

town, and died June 14th, 1672, aged ninety-seven. His son, Edward, Jr., had two wives; first Rebecca —, the mother of all his children, and second, Joanna, the widow of Thomas Buckminster, of Muddy River (Brookline), and the maternal ancestor of Colonel Joseph Buckminster, of Barre, who commanded a regiment in the battle of Bunker Hill, where he acquired a reputation for prudence and bravery. Edward Garfield, Jr., died in 1672, and his inventory amounted to £457 : 3 : 6. He was one of the earliest proprietors of Watertown, and was selectman in 1638, 1655, and 1652.

His son, Captain Benjamin Garfield, born in 1643, admitted freeman in 1690, was representative of Watertown to the Great and General Court nine times between 1689 and 1717; and he held numerous municipal appointments. He had two wives, Mehitabel Hawkins and Elizabeth Bridge, and eight children; by the second wife he had a son Thomas, born December 12th, 1680, who was a prominent and leading citizen of Weston. He married Mercy Bigelow, daughter of Joshua and Elizabeth (Flagg) Bigelow, and had twelve children. The third, Thomas, married Rebecca Johnson, of Lunenburg, and had the following children: Solomon, born July 18th, 1743, and married May 20th, 1766, to Sarah Stimson, of Sudbury—these were the great grandfather and grandmother of General James A. Garfield; Rebecca, born September 23d, 1745, married, October 31st, 1765, David Fiske; Abraham, born April 3d, 1748, died August 15th, 1775, in the Revolutionary army; Hannah, born August 15th, 1750; Lucy, born March 3d, 1745. The General's great-grandfather Solomon Garfield, was married in 1766 to Sarah Stimson, a widow, with children by her first husband, and went to live in the town of Weston, Massachusetts. Abraham Garfield, a brother of Solomon, was in the fight at Concord Bridge, and was one of the signers of the affidavits sent to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia to prove that the British were the aggressors in that affair and fired twice

before the patriots replied. It seems that the skirmish was regarded somewhat as if it had been a case of assault and battery, and the patriots were desirous of justifying themselves by showing that the other fellows began the fight. After the Revolutionary War closed there was a large emigration from Massachusetts into the wilderness of Central New York. Solomon Garfield packed his household goods upon a wagon, joined the "movers," and went to Otsego County. He bought wild land in the township of Worcester, and reared a family of five children—Thomas, Solomon, Hannah, Rebecca, and Lucy.

One of Solomon Garfield's sons, Thomas, was the grandfather of General Garfield. He grew up in Worcester, married Asenath Hill, worked hard on a stony farm, had four children—Polly, Betsey, Abram, and Thomas—and died at thirty (when his youngest son Abram was two years old) of small-pox, which he contracted during a journey he made to Albany with a load of produce. His son Abram, born in 1799, was bound out to James Stone, a relative on his mother's side. At the age of fifteen he left his guardian and went to Madrid, St. Lawrence County, New York, where he worked by the month on a farm for three years. Afterward, when eighteen years old, he made his way to Newburg, Ohio, where he got employment chopping and clearing land. His guardian's wife was an aunt of Eliza Ballou, the girl whom he was afterward to marry. The mother of Eliza moved from Richmond, New Hampshire, with her family, after the death of her husband, and her children and the Garfield children got their education in the same district school-house in Worcester Township.

Eliza Ballou's father was a cousin of Hosea Ballou, the founder of Universalism in this country. Eliza was born in 1801. The Ballous are of Huguenot origin, and are directly descended from Maturin Ballou, who fled from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and with other French Protestants joined Roger Williams' colony in Rhode Island, the only American col-

of the Garfields was built after the standard pattern of the houses of poor Ohio farmers in that day. Its walls were of logs, its roof was of shingles split with an axe, and its floor of rude thick planking split out of tree-trunks with a wedge and maul. It had only a single room, at one end of which was the big cavernous chimney, where the cooking was done, and at the other a bed. The younger children slept in a trundle-bed, which was pushed under the bedstead of their parents in the day-time to get it out of the way, for there was no room to spare; the older ones climbed a ladder to the loft under the steep roof. In this house James A. Garfield was born, November 19th, 1831.

The father worked hard early and late to clear his land and plant and gather his crops. No man in all the region around could wield an axe like him. Fenced fields soon took the place of the forest; an orchard was planted, a barn built, and the family was full of hope for the future when death removed its strong support. One day in May, 1833, a fire broke out in the woods, and Abram Garfield, after heating his blood and exerting his strength to keep the flames from his fences and fields, sat down to rest where a cold wind blew, and was seized with a violent sore throat. A country doctor put a blister on his neck, which seemed only to hasten his death. Just before he died, pointing to his children, he said to his wife, "Eliza, I have planted four saplings in these woods. I leave them to your care." He was buried in a corner of a wheat-field on his farm. James, the baby, was eighteen months old at the time. His mother remembers that the father, a few days before he died, was reading a volume of "Plutarch's Lives" and holding the boy on one knee. James had just begun to say "papa" and "mamma," and the two words were his whole vocabulary. Stopping his reading a moment to listen to the child's prattle, the father said, "Say Plutarch, James." The boy pronounced the

word plainly, and repeated it several times. "Eliza," said the father, "this boy will be a great scholar some day."

The loss of the father threw the family into great distress. They were in debt, and there seemed no way out of their trouble but to give up the homestead. The neighbors advised the mother to break up the family, find homes for the older children, and get some sort of employment to support herself and the baby; but she determined to make an effort to keep the household together. Thomas, the oldest boy, was ten years old, and soon became the main stay of the family. He was a brave, affectionate, industrious lad, stalwart of frame, and devoted to his mother and the younger children. Fifty acres of the farm were sold to pay the debts, and on the remaining thirty Mrs. Garfield managed, by the hardest toil and the closest economy, to rear her family. Thomas did not marry until he was thirty, when James had got his education and begun his career, and the load of poverty had been lifted from the mother. He now lives in Michigan. The two sisters are married and live in Solon, Ohio.

Abram Garfield was a Whig in politics, and a great admirer of Henry Clay. He joined the Disciples Church, with his wife, soon after his marriage, and not long after the denomination was formed, under the influence of the preaching of Alexander Campbell.

CHAPTER II.

A TOILSOME BOYHOOD.

THE childhood of James A. Garfield was passed in almost complete isolation from social influences save those which proceeded from the home of his mother and that of his Uncle Boynton. The farms of the Garfields and Boyntons were partially separated from the settled country around by a large

tract of forest on one side and a deep rocky ravine on another. About a mile away ran the Chagrin River through a wild gorge. For many years after Abram Garfield and his half-brother Boynton built their log cabins, the nearest house was seven miles distant, and when the country became well settled the rugged character of the surface around their farms kept neighbors at a distance too great for the children of the two families to find associates among them, save at the district school. So the cousins grew up together like brothers and sisters. Indeed there was a double bond between the two families, for Mrs. Boynton was a sister of Mrs. Garfield. Boynton had six children—three boys and three girls—who with the four Garfield children made a harmonious group, which only separated when the older boys went away to earn wages at wood chopping or in the hay-field.

The district school-house stood upon a corner of the Garfield farm, and it was there, when nearly four years old, that James owned his "Noah Webster's Spelling Book," and learned his "a-b ab's." The teacher was a young man from New Hampshire, named Foster. A few weeks after the term began he told Mrs. Garfield that "Jimmy" was the most uneasy boy in the school; it was impossible to make him keep still, he said, but he learned very fast. By the next spring "Jimmy" read tolerably well, and the schoolmaster gave him a Testament as a reward for being the best scholar in his class.

