in all relations, but more than all his infinite trust in the final triumph of his cause, set him apart and alone above others.[135]

In many ways, Chamberlain viewed Lee as a striking contrast to Grant. He felt Grant was a failure in resource economy while Lee excelled because he initially overcame war-making struggles in the Confederacy and become dominant. But Grant visualized and executed an effective strategy to exhaust Lee into submission. Lee failed to find a strategy that would make enough gains to realize the Confederacy's political goal. He wrote that Lee "exemplified remarkable ability as a commander. In military sagacity and astuteness we recognized his superiority. In singleness of purpose, and patient persistence, like our own great commander, he was remarkable…We regarded him as a master of military economy, making best use with least waste of material. And in defensive operations we looked upon him as a skilled tactician, taking best advantage of a situation."[136] He went on to say that "In offensive operations, however,

involving strategic considerations, he seemed to us not reach the ideal of generalship. His two positive operations in Maryland and Pennsylvania, culminating in the Antietam and Gettysburg campaigns, must be accounted at best as failures, detracting, we must say, from the highest conception of military ability."[137]

Conclusion

For the leader hoping to emulate Chamberlain, there is a lot to learn. Luckily, the plethora of literature about his life, much of it written by himself, offers a vast amount of insight to his leadership philosophy. Studying Chamberlain through the lens of the Army's modern-day leadership framework "BE-KNOW-DO," one might find that Chamberlain's thoughts on the Civil War, his actions as commander, and decisions were born from a mixture of personality, pre-service influences, and his on-the-job training in the Fifth Corps.

Chamberlain's pre-service experiences in childhood and at Bowdoin imprinted on him three tools that set the foundation for his mastery of military affairs: a strong work ethic, self-study habits that enabled a deep-level of understanding very quickly, and the ability to find solutions to novel, complex problems. His self-study habits, albeit hard to put into words, grew from a love of learning. His innovative approaches to teaching as professor of languages at Bowdoin demonstrated his desire to imprint this love of learning on his students. The best way to describe this skill set was to use Chamberlain's own words. He described his own language professor's attempts to help him "think through a thing, and think out."[138]

Adelbert Ames made a large impression on Chamberlain and the Twentieth Maine, no doubt because he was their first example of military command. Chamberlain clearly learned the importance of strict discipline, coolness under fire, and the importance of battlefield encouragement from Ames because they became staples of his leadership philosophy. Like his

tutelage under Ames and Strong Vincent, Chamberlain compared the good with bad and made his own judgment, then internalized it and folded it into his own leadership model. His writings on generals with which he had less personal interaction show critical thinking about tactical and operational decisions at an early stage in his career, as early as his time as second in command of the Twentieth Maine. These high-level analyses continued throughout his life.

This opens up possibilities for further study on Chamberlain's leadership philosophy. This paper focused on development from childhood through the Civil War. But Chamberlain had other leadership roles relating to military service after he mustered out of the U.S. Army. As President of Bowdoin, Chamberlain instituted a mandatory drill program at the school reminiscent of a corps of cadets at a military school. His handling of the protest and subsequent mutiny was unsympathetic, and his response to the student body was reminiscent of the strict disciplinarian that Wallace wrote about. He earned an appointment as Major General in the Maine militia in 1876, assuming command of all Maine militia forces. He found himself in the military spotlight again when he maintained order in Augusta during the dispute over the Maine gubernatorial election in 1880.[139] In contrast to the mandatory drill issue at Bowdoin, he was largely successful diffusing this situation against long odds. These post-war roles and experiences not only shed light on Chamberlain's continued leadership development, but they also provide modern military leaders with valuable anecdotes much like his Civil War experience. Future leadership analyses using Chamberlain as a case study should include these post-war experiences; numerous parallels could be drawn between what he learned before and during the Civil War to how he acted in the post-war era.[140]

Furthermore, one must not forget that Chamberlain served as Maine Governor almost immediately following the war and had potential to become a U.S. Senator, indicating that

Chamberlain serves as a leadership case study in spheres beyond the military. When Pullen said that much can be learned about leadership by studying Chamberlain's life in the army, he was correct. In fact, much could be learned about leadership by examining Chamberlain's entire life in depth from childhood onward.