James was put to farm work as soon as he was big enough to be of any use. The family was very poor, and the mother often worked in the fields with the boys. She spun the yarn and wove the cloth for the children's clothes and her own, sewed for the neighbors, knit stockings, cooked the simple meals for the household in the big fireplace, over which hung an iron crane for the pot hooks, helped plant and hoe the corn and gather the hay crop, and even assisted the oldest boy to clear and fence land. In the midst of this toilsome life the

brave little woman found time to instil into the minds of her children the religious and moral maxims of her New England ancestry. Every day she read four chapters of the Bible—a practice she keeps up to this time, and has never interrupted for a single day save when lying upon a sick bed. The children lived in an atmosphere of religious thought and discussion. Uncle Boynton, who was a second father to the Garfield family, flavored all his talk with Bible quotations. He carried a Testament in his pocket wherever he went, and would sit on his plough-beam at the end of a furrow to take it out and read a chapter. It was a time of religious ferment in Northern Ohio. New sects filled the air with their doctrinal cries. The Disciples, a sect founded by the preaching of Alexander Campbell, an eloquent and devout man of Scotch descent, who ranged over Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, from his home at Bethany in the “Pan Handle,” had made great progress. They assailed all creeds as made by men, and declared the Bible to be the only rule of life. Attacking all the older denominations, they were vigorously attacked in turn. James’ mind was filled at an early day with the controversies this new sect excited. The guests at his mother’s house were mostly travelling preachers, and the talk of the neighborhood, when not about the crops and farm labors, was usually on religious topics. Politics had only a secondary hold on the local mind. When a lad of seven or eight, James was asked one day whether he was a Whig or a Democrat. He replied: “I’m a Whig, but I’ve not been baptized,” supposing the party names to have some connection with the denominational divisions of which he heard so much.

At the district school James was known as a fighting boy. He found that the larger boys were disposed to insult and abuse a little fellow who had no father nor big brother to protect him, and he resented such imposition with all the force of a sensitive nature backed by a hot temper, great physical cour-

age, and a strength unusual for his age. His big brother Thomas had finished his schooling and was much away from home, working by the day or month to earn money for the support of the family. Many stories are told in Orange of the pluck shown by the future Major-General in his encounters with the rough country lads in defence of his boyish rights and honor. They say he never began a fight and never cherished malice, but when enraged by taunts or insults would attack boys of twice his size with the fury and tenacity of a bull-dog. A few years after the death of his father the house was enlarged in a curious fashion. The log school-house was abandoned for a new frame building, and the old structure was bought by Thomas Garfield for a trifle, and he and James, with the help of the Boynton boys, pulled it down and put it up again on a site a few steps in the rear of the Garfield dwelling. Thus the family had two rooms and were tolerably comfortable, as far as household accommodations were concerned. In these two log buildings they lived until James was fourteen, when the boys built a small frame house for their mother. It was painted red and had three rooms below and two under the roof. The original cabin had settled so much and got so awry that it threatened to tumble down. Every year they had to saw off the bottom of the front door, which hung upon wooden hinges, to keep it from "binding" upon the floor. The new house cost about three hundred dollars. The boys hired a carpenter and worked with him. James thus got to be quite expert with the saw and plane, and was able afterward to earn wages as a carpenter's assistant.

For a long time there was no newspaper taken in the Garfield household. The first one the General remembers, for which his mother subscribed, was the *Protestant Unionist*, a Disciples weekly, printed in Pittsburg. Few books were to be had in the neighborhood, but such as could be borrowed were devoured by James with indiscriminate avidity. Everything was fish

that came to his net. He particularly delighted in the old "English Reader," which was the only reading book at the school for pupils of all ages. Many of the extracts it contained sunk so deeply into his mind by repeated rehearsal that he can repeat whole pages to-day without pausing for a word. A book that made a strong impression upon him at an early age was a romance called "Alonzo and Melissa, or the Cow Boys of the Revolution." Another was a sea tale called "Tom Halyard." One of his cousins came into possession of a copy of "Robinson Crusoe" minus the last twenty pages. He read the book again and again until it was worn out by constant use. A neighbor's boy got a copy of "Josephus" and the two got permission to read it as a reading book in the school one winter. His hunger for reading was insatiable, and he forgot nothing that he read. Even the florid and bombastic preface to Kirkham's Grammar was read so often that he can repeat it now from beginning to end. He was a master of the spelling-book before he was ten years old, and was the champion of his school in the spelling matches with the neighboring districts. He studied Pike's and Adams' Arithmetics, and Woodbridge's Geography.

There were no playthings nor picture-books in the Garfield family. They were too poor to buy such things. Yet it must not be thought that they were exceptionally poor. All the farmers' families in Northern Ohio had a life of hardship and sacrifice in those days, and the lot of the Garfields was only harder than the rest because of the death of the father. As soon as the boys got old enough to earn money the household was in as comfortable circumstances as were other families living on small farms. There were no social castes in the community, and the hard struggles of the Garfields with poverty never caused them to be ranked below their more fortunate neighbors, as would be the case at this time. Laziness, drunkenness, and immorality were all that dishonored persons in that

day. Work of all kinds was honorable, and no menial spirit attached to it.

James often got employment in the haying and harvesting season from the farmers of Orange. When he was sixteen he walked ten miles to Aurora, in company with a boy older than himself, looking for work. They offered their services to a farmer who had a good deal of hay cut. "What wages do you expect?" asked the man. "Man's wages—a dollar a day," replied young Garfield. The farmer thought they were not old enough to earn full wages. "Then let us mow that field by the acre," said the young man. The farmer agreed; the customary price per acre was fifty cents. By four o'clock in the afternoon the hay was down and the boys earned a dollar apiece. Then the farmer engaged them for a fortnight. James's first steady wages were earned from a merchant who had an ashery where he leached ashes and made black salts, which were shipped by lake and canal to New York. He got nine dollars a month and his board, and stuck to the business for two months, at the end of which his hair below his cap was bleached and colored by the fumes until it assumed a lively red hue. Afterward he went to Newburg, where an uncle lived who had a piece of oak-timbered land to clear on the edge of Independence Township. James agreed to chop one hundred cords of wood at fifty cents a cord. He boarded with one of his sisters, who was married and lived near by. He was a good chopper, and easily cut two cords a day. Near him worked a German, who was neither quick nor expert. James found he could make two cuts through a log while the German was making one, and he was disposed to disparage the clumsy fellow, but at the end of a week he found the slow chopper had as many cords piled up as he. This set him to thinking and observing, and he noticed that the German never stopped as he did to look at the blue lake and the distant sails, or sat on his log to rest and meditate, but kept steadily at his work like a

machine. The boy learned a lesson of persistence and application. It was the story of the hare and the tortoise in a new form.

The view of Lake Erie and the passing sails stirred afresh in him the ambition to be a sailor, which almost every sturdy farmer's boy feels who reads tales of sea fights and adventures in the quiet monotony of his inland home. He resolved to ship on one of the lake craft, and with this purpose walked to Cleveland and boarded a schooner lying at the wharf; and told the captain he wanted to hire out as a sailor. The captain, a brutal, drunken fellow, was amazed at the impudence of the green country lad, and answered him with a torrent of profanity. Escaping as quickly as he could from the vessel, the lad walked up the river along the docks. Soon he heard himself called by name from the deck of a canal-boat, and, turning around, recognized a cousin, Amos Letcher, who told him he commanded the craft, and proposed to engage him to drive horses on the tow-path. The would-be sailor thought that here was a chance to learn something of navigation in a humble way, preparatory to renewing his application for service on the lakes. He accepted the offer and the wages of "ten dollars a month and found," and next day the boat started for Pittsburg with a cargo of copper ore. It was called the Evening Star, was open amid-ships, and had a cabin at the bow for the horses and one at the stern for the men. At Akron it left the main line of the Ohio Canal, and following the Pennsylvania branch took the young driver through the heart of the district he was afterward to represent in Congress, past the towns of Ravenna, Warren, Niles, and Youngstown, to the Beaver River; thence by slack water to the Ohio at Beaver village, where the boat was taken in tow by the stern-wheeler Michigan and pulled up to Pittsburg. Some of the stories told of Garfield's canal adventures are fictitious. That of his victory over the burly boatman at the mouth of the Beaver is true, and

also that of his narrow escape from drowning. He fell overboard, in the darkness, into Breakneck Creek, near Kent, Ohio (then Franklin Mills), while pulling in the bowline, and was saved from going under the boat by a lucky twist in the rope which caught between two planks and held till he pulled himself hand over hand up to the deck. On the return trip the *Evening Star* stopped at Brier Hill on the Mahoning River, and loaded with coal at the mines of David Tod, afterward Governor of Ohio, and a warm friend of Garfield, the Major-General and member of Congress. The boating episode in Garfield's life lasted through the season of 1848. After the first trip to Pittsburg the boat went back and forth between Cleveland and Brier Hill with cargoes of coal and iron.

Late in the fall the young driver, who had risen to the post of steersman, was seized with a violent attack of ague, which kept him at home all winter and in bed most of the time. All his summer's earnings went for doctors' bills and medicines. When he recovered, his mother, who had never approved his canal adventure, dissuaded him from carrying out his project of shipping on the lakes. To master one passion she stimulated another—that of study. She brought to her help the district school-teacher, an excellent, thoughtful man named Samuel D. Bates, who fired the boy's mind with a desire for a good education, and doubtless changed the course of his life. He went to the Geauga Academy, at Chester, a village a few miles distant, and began a new career.

During the boyhood period above described Garfield had no political impressions. He remembers attending but one political meeting; that was in the Harrison campaign. Nor did he experience any deep religious emotions. He went regularly when at home to the Disciples meetings, first at Bentleyville and later at the school-house near his home, where his Uncle Boynton had organized a congregation. There was no Sunday-school in the neighborhood. The polemics of religion interested him deeply

at that time, but his heart was not touched. He was familiar with Bible texts, and was often a formidable disputant. One day, when about fifteen, he was digging potatoes for a farmer in Orange and carrying them in a basket from the patch to the cellar. Near the cellar-door sat a neighbor talking to the farmer's grown-up daughter about the merits of the sprinkling and immersion controversy, and arguing that sprinkling was baptism within the meaning of the Scriptures. James overheard him say that a drop was as good as a fountain. He stopped on his way to the field and began to quote this text from Hebrews: "Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience." "Ah, you see," said the man, "it says 'sprinkled.'" "Wait for the rest of the text," replied James: "'and our bodies washed with pure water.'" Now, how can you wash your body in a drop of water?" Without waiting for a reply, he hastened off to the potato-field.

He repulsed all efforts to persuade him to join the church, and when pressed hard stayed away from meetings for several Sundays. Apparently, he wanted full freedom to reach conclusions about religion by his own mental processes. It was not until he was eighteen and had been two terms at the Chester school that he joined his uncle's congregation. He was baptized in March, 1850, in a little stream putting into the Chagrin River. His conversion was accomplished by a quiet, sweet-tempered man who held a series of meetings in the school-house near the Garfield homestead, and told in the plainest and most straightforward manner the story of the Gospel. A previous perusal of Pollock's "Course of Time" had made a deep impression upon him and turned his thoughts to religious subjects.

CHAPTER III.

BRAVE EFFORTS FOR AN EDUCATION.

THE country schoolmaster who helped Mrs. Garfield dissuade her son from going as a sailor on the lakes in the spring of 1849 was a student at Geauga Academy, a Free Will Baptist institution in the village of Chester, ten miles away from the home of the Garfields in Orange. The argument which finally turned the robust lad from his cherished plan of adventure was advanced by his mother, and was that, if he fitted himself for teaching by a few terms in school, he could teach winters and sail summers, and thus have employment the year round. In the month of March, with seventeen dollars in his pocket, got together by his mother and his brother Thomas, James went to Chester with his cousins, William and Henry Boynton. The boys took a stock of provisions along, and rented a room with two beds and a cook-stove in an old unpainted house where lived a poor widow woman, who undertook to prepare their meals and do their washing for an absurdly small sum. The academy was a two-story building, and the school, with about a hundred pupils of both sexes, drawn from the farming country around Chester, was in a flourishing condition. It had a library of perhaps one hundred and fifty volumes—more books than young Garfield had ever seen before. A venerable gentleman named Daniel Branch was principal of the school, and his wife was his chief assistant. Mrs. Branch had introduced an iconoclastic grammar, which assailed all other systems as founded on a false basis; maintained that *but* was a verb in the imperative mood, and meant *be out*; that *and* was also a verb in the imperative mood, and meant *add*; and tried in other ways to upset the accepted etymology. Garfield had been reared in "Kirkham" at the district school, and refused to accept the new system. The grammar classes that term were a continu-

ous battle between him and his teacher. At Chester he first saw an algebra. What was of more importance, though he did not know it at the time, he first saw his future wife. Lucretia Rudolph, a quiet, studious girl in her seventeenth year, was among the students. There was no association between the two, however, save in classes. James was awkward and bashful, and contemplated the girls at a distance as a superior order of beings.

There was a literary society connected with the academy, and James began to take part in the debates, but with a good deal of diffidence. He read his first essay at one of the school exercises, and was glad that there was a short curtain across the front of the platform which hid his trembling legs from the view of the audience. Among the books he read was the autobiography of Henry C. Wright, and he was greatly impressed by the author's account of how he lived in Scotland on bread, milk, and crackers, and how well he was, and how hard he could study. James told his cousins that they were extravagant, and that another term they must board themselves and adopt Henry C. Wright's diet. At the end of the term of twelve weeks he went home to Orange, helped his brother build a barn for their mother, and then worked for day wages at haying and harvesting. With the money he earned he paid off some arrears of doctors' bills left from his long illness. When he returned to Chester in the fall he had one silver sixpence in his pocket. Going to church next day he dropped the sixpence in the contribution-box.

He had made an arrangement with Heman Woodworth, a carpenter in the village, to live at his house and have lodging, board, washing, fuel, and light for one dollar and six cents a week, and this sum he expected to earn by helping the carpenter on Saturdays and at odd hours on school days. The carpenter was building a two-story house, and James' first work was to get out siding at two cents a board. The first Saturday he planed fifty-one

boards, and so earned a dollar and two cents, the most money he had ever got for a day's work. That term he paid his way, bought a few books, and returned home with three dollars in his pocket. He now thought himself competent to teach a country school, but in two days' tramping through Cuyahoga County failed to find employment. Some schools had already engaged teachers, and where there was still a vacancy the trustees thought him too young. He returned home completely discouraged and greatly humiliated by the rebuffs he had met with. He made a resolution that he would never again ask for a position of any sort, and the resolution was kept, for every public place he has since had has come to him unsought.

Next morning, while still in the depths of despondency, he heard a man call to his mother from the road, "Widow Garfield" (a local corruption of the name Garfield), "where's your boy Jim? I wonder if he wouldn't like to teach our school at the Ledge." James went out and found a neighbor from a district a mile away, where the school had been broken up for two winters by the rowdyism of the big boys. He said he would like to try the school, but before deciding must consult his uncle, Amos Boynton. That evening there was a family council. Uncle Amos pondered over the matter and finally said, "You go and try it. You will go into that school as the boy, 'Jim Garfield'; see that you come out as Mr. Garfield, the school master." The young man mastered the school, after a hard tussle in the school-room with the bully of the district, who resented a flogging and tried to brain the teacher with a billet of wood. No problem in his after life ever took so much absorbing thought and study as that of making the Ledge school successful. He devised all sorts of plans for making study interesting to the children; joined in the out-door sports of the big boys, read aloud evenings to the parents where he boarded, and won the hearts of old and young. Before spring he got the name of the best schoolmaster who ever taught at

the Ledge. His wages were twelve dollars a month and board, and he "boarded around" in the families of the pupils.

He had forty-eight dollars in the spring—more money than had ever been in his possession before. Before returning to Chester he joined the Disciples Church, and his religious experience, together with his new interest in teaching, caused him to abandon his boyhood ambition of becoming a sailor. During his third term at the academy he and his cousin Henry boarded themselves and put in practice Henry C. Wright's cheap dietary scheme. At the end of six weeks the boys found their expenses for food had been just thirty-one cents per week apiece. Henry thought they were living too poorly for good health, and they agreed to increase their outlay to fifty cents a week apiece. James had up to this time looked upon a college course as wholly beyond his reach, but he met a college graduate who told him he was mistaken in supposing that only the sons of rich parents were able to take such a course. A poor boy could get through, he said, but it would take a long time and very hard work. The usual time was four years in preparatory studies and four in the regular college course. James thought that by working part of the time to earn money he could get through in twelve years. He then resolved to bend all his energies to the one purpose of getting a college education.