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1. John J. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1957), 80.

2. James McPherson, "Foreword" in *The Grand Old Maine of Maine: Selected Letters of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, 1865-1914,* ed. Jeremiah E. Goulka (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), ix.

3. Willard M. Wallace, *Soul of the Lion: A Biography of General Joshua L. Chamberlain*, (New York, N.Y.: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960); John J. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1957), Alice R. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence: Joshua L. Chamberlain and the American Civil War*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992),

4. Longacre, Edward G. *Joshua Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man*. (Conshohocken, P.A.: Combined Publishing, 1999).

5. Since the earlier version of FM22-100 was embedded into FM6-22 and could not be found, this quote is from LTC Fred J. Hillyard, "Leadership as a Force Multiplier: The Joshua L. Chamberlain Example" (Student Paper, US Army War College, 8 May 1983), 2.

6. Hillyard, "Leadership as a Force Multiplier: The Joshua L. Chamberlain Example," 3.

7. US Army Field Manual 6-22. "Army Leadership: Competent, Confident, Agile," October 2006, 2-4 - 2-7, 12-4 - 12-5, http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/Materials/fm6-22.pdf.

8. Michael Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond: The Parallel Lives of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain and Edward Porter Alexander (*New York, N.Y.: Crown Publishing Inc., 1994), 12.

9. Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,* 53.

10. Joshua L. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies: An Account of the Final Campaign of the Army of the Potomac, Based Upon Personal Reminiscences of the Fifth Army Corps* (Dayton, O.H.: Morningside Bookshop, 1982), 14.

11. Thomas A. Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* (Greystone Publishing Inc., 1999), 51.

12. Willard M. Wallace, *Soul of the Lion: A Biography of General Joshua L. Chamberlain.* (New York, N.Y.: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), 68.

13. Quaker Road was an engagement prior between elements of the V Corps and the Army of Northern Virginia as it withdrew from Petersburg. Chamberlain suffered a significant wound, but ignored it and rallied his brigade to withstand a strong counteract and push the Confederates further back towards White Oak Road. After the engagement, General George Meade approached Chamberlain with congratulations, saying the President would "hear of it." Chamberlain received a Brevet Major General promotion shortly thereafter, for "conspicuous gallantry in action on the Quaker Road." See Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 55. The

quote is from a Letter from Joshua Chamberlain to Senator Lot Morrill, 1 Nov 1865, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Maine of Maine,* 7.

14. Quoted in Alice R. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence: Joshua L. Chamberlain and the American Civil War.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 60.

15. Joshua Chamberlain, To Samuel Abbot, Letter, 31 January 1911, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Man of Maine,* 253.

16. Quoted in Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* 15.

17. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 3.

18. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Charleton T. Lewis, 26 June 1865, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Maine of Maine,* 4.

19. Gary K. Leak did a behavioral analysis of Chamberlain and published his study in the Afterword of Edward Longacre's work *Joshua Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man.* In doing an empirical study of Chamberlain's writing and speeches, one trait that he found described Chamberlain well was "sensation-seeking." Gary K. Leak, "Joshua Chamberlain: A Psychological Portrait," in Edward G. Longacre, *Joshua Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man.* (Conshohocken, P.A.: Combined Publishing, 1999), 301.

20. Joshua Chamberlain, "My Story of Fredericksburg," in Peter Cozzens ed., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War,* vol. 5, (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 205-206.

21. Letter of Unknown author to Grace Chamberlain, 24 March 1914, in Desjardin, *Joshua L. Chamberlain: A Life in Letters,* 305-306.

22. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to William H. Seward, 5 February 1867, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Man of Maine,* 21.

23. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Senator J.R. Hawley, 12 January 1900, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Man of Maine,* 179.

24. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 359.

25. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Samuel Abbot, 31 January 1911, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Maine of Maine,* 253.

26. Wallace, *Soul of the Lion,* 68.

27. Quoted in Wallace, *Soul of the Lion,* 139.

28. Joshua L. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies: An Account of the Final Campaign of the Army of the Potomac, Based Upon Personal Reminiscences of the Fifth Army Corps* (Dayton, O.H.: Morningside Bookshop, 1982), 19.

29. Longacre, *Joshua Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,* 118.

30. Ibid.

31. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain for Lt Nichols, 10 March 1864, in Mark Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire: Selected Civil War Papers of Major General Joshua Chamberlain* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1996), 118.

32. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to the 20th Maine Adjutant, 26 July 1863, in Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire*, 100-101.

33. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 282.

34. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 327.

35. Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* 7.

36. Ibid.

37. Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 32.

38 The Chamberlain biographers adequately document these various ill spells. For example, Alice Trulock includes his mysterious illness during his third year as a 21-year old at Bowdoin, a school year which he completely missed, an instance on the road to Gettysburg when he succumbed to sunstroke, and a case immediately after Gettysburg when he went on extended sick leave to Washington, D.C. Another instance occurred after a 20th Maine action with the V Corps at Kelly's Ford. Having slept on the ground in a bivouac in November and getting snow overnight, Chamberlain awoke in such a state that the regimental surgeon sent him to Washington D.C. unconscious in an ambulance. There were more instances of these fatigue-related illness that were exacerbated by field conditions, but many of them happened post-Petersburg and might be attributed to the serious hip-wound he received there. See Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence*, 42, 120, 163, 172.

39. Letter from Joshua Chamberlain to Governor Washburn, 14 July 1862, in Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 9.

40. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 10.

41. Crawford was the commander of Third Division, V Corps during the movement towards Appomattox. When he said that "…Baxter of the Third Division is my senior…" he must have been referring to General Henry Baxter, who was commander of the Second Brigade, Third Division, working directly for Crawford. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 236.

42. Ibid.

43. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Fannie Adams, 1851, in Desjardin, *Joshua L. Chamberlain: A Life in Letters*, 33.

44. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Fannie Adams, 28 Feb 1855, in Desjardin, *Joshua L. Chamberlain: A Life in Letters*, 104.

45. Longacre, *Joshua Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,*100-101.

46. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Senator Lot Morrill, 1 November 1865, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Man of Maine,* 7.

47. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Fanny Chamberlain, 26 October 1862, in Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 28.

48. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Sally Chamberlain, 19 March 1895, in Goulka, *The Grand Old Maine of Man,* 153.

49. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Fannie Adams, 1 January 1863, in Desjardin, *Joshua Chamberlain: A Life in* Letters, 185.

50. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies,* 20

51. Ibid., 179

52. Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the* Man, 15-16.

53. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 33.

54. Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,* 18.

55. Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* 6.

56. James McPherson, "Foreword," in Goulka, *The Grand Old Man of Maine,* xvii.

57. Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,* 19.

58. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 33.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 37.

62. Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 13

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63. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Fannie Adams, 26 April 1853, in Desjardin, *Joshua Chamberlain: A Life in Letters,* 81.
64. Letter from J.L. Chamberlain to Fannie Chamberlain, 3 Nov 1862, in Nesbitt *Through Blood and Fire,* 32.
65. Quoted in Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 39.
66. Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 31.
67. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 9.
68. Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 56.
69. Ibid., 60.
70. Quoted in Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 60.
71. Quoted in Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 60.
72. Quoted in Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 59.
73. Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,* 53.
74. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies,* xiii.
75. Longacre, *Joshua Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,* 69-70.
76. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, xiii
77. Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man,* 61.
78. Quoted in Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man*, 139.
79. Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man*, 56.
80. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 13-14.
81. Ibid.
82. Quoted in Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 36.
83. Quoted in Thomas A. Desjardin, *Stand Firm Ye Boys from Maine: The 20th Maine and the Gettysburg Campaign,* 15th ed. (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4.
84. Letter from A.W. Clark et. al. to "Whom it may concern," 5 Feb 1863, in Longacre, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain: The Soldier and the Man*, 107.
85. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine*, 3.
86. Quoted in Pullen, *The Twentiech Maine,* 3.
87. Quoted in Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, 37.*
88. Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* 59.
89. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 1.
90. Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* 26.
91. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 33-34.
92. Ibid., 34-35.
93. Ibid., 58.
94. Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* 32.
95. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 132.
96. Quoted in Desjardin, *Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain,* 33.
97. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 78.
98. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 56.
99. Quoted in Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 38.
100. Letter of Joshua Chamberlain to Fanny Adams, 26 October 1862, in Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 27.
101. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 155-156.
102. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 170.

103. Quoted in Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 77.
104. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 137-138
105. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 106.
106. Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 129-130.
107. Wallace, *Soul of the Lion,* 76.
108. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 111.
109. Ibid., 203.
110. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 181.
111. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 203.
112. Ibid., 117-118.
113. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 143.
114. Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 71.
115. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 123-124.
116. Report of Colonel Joshua L. Chamberlain, 6 July 1863, in US War Department *War of the Rebellion,* 624. http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;q1=chamberlain;rgn=full%20text;idno=waro0043;didno=waro0043;view=image;seq=644;page=root;size=100.
117. Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 76-77.
118. Quoted in Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 72
119. Quoted in Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 75.
120. Wallace, *Soul of the Lion,* 155.
121. Nesbitt, *Through Blood and Fire,* 197
122. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 320.
123. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 242-244.
124. Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 239.
125. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 55-56.
126. Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond,* 301.
127. Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 256-258.
128. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies,* 123.
129. Ibid., 154.
130. Quoted in Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence,* 282.
131. Quoted in Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine,* 59-60.
132. Joshua Chamberlain, "My Story of Fredericksburg," in Peter Cozzens ed., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War,* vol. 5, (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 211.
133. Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 380.
134. Ibid., 38. By "economist," Chamberlain is most likely referring to Grant's occasional lack of concern for the conservative employment of force. The Bethesda Church-Cold Harbor engagement is a good example of Grant's willingness to commit large numbers of troops against fortified positions, resulting in severe casualties, which he would regret later. Grant said that ""I have always regretted that the last assault at Cold Harbor was ever made [...] no advantage whatever was gained to compensate for the heavy loss we sustained." See the Cold Harbor page of the Civil War Trust website: http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/cold-harbor.html. He was probably not referring to Grant's ignorance of Confederate centers-of-gravity, some of which were economic. Grant's orders to Sherman to wreak havoc in Georgia showed that he understood economic impacts on a fighting force.

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135. Ibid., 381.
136. Ibid., 382.
137. Ibid., 383.
138. Quoted in Trulock, *In the Hands of Providence*, 39.
139. Golay, *To Gettysburg and Beyond*, 311-312.

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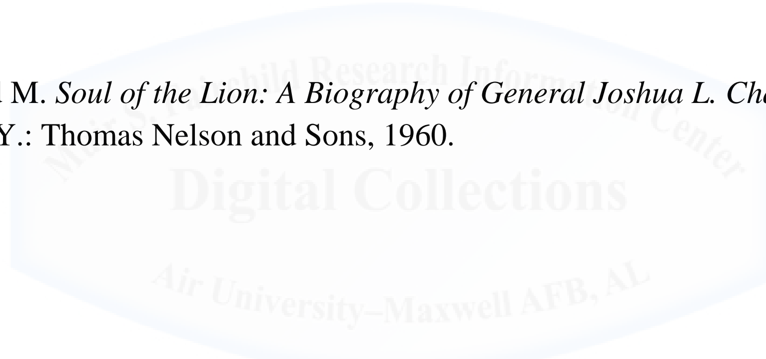
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