From this resolution he never swerved a hair's-breadth. Until it was accomplished it was the one overmastering idea of his life. The tenacity and single-heartedness with which he clung to it and the sacrifices he made to realize it unquestionably exerted a powerful influence in moulding and solidifying his character. He began to study Latin, philosophy, and botany. When the spring term ended he went home again and worked through the summer at haying and carpentering. Next fall he was back at Chester for a fourth term, and in the winter he got a village school to teach in Warrensville, at sixteen dollars a

month and board. One of the boys wanted to study geometry. The teacher had never got so far in mathematics, but he bought a text-book, studied nights, kept ahead of his pupil, and took him through without his once suspecting that the master was not an expert in the science. In the spring he went with his mother to visit relatives in Muskingum County, riding for the first time on a railroad train. The Cleveland and Columbus Railroad was just open, and the travellers went by it to Columbus, where they saw the State Capitol and the Legislature, and from whence they proceeded by stage to Zanesville, and then floated eighteen miles in a skiff down the Muskingum River to their destination. James taught a spring school in a log building on Back Run, in Harrison Township. There was coal in a bank near the school-house, and the teacher and his boys dug the fuel for their fire.

Returning to Orange in the summer, he decided to go on with his education at a new school just established by the Disciples at Hiram, Portage County, a petty cross-roads village, twelve miles from a town and a railroad. His religious feeling naturally called him to the young institution of his own denomination. In August, 1851, he arrived at Hiram, and found a plain brick building standing in the midst of a corn-field, with perhaps a dozen farm-houses near enough for boarding places for the students. It was a lonely, isolated place on a high ridge dividing the waters flowing into Lake Erie from those running southward to the Ohio. He lived in a room with four other pupils, studied harder than ever, having now his college project fully anchored in his mind, got through his six books of *Cæsar* that term, and made good progress in Greek. In the winter he again taught school at Warrensville, and earned eighteen dollars a month. Next spring he was back at Hiram, and during the summer vacation he helped build a house in the village, planing all the siding and shingling the roof.

He met at Hiram a woman who exercised a strong influence on his intellectual life—Miss Almeda A. Booth, a teacher in the school. She was nine years older than the young student, possessed a mind of remarkable range and grasp, and a character of unusual sweetness, purity, and strength. She became his guide and companion in his studies, his mental and moral heroine, and his unselfish, devoted friend. The friendship between them continued until she died a few years ago, when he delivered an oration on her life and character before the pupils of the Hiram Eclectic Institute. Young Garfield was again thrown into class associations at Hiram with Lucretia Rudolph, whose father had settled there to educate his four children. A strong, mutual attachment grew out of this association, and the young people entered into an engagement to marry as soon as James should graduate at college and establish himself in life.

At the beginning of his second year at Hiram, Garfield was made a tutor in place of one of the teachers who fell ill, and thenceforward he taught and studied at the same time, working tremendously to fit himself for college. His future wife recited to him two years in Greek, and when he went to college she went to teach in the Cleveland schools, and to wait patiently the realization of their hopes. When he went to Hiram he had studied Latin only six weeks and had just begun Greek, and was therefore just in a condition to fairly begin the four years' preparatory course ordinarily taken by students before entering college in the Freshman class. Yet in three years' time he fitted himself to enter the Junior class, two years further along, and at the same time earned his own living, thus crowding six years' study into three, and teaching for his support at the same time. To accomplish this, he shut the whole world out from his mind save that little portion of it within the range of his studies, knowing nothing of politics or the news of the

day, reading no light literature, and engaging in no social recreations that took his time from his books.

In the spring of 1854, he wrote to the Presidents of Yale, Brown, and Williams, telling what books he had studied, and asking what class he could enter if he passed a satisfactory examination in them. All three wrote that he could enter the Junior year. President Hopkins, of Williams, added this sentence to the business part of his letter: "If you come here, we shall do what we can for you." This seemed like a kindly hand held out, and it decided him to go to Williams. He had been urged to go to the Disciples' College, in Bethany, Virginia, founded by Alexander Campbell, but with a wisdom hardly to be expected in a country lad devotedly attached to the sect represented by the Bethany school, he sought the wider culture and broader opportunities of a New England college.

CHAPTER IV.

TWO YEARS AT COLLEGE.

WHEN Garfield reached Williams College, in June, 1854, he had about three hundred dollars which he had saved while teaching in the Hiram school. With this money he hoped to manage to get through a year. A few weeks remained of the closing school year, and he attended the recitations of the Sophomore class in order to get familiar with the methods of the professors before testing his ability to pass the examinations for the Junior year. He had a keen sense of his want of the advantages of society and general culture which the students with whom he came in contact had enjoyed all their lives, but his homely manners and Western garb did not subject him to any slights or mortifications. The spirit of the college was generous and manly. No student was estimated by the clothes

he wore ; no one was snubbed because he was poor. The intellectual force, originality, and immense powers of study possessed by the new comer from Ohio were soon recognized by his classmates, and he enjoyed as much respect, cordiality, and companionship as if he had been the son of a millionaire. The beauty of the scenery around Williamstown made a strong impression upon his fancy. He had never seen mountains before. The spurs of the Green Hills which reach down from Vermont and enclose the little college town in their arms were to the young man from the monotonous landscapes of the Western Reserve a wonderful revelation of grandeur and beauty. He climbed Greylock and explored all the glens and valleys of the neighborhood.

The examination for entering the Junior class was passed without trouble. Although self-taught, save for the help of his friend and companion in his studies, Miss Booth, his knowledge of the books prescribed was thorough. A long summer vacation followed his examination, and this time he employed in the college library, the first large collection of books he had ever seen. His absorption in the double work of teaching and fitting himself for college had hitherto left him little time for general reading, and the library opened a new world of profit and delight. He had never read a line of Shakespeare save a few extracts in the school reading-books. From the whole range of fiction he had voluntarily shut himself off at eighteen, when he joined the church, having serious views of the business of life, and imbibing the notion, then almost universal among religious people in the country districts of the West, that novel-reading was a waste of time, and therefore a sinful, worldly sort of intellectual amusement. When turned loose in the college library, with weeks of leisure to range at will over its shelves, he began with Shakespeare, which he read through from cover to cover. Then he went to English history and poetry. Of the poets, Tennyson pleased him best, which is not to be

wondered at, for the influence of the laureate was then at its height. He learned whole poems by heart and can repeat them now.

After he had been six or eight months at college, and had devoured an immense amount of serious reading, he began to suffer from intellectual dyspepsia. He found his mind was not assimilating what he read, and would often refuse to be held down to the printed page. Then he revised his notions about books of fiction and concluded that romance is as valuable a part of intellectual food as salad of a dinner. He prescribed for himself one novel a month, and on this medicine his mind speedily recuperated and got back all its old elasticity. Cooper's "Leatherstocking Tales" were the first novels he read, and afterward Walter Scott. An English class-mate introduced him to the works of Dickens and Thackeray. He formed a habit in those days of making notes while he read of everything he did not clearly understand, such as historical references, mythological allusions, technical terms, etc. These notes he would take time to look up afterward in the library, so as to leave nothing obscure in his mind concerning the books he read. The thoroughness he displayed in his work in after-life was thus begun at that early period, and applied to every subject he took hold of. The ground his mind traversed he carefully cleared and ploughed before leaving it for fresh fields.

Garfield studied Latin and Greek, and took up German as an elective study. One year at college completed his classical studies, on which he was far advanced before he came to Williams. German he carried on successfully until he could read Goethe and Schiller readily and acquired considerable fluency in the conversational use of the language. He entered with zeal into the literary work of the school, joined the Philological Society, was a vigorous debater, and in his last year was one of the editors of the *Williams Quarterly*, a college periodical of a high order of merit. To this magazine he was a frequent

contributor in prose, and once wrote a poem. The influence of the mind and character of Dr. Hopkins was powerfully felt in shaping the direction of his thought and his views of life. He often says that the good President rose like a sun before him, and enlightened his whole mental and moral nature. His preaching and teaching were a constant inspiration to the young Ohio student, and he became the centre of his college life—the object of his reverence and hero-worship.

At the end of the fall term of 1854 came a winter vacation of two months, which Garfield employed in teaching a writing-school at North Pownal, Vermont. He wrote a bold, handsome, legible hand, not at all like that in vogue nowadays in the systems taught in the commercial colleges, but a hand that was strongly individual and was the envy of the boys and girls who tried to imitate it in his Vermont class. It is said that a year or two before Garfield taught his writing-class in the North Pownal school-house, Chester A. Arthur taught the district school in the same building.

At the end of the college year, in June, Garfield went back to Ohio and visited his mother, who was then living with a daughter in Solon. His money was exhausted, and he had to adopt one of two plans, either to borrow enough to take him through to graduation at the end of the next year, or to go to teaching in order to earn the money, and thus break the continuity of his college course. He then hit upon the plan of insuring his life, and assigning the policy as security for a loan. His brother Thomas undertook to furnish the funds in instalments, but becoming embarrassed was not able to do so, and a neighbor, Dr. Robinson, assumed the obligation. Garfield gave his notes for the loan, and regarded the transaction as on a fair business basis, knowing that if he lived he would repay the money and that if he died his creditor would be secure.

His second winter vacation Garfield spent in Poestenkill, New York, a country neighborhood about six miles from Troy, where

a Disciple minister from Ohio, named Streeter, was preaching, and where he soon organized a writing-school to employ his time and bring him in a little money. Occasionally Garfield preached in his friend's church. During a visit to Troy he became acquainted with the teachers and directors of the public schools of that city, and was one day surprised by the offer of a position in them at a salary far beyond his expectations of what he could earn after his graduation and return to Ohio. It was a turning-point in his life. If he accepted, he could soon pay his debts, marry the girl to whom he was engaged, and live a life of comfort in an attractive Eastern city ; but he could not finish his college course, and he would have to sever the ties with friends in Ohio and with the struggling school at Hiram, to which he was deeply attached. Had he taken the position, his whole subsequent career would no doubt have been different. While in church at Chicago just before the nomination last June, he recognized in the congregation the man who made him the offer in Troy. The two had not met since that time. "Do you remember what you said on that occasion?" asked his old friend. "No ; I cannot recall the conversation." "We were walking on a hill called Mount Olympus when I made you my proposition. After a few moments silence you said : 'You are not Satan, and I am not Jesus, but we are upon a mountain and you have tempted me powerfully. I think I must say, get thee behind me. I am poor, and the salary would soon pay my debts and place me in a position of independence : but there are two objections. I could not accomplish my resolution to complete a college course, and should be crippled intellectually for life. Then my roots are all fixed in Ohio, where people know me and I know them, and this transplanting might not succeed as well in the long run as to go back home and work for smaller pay.' "

Study at Williams was easy for Garfield. He had been used to much harder work at Hiram, where he had crowded a six years' course into three, and taught at the same time. Now he

had the stimulus of a large class, an advantage he had never enjoyed before. His lessons were always perfectly learned, and he found a good deal of time for courses of reading that involved as much brain-work as the college text-books.

During his last term at Williams he made his first political speech, an address before a meeting gathered in one of the class-rooms to support the nomination of John C. Fremont. Although he had passed his majority nearly four years before, he had never voted. The old parties did not interest him; he believed them both corrupted with the sin of slavery; but when a new party arose to combat the designs of the slave power it enlisted his earnest sympathies. His mind was free from all bias concerning the parties and statesmen of the past, and could equally admire Clay or Jackson, Webster or Benton. He is the first man nominated for the Presidency whose political convictions and activities began with the birth of the Republican Party.

He graduated August, 1856, with a class honor established by President Hopkins and highly esteemed in the college—that of *Metaphysic*—reading an essay on “The Seen and the Unseen.” It is singular how, at different times in the course of his education, he was thought to have a special aptitude for some single line of intellectual work, and how at a later period his talents seemed to lie just as strongly in some other line. At one time it was mathematics, at another the classics, at another rhetoric, and finally he excelled in metaphysic. The truth was that he had a remarkably vigorous and well-rounded brain, capable of doing effective work in any direction his will might dictate. The class of 1856 contained among its forty-two members a number of men who have since won distinction. Three became general officers in the volunteer army during the rebellion—Garfield, Daviess, and Thompson. Two, Bolter and Shattuck, were captains, and were killed in battle; Eldridge, who now lives in Chicago, was a colonel; so was Ferris Ja-

cobs, of Delhi, N. Y. Rockwell is a quartermaster in the Regular Army. Gilfillan is Treasurer of the United States. Hill was Assistant Attorney General and is now a lawyer in Boston. Knox is a leading lawyer in New York. Newcombe is a professor in the University of the City of New York. In the class ahead of Garfield was Hitchcock, lately Senator from Nebraska, and Ingalls, now a Senator from Kansas. To furnish two United States Senators from one class and a Senator-elect and Presidential nominee from the next following class, is an honor which has probably never before fallen to any college. Ingalls was the poet of the school in his day, and many of his associates believed him destined to take rank in the future close up to Tennyson. Many years later, after he came to the Senate, Garfield met him at a dinner-party and brought the blushes to the Kansas statesman's face by reciting from memory two or three of his college productions.

CHAPTER V.

TEACHER AND PRINCIPAL AT HIRAM.

BEFORE Garfield graduated at Williams College the trustees of the Hiram Eclectic Institute elected him teacher of ancient languages, and the post was ready for him as soon as he got back to Ohio. It was not a professorship, because the institution was not a college, and did not become one until 1867, long after his connection with it ceased. A year later, when only twenty-six years old, he was placed at the head of the school, with the title of Chairman of the Board of Instruction, the Board waiting another year before conferring upon him the full honors of the Principalship. He continued to hold the position of Principal until he went into the army, in 1861. He was nominal Principal two years longer, the Board hoping he would re-

turn and manage the school after the war ended. When he went to Congress he was made Advising Principal and lecturer, and his name was borne upon the catalogues in this capacity until 1864. He is still one of the trustees.

Before he went to college, Garfield had begun to preach a little in the country churches around Hiram, and when he returned he began to fill the pulpit in the Disciples' Church in Hiram with considerable regularity. In his denomination no ordination is required to become a minister. Any brother having the ability to discourse on religious topics to a congregation is welcomed to the pulpit. His fame as a lay preacher extended throughout the counties of Portage, Summit, Trumbull, and Geauga, and he was often invited to preach in the towns of that region. He felt no special call to the ministry—if he gave up teaching he had already determined to go to the law—but he was an earnest supporter of the Christian sect with which he had connected himself, and was eager to advance its interests; besides, it helped the school for the young Principal to make acquaintances in the surrounding country. Almost every sermon delivered away from home brought new pupils at the beginning of the next term.

His method of conducting recitations in the school embodied a series of technical questions for text-book answers, the assignment of topics, calls upon the students for their opinions and finally his own discussion of the subject-matter, which was always thorough, luminous, and ingeniously interesting. His memory was wonderful, and his thoughts would range over his reading and reflections to gather fresh material to illustrate and broaden the lessons beyond the range of the text-book. He was a famous teacher of English grammar: if he had any specialty, this was it, but he seemed to teach all branches equally well—mathematics, classics, philosophy, history, etc. He had a code of rules for the school, but his own presence and personal force were more potent than all the regulations which

could be devised. The students obeyed him because they loved him and respected him. He was cordial and companionable with them all, and made such careful studies of the pupils' characters that he knew what forces to bring to bear in each individual case to secure application to study and to awaken ambition for a noble life. Inspired by his wonderful influence, which seemed to reach to the fibres of every pupil's heart, the school became like a great harmonious family in which he was the wise, affectionate elder brother. One of his former pupils says of his peculiarities as a teacher :

“ No matter how old the pupils were, Garfield always called us by our first names, and kept himself on the most familiar terms with all. He played with us freely, scuffled with us sometimes, walked with us in walking to and fro, and we treated him out of the class-room just about as we did one another. Yet he was a most strict disciplinarian, and enforced the rules like a martinet. He combined an affectionate and confiding manner with respect for order in a most successful manner. If he wanted to speak to a pupil, either for reproof or approbation, he would generally manage to get one arm around him and draw him close up to him. He had a peculiar way of shaking hands, too, giving a twist to your arm and drawing you right up to him. This sympathetic manner has helped him to advancement. When I was janitor he used sometimes to stop me and ask my opinion about this and that, as if seriously advising with me. I can see that my opinion could not have been of any value, and that he probably asked me partly to increase my self-respect and partly to show me that he felt an interest in me. I certainly was his friend all the firmer for it.

“ I remember once asking him what was the best way to pursue a certain study, and he said : ‘ Use several text-books. Get the views of different authors as you advance. In that way you can plough a broader furrow. I always study in that way.’ He tried hard to teach us to observe carefully and accurately.

He broke out one day in the midst of a lesson with, 'Henry, how many posts are there under the building down-stairs?' Henry expressed his opinion, and the question went around the class, hardly one getting it right. Then it was - 'How many boot-scrapers are there at the door?' - 'How many windows in the building?' - 'How many trees in the field?' What were the color of different rooms and the peculiarities of any familiar objects. He was the keenest observer I ever saw. I think he noticed and numbered every button on our coats. A friend of mine was walking with him through Cleveland one day, when Garfield stopped and darted down a cellar-way, asking his companion to follow, and briefly pausing to explain himself. The sign 'Saws and Files' was over the door, and in the depths was heard a regular clicking sound. 'I think the fellow is cutting files,' said he, 'and I have never seen a file cut.' Down they went, and, sure enough, there was a man recutting an old file, and they stayed ten minutes and found out all about the process. Garfield would never go by anything without understanding it.

Mr. Garfield was very fond of lecturing to the school. He spoke two or three times a week, on all manner of topics, generally scientific, though sometimes literary or historical. He spoke with great freedom, never writing out what he had to say, and I now think that his lectures were a rapid compilation of his current reading, and that he threw it into this form partly for the purpose of impressing it on his own mind. His facility of speech was learned when he was a pupil there. The societies had a rule that every student should take his stand on the platform and speak for five minutes on any topic suggested at the moment by the audience. It was a very trying ordeal. Garfield broke down badly the first two times he tried to speak, but persisted, and was at last, when he went to Williams, one of the best of the five-minute speakers. When he returned as Principal his readiness was striking and remarkable.

“At the time I was at school at Hiram, Principal Garfield was a great reader, not omnivorous, but methodical and in certain lines. He was the most industrious man I ever knew or heard of. At one time he delivered lectures on geology, held public debates on Spiritualism, preached on Sunday, conducted the recitations of five or six classes every day, attended to all the financial affairs of the school, was an active member of the Legislature, and studied law to be admitted to the Bar. He has often said that he never could have performed this labor if it had not been for the assistance of two gifted and earnest women—Mrs. Garfield herself, his early schoolmate, who had followed her husband in his studies, and Miss Almeda A. Booth, a member of the faculty. The latter was a graduate of Oberlin, and had been a teacher of young Garfield when he was a pupil, and now that he had returned as head of the faculty she continued to serve him in a sort of motherly way as tutor and guide. When Garfield had speeches to make in the Legislature or on the stump, or lectures to deliver, these two ladies ransacked the library by day and collected facts and marked books for his digestion and use in the preparation of the discourses at night. Mr. Garfield always acknowledged his great obligation to Miss Almeda Booth, and at her death, recently, he delivered one of the most touching and eloquent addresses of his life.”

The attendance at the school ranged from a hundred and eighty to two hundred, and the salaries of teachers and Principal not being fixed, but depending upon the revenue of the institution, fluctuated somewhat. The spring and fall terms were the fullest, because many of the pupils went out in the winter to teach country schools. Mr. Garfield's salary averaged about eight hundred dollars a year, a comfortable little income for rural Ohio in the times before the war.

He cast his first vote in 1856 for John C. Fremont, his own political career thus beginning with the first national campaign

of the Republican Party. Before leaving Williams College he made a speech to the students, on the question of slavery in the Territories, and during the fall, after he returned to Hiram, he spoke in the Disciples' Church in reply to Alphonso Hart, of Ravenna, who had delivered a Democratic address there a few nights before. Then a joint debate was arranged at Garrettsville, between Hart and Garfield which attracted a good deal of local attention and is well remembered to this day by the older farmers of Portage County. This debate launched Garfield as a political speaker. His reputation as a stump orator widened steadily from that debate until it embraced first the State of Ohio and then the Nation.

A year after he took charge of the Hiram school Garfield married Lucretia Rudolph, his fellow-student and pupil in former years, to whom he had engaged himself before he went to Williams College. Their love had stood the test of time and absence, and now that he had made his place in the world and felt that he could support a family, there was nothing to hinder its consummation. The marriage took place at the house of the bride's parents, November 14th, 1858.

Miss Rudolph was a girl of unusual culture. A good scholar in Latin, Greek, and German, and also in mathematics and philosophy, she met the young teacher on his own intellectual plane. They read the same books and delighted in the same studies. Yet with all this learning, she was still a quiet, trusting, affectionate country girl who had but one hero in life, her lover and husband, but one ambition—to hold fast his love, and make for him a happy home. She was of medium stature, with dark hazel eyes, wavy brown hair, a rounded form, and an expression about her mouth denoting a calm, sweet temper, combined with a strong will. The marriage was a happy one. Indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise, for there was congeniality of taste, a high ideal of a pure home life, identity of religious belief, a great love of study and culture, and a long-standing affection to base it on.

CHAPTER VI.

IN THE STATE SENATE.

THE years of Garfield's Principalship of the Hiram Eclectic Institute were years of great intellectual activity. He delivered three lectures a week to the students, following usually the line of his reading. It was his habit to make skeleton notes of what he read, and by the aid of these notes to talk for half an hour upon the theme of the book, giving the ideas of the author and then his own comments. He delivered lectures before literary societies in the neighboring towns. One was on the "Character and Writings of Sir Walter Scott," another on the "Character of the German People," another on "Carlyle's Frederick the Great." He became greatly interested in the science of geology, and held a debate with William Denton on the question of whether all life upon the earth was developed by processes of law or had been introduced by successive creative acts. Denton held the development theory; Garfield that of intelligent providential action. The discussion lasted five days and evenings, embraced twenty speeches on the part of each of the disputants, and was remarkable as a sustained and severe intellectual effort. It brought Garfield many invitations to deliver courses of lectures on geology. He prepared a course and gave it at a number of places in Northern Ohio. His labors upon the stump, beginning in 1856, with perhaps a score of speeches for Fremont and Dayton in country school-houses and town-halls in the region around Hiram, were extended in 1857 and 1858 over a wider area of territory, and in 1859 he began to speak at county mass-meetings. His first appearance at a big meeting was at Akron, where his name was put upon the bills below that of Salmon P. Chase. There the young teacher met for the first time the great anti-slavery leader whom he had honored and admired from his boyhood,

and a friendship sprang up between the two which endured until Chase's death. All this time, while infusing new vigor into the Hiram school, delving in the fields of literature and science, and fighting on the stump the battles of the young Republican Party against slavery, Garfield did a great deal of pulpit work. Of his career as a lay preacher something will be said in another chapter. He often filled the pulpit in the Disciples' Church at Hiram, and for some time was the regular minister in Solon and Newburg, going on Saturday to one or the other of these places, and returning to Hiram for school duties Monday morning. Such an amount of work would have broken down any man not gifted with a remarkably vigorous brain and a remarkably vigorous body, but hard work in many lines at once seemed to be natural to him. He slept well, ate heartily, and was never overtaken by anything which could be done in the working hours of the twenty-four. Repose seemed not to be necessary to his organization. His mind never lay fallow.

In 1859, he was chosen by the faculty of Williams College to deliver the Master's Oration on Commencement Day, and taking his wife with him, he went down the St. Lawrence River to Quebec, and then crossed the New England States to Williamstown—making the first pleasure trip of his life. Before leaving home he had been solicited to be a candidate for the Legislature from Portage County, but declined. He thought at the time that the State Senate might have tempted him. The Senatorship from the district composed of Portage and Summit counties was conceded to Portage, and the politicians had generally agreed upon an old citizen of Ravenna, Mr. Prentiss, for the place. When Garfield returned from his Eastern trip, he learned that Mr. Prentiss had died during his absence and was met at Mantua station by some friends who desired him to be a candidate. He told them he would have to talk with the faculty at Hiram before he could give them an answer. The

teachers advised him to take the nomination, and said they thought they could get along without him in the school during the few weeks he would be in Columbus. So he wrote to his political friends that if they desired to nominate him without any seeking or effort on his part, he would not refuse. There were a number of candidates, but Garfield was nominated at the third ballot, and the district being heavily Republican, was elected without trouble, although some fault was found with him because of his refusal to pledge himself to this or that measure and his declaration of a purpose to act independently according to his own convictions of duty.

In January, 1860, he went to Columbus, and took his seat in the State Senate. Soon a warm friendship sprang up between him and Jacob D. Cox, afterward Major-General, Governor, and Secretary of the Interior. The two roomed together, studied together, read together, and worked together on measures of legislation. They were called the Damon and Pythias of the legislature. He found himself with very little knowledge of the machinery of the State Government, and to supply his deficiency he adopted a plan that was characteristically original. "If I trace a dollar," he said to his friend Cox, "from the pocket of a taxpayer up to the State Treasury, and then out to its ultimate destination in the payment of State expenditures, and familiarize myself with all the statutes governing every transfer of the money, I think I shall know pretty well how the State machine works." This plan he carried out, and at the end of his investigation had thoroughly mastered the subject. The campaign of 1860 made him widely known throughout the State. Before the legislature adjourned a meeting was held in Columbus to ratify the nomination of William Denison for Governor. Chase, Giddings, Hassaurek, and Garfield were the speakers. Garfield spoke last. He had just been reading a poem by Charles Mackay, who had lately visited this country, describing the progress southward of a Mississippi River steam-

er from St. Louis to New Orleans. With his remarkable memory, Garfield had the poem at his tongue's end, and a happy thought struck him to compare the progress of the Democratic Party from its old anti-slavery ideas toward absolute subserviency to the South to the voyage of the steamer as described by Mackay. The verses lent themselves marvellously to the comparison, especially one about driving a drove of squealing, grunting hogs across a plank upon the boat. The plank, in the illustration, was the Dred Scott decision and the hogs the unwilling Northern Democrats. The speech was a great hit, and made the young orator famous throughout the State. Invitations came to speak in Cincinnati and in most of the large towns. From a local stumper at school-house and township meetings, Garfield developed into one of the most popular campaign orators in the State.

He found time to read law assiduously while he was in the legislature. In 1858, he made up his mind that his future career should be at the Bar. Teaching seemed rather an episode than a permanent vocation, and he did not feel the inner call to devote himself to preaching, although he was a successful pulpit orator, and was a devoted believer in Christianity. He therefore entered his name as a law student in the office of Williamson & Riddle, in Cleveland, and got from Mr. Riddle a list of the books to be studied. His method of study was to read a chapter, close the book, and write a synopsis of it; then re-read the chapter and compare the synopsis with it. In this way the contents of the books became firmly fixed in his mind. In 1861 he applied to the Supreme Court in Columbus for admission to the Bar, was examined by a committee composed of Thomas M. Key, a distinguished lawyer of Cincinnati, and Robert Harrison, afterward a member of the Supreme Court Commission, and admitted. His intention was to open an office in Cleveland, but the breaking out of the war changed his plans.

During his two winters at Columbus, Garfield was chairman of the Committee on Colleges and Universities, and made a number of thoughtful reports. He introduced a bill for a geological survey of the State which the war pushed aside for a time, but which was afterward passed. In the winter of 1861 he offered a resolution inviting the Legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee to visit Columbus as the guests of the Ohio Legislature, the purpose being to strengthen the bonds of the Union in view of the gathering storm of secession. The resolution was adopted, the invitation accepted, and Garfield went to Louisville as chairman of the Reception Committee, and made a notable speech there at a banquet. He was severely criticised at home for his course in this matter, but the visit of the two legislatures unquestionably exerted an important influence in strengthening the Union feeling in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Garfield and Cox were among the first to foresee that the end of secession would be war. After a long talk one night, they came to the conclusion that war was inevitable, and mutually pledged themselves to each other to enter the struggle and offer their lives to their country. This resolution was taken in no light mood. Both had homes and families. Governor Cox has often said since that the moment when he clasped hands with his friend and agreed to enter the army was the most solemn moment of his life. The comrades began at once to read military works and study the profession of arms. They introduced a bill offering the United States Government three millions of dollars for the war. Garfield offered a bill punishing treason against the State, and supported it with an exhaustive report and speech on the question of the possibility of treason being committed against a State, which carried the bill through. After McClellan came to Columbus to take command of the State troops, Garfield was sent to Springfield, Illinois, to procure five thousand stand of arms, a portion of those saved by General Lyon, and removed from the St. Louis arsenal. He suc-

succeeded in his mission, shipped the guns, and saw them safely delivered at Columbus. He was sent to Cleveland by Governor Denison soon after the fall of Fort Sumter to organize the Seventh and Eighth Regiments of Ohio infantry. The Governor offered him the colonelcy of one of the new regiments, but he declined because he did not think himself fit for such a post as long as he was without military experience. If a West Pointer could be got to take command, he would be glad, he said, of a subordinate position. Finally, the Governor appointed him lieutenant-colonel and sent him to the Western Reserve to raise a regiment, with the understanding that a West Pointer should be found for its colonel if possible. Garfield suggested Captain (now General) Hazen, a Portage County man, then serving in the Regular Army, and Governor Dennison asked the War Department to detail him, but General Scott would not consent. So the Forty-second Regiment went into camp without any colonel, and it was only then that Garfield yielded to the solicitations of its officers and of the Governor, and consented to take command.

CHAPTER VII.

FIGHTING FOR THE UNION.

THIS and the following chapter, relative to General Garfield's military career, are copied without change from Whitelaw Reid's "Ohio in the War," a comprehensive history, published in 1867, of the part played by Ohio regiments and Ohio men in suppressing the rebellion. Mr. Reid, now the distinguished editor of the *New York Tribune*, was one of the most intrepid and impartial of the war correspondents—those staff officers of the people, sent with the armies of the Union to share their dangers and hardships and describe their marches and battles through the medium of the daily press. His account of

General Garfield's part in the war is peculiarly valuable, inasmuch as it was written long before there could be any political motive for exaggerating his heroism and military genius, as one of a series of criticisms, conspicuous for good judgment and fairness, upon the men from Ohio who won distinction in the national armies.

When the time came for appointing the officers for the Ohio troops, the legislature was still in session. Garfield at once avowed his intention of entering the service. But he displayed at the outset his signal want of tact and of skill in advancing his own interests. Of the three leading radical Senators, Garfield had the most personal popularity. Cox was at that time, perhaps, a more compact and pointed speaker—he had matured earlier, as (to change the figure) he was to culminate sooner. But he had never aroused the warm regard which Garfield's whole-hearted, generous disposition always excited. Yet Cox had the sagacity to see how his interests were to be advanced. He abandoned the Senate chamber; installed himself as an assistant in the Governor's office, made his skill felt in the rush of business, and soon convinced the appointing power of his special aptitude for military affairs. In natural sequence he was presently appointed a brigadier-general. Garfield was sent off on a mission to some Western States to see about arms for the Ohio volunteers, and on his return he was offered the lieutenant-colonelcy of one of the reserve regiments, but his making haste slowly was not to injure his future career.

On the 14th of August, 1861, some months after the adjournment of the legislature, and after the successful close of McClellan's West Virginia campaign, the ex-Senator was finally appointed by Governor Denison Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment not yet organized, a company for which had been recruited among the pupils of the Hiram Eclectic Institute.

It was understood that if he had cared to push the matter,

Garfield might have been colonel ; but with a modesty quite unusual in those days of the war, he preferred to start low, and rise as he learned. Five weeks were spent in diligently drilling the regiment, and finally, about the time its organization was complete, the lieutenant-colonel was, without his own solicitation, promoted to the colonelcy.

It was not until the 14th of December that orders for the field were received. The regiment was then sent to Catlettsburg, Kentucky, and the colonel was directed to report in person to General Buell. That astute officer, though as opposite as the poles to Garfield in his political convictions, soon perceived the military worth of the young colonel. On the 17th of December he assigned Colonel Garfield to the command of the Seventeenth Brigade, and ordered him to drive the rebel forces under Humphrey Marshall out of the Sandy Valley, in Eastern Kentucky.

Up to this date no active operations had been attempted in the great department that lay south of the Ohio River. The spell of Bull Run still hung over our armies. Save the campaigns in Western Virginia, and the unfortunate attack by General Grant at Belmont, not a single engagement had occurred over all the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. General Buell was preparing to advance upon the rebel position at Bowling Green, when he suddenly found himself hampered by two co-operating forces skilfully planted within striking distance of his flank. General Zollicoffer was advancing from Cumberland Gap to Ward Mill Spring ; and Humphrey Marshall, moving down the Sandy Valley, was threatening to overrun Eastern Kentucky. Till these could be driven back, an advance upon Bowling Green would be perilous, if not actually impossible. To General George H. Thomas, then just raised from his colonelcy of regulars to a brigadier-generalship of volunteers, was committed the task of repulsing Zollicoffer ; to the untried colonel of the raw Forty-second Ohio, the task

of repulsing Humphrey Marshall, and on their success the whole army of the department waited.

Colonel Garfield thus found himself, before he had ever seen a gun fired in action, in command of four regiments of infantry, and some eight companies of cavalry,* charged with the work of driving out of his native State the officer reputed the ablest of those, not educated to war, whom Kentucky had given to the Rebellion. Marshall had under his command nearly five thousand men, stationed at the village of Paintville, sixty miles up the Sandy Valley. He was expected by the rebel authorities to advance toward Lexington, unite with Zollicoffer, and establish the authority of the Provisional Government at the State capital. These hopes were fed by the recollection of his great intellectual abilities, and the soldierly reputation he had borne ever since he led the famous charge of the Kentucky Volunteers at Buena Vista.

Colonel Garfield joined the bulk of his brigade at the mouth of the Big Sandy, and moved with it directly up the valley. Meantime he ordered the small force at Paris to march overland and effect a junction with him a little below Paintville. The force with which he was able to move numbered about twenty-two hundred.

Marshall heard of the advance, through the sympathizing citizens, and fell back to protect his trains. As Garfield approached, January 7th, 1862, he ascertained the position of his enemy's cavalry, and sent some of his own mounted forces to make a reconnoissance in force of the positions which he still supposed Marshall's main body to occupy. He speedily discovered Marshall's retreat; then hastily sent word back to his cavalry not to attack the enemy's cavalry until he had time to plant his

* The brigade was composed of the Fortieth and Forty-second Ohio, the Fourteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry, six companies of the First Kentucky Cavalry, and two companies of McLaughlin's (Ohio) Cavalry.

force on its line of retreat. Unfortunately, the circuitous route delayed the courier, and before Garfield's order could be delivered the attack had been made, and Marshall's cavalry had been driven back in considerable confusion. When, pushing on with the main column, he reached the road on which he had hoped to intercept their retreat, he found it strewn with overcoats, blankets, and cavalry equipments—proofs that they had already passed in their rout. Colonel Garfield pushed the pursuit with his cavalry till the infantry outposts were reached; then, drawing back, encamped with his whole force at Paintville. Here, next morning, he was joined by the troops that had marched from Paris, so that his effective force was now raised to about thirty-four hundred men.

After waiting a day for rations, which were taken through with the utmost difficulty, on the 9th of January Garfield advanced upon Marshall's new position near Prestonburg. Before nightfall he had driven in the enemy's pickets, and had sent orders back to Paintville to forward the few troops—less than one thousand in all—who had not been supplied with rations in time to move with the rest of the column. The men slept on their arms, under a soaking rain. By four o'clock in the morning of January 10th, they were in motion.

Marshall was believed to be stationed on Abbott's Creek. Garfield's plan, therefore, was to get over upon Middle Creek, and so plant himself on the enemy's rear. But in fact Marshall's force was upon the heights of Middle Creek itself, only two miles from Prestonburg. So, when Garfield, advancing cautiously westward up the creek, had consumed some hours in these movements, he came upon a semi-circular hill, scarcely one thousand yards in front of which was Marshall's position, between the forks of the creek. The expected reinforcements from Paintville had not yet arrived, and, conscious of his comparative weakness, Colonel Garfield determined first to develop

the enemy's position more carefully. A small body of picked men, sent dashing up the road, drew a fire both from the head of the gorge through which the road lead and from the heights on its left. Two columns were then moved forward, one on either side of the creek, and the rebels speedily opened upon them with musketry and artillery. The fight became somewhat severe at times, but was, on the whole, desultory. Garfield reinforced both of his columns, but the action soon developed itself mainly on the left, where Marshall speedily concentrated his whole force. Meantime Garfield's reserve was now also under fire from the commanding position held by the enemy's artillery. He was entirely without artillery to reply ; but the men stationed themselves behind trees and rocks, and kept up a brisk though irregular fusillade.

At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the reinforcements from Paintville arrived. As we now know, these still left Marshall's strength superior to that of his young assailant ; but the troops looked upon their opportune arrival as settling the contest. Unbounded enthusiasm was aroused, and the approaching column was received with prolonged cheering. Garfield now promptly formed his whole reserve for attacking the enemy's right and carrying his guns. The troops were moving rapidly up in the fast-gathering darkness, when Marshall hastily abandoned his position, fired his camp equipage and stores, and began a retreat which was not ended till he had reached Abingdon, Virginia. Night checked the pursuit. Next day it was continued for some distance, and some prisoners were taken ; but a further advance in that direction was quite impossible without more transportation, and, indeed, would have been foreign to the purpose for which General Buell had ordered the expedition.

Speaking of these movements on the Sandy, after he had gained more experience of war, Garfield said : " It was a very rash and imprudent affair on my part. If I had been an officer

of more experience I probably should not have made the attack. As it was, having gone into the army with the notion that fighting was our business, I didn't know any better."

A fresh peril, however, now beset the little force. An unusually violent rain-storm broke out, the mountain gorges were all flooded, and the Sandy rose to such a height that steam boatmen pronounced it impossible to ascend the stream with supplies. The troops were almost out of rations, and the rough, mountainous country was incapable of supporting them. Colonel Garfield had gone down the river to its mouth. He ordered the Sandy Valley, a small steamer which had been in the quartermaster's service, to take on a load of supplies and start up. The captain declared it was impossible. Efforts were made to get other vessels, but without success.

Finally Colonel Garfield ordered the captain and crew on board, stationed a competent army officer on deck to see that the captain did his duty, and himself took the wheel. The captain still protested that no boat could possibly stem the raging current, but Garfield turned her head up the stream and began the perilous trip. The water in the usually shallow river was sixty feet deep, and the tree-tops along the bank were almost submerged. The little vessel trembled from stem to stern at every motion of the engines; the waters whirled her about as if she were a skiff; and the utmost speed that steam could give her was three miles an hour. When night fell the captain of the boat begged permission to tie up. To attempt ascending that flood in the dark he declared was madness. But Colonel Garfield kept his place at the wheel. Finally, in one of the sudden bends of the river, they drove, with a full head of steam, into the quicksand of the bank. Every effort to back off was in vain. Mattocks were procured and excavations were made around the imbedded bow. Still she stuck. Garfield at last ordered a boat to be lowered to take a line across to the opposite bank. The crew protested

against venturing out in the flood. The Colonel leaped into the boat himself and steered it over. The force of the current carried them far below the point they sought to reach ; but they finally succeeded in making fast to a tree and rigging a windlass with rails sufficiently powerful to draw the vessel off and get her once more afloat.

It was on Saturday that the boat left the mouth of the Sandy. All night, all day Sunday, and all through Sunday night they kept up their struggle with the current, Garfield leaving the wheel only eight hours out of the whole time, and that during the day. By nine o'clock Monday morning they reached the camp, and were received with tumultuous cheering. Garfield himself could scarcely escape being borne to headquarters on the shoulders of the delighted men.

Through the months of January, February, and March, several small encounters with guerrillas in the mountains occurred, generally favorable to the Union arms, and finally resulting in the expulsion of the bands of marauders from the State. Just on the border, however, at the rough pass across the mountains, known as Pound Gap, eighty miles north of Cumberland Gap, Humphrey Marshall still kept up a post of observation, held by a force of about five hundred men. On the 14th of March, Garfield started with five hundred infantry and a couple of hundred cavalry against this detachment. The distance was forty miles, and the roads were at their worst, but by the evening of the next day he had reached the foot of the mountain, two miles north of the Gap. Next morning he sent the cavalry directly up the Gap road, to attract the enemy's attention, while he led the infantry along an unfrequented foot-path up the side of the mountain. A heavy snow-storm helped to conceal the movements. While the enemy watched the cavalry, Garfield had led the infantry, undiscovered, to within a quarter of a mile of their camp. Then he ordered an attack. The enemy were taken by surprise and a few volleys dispersed

them. They retreated in confusion down the eastern slope of the mountain, followed for several miles into Virginia by the cavalry. Considerable quantities of stores were captured. The troops rested for the night in the sixty comfortable log huts which the enemy had built, and the next morning burned them down, together with every thing else left by the enemy which they could not carry away.

Six days afterward an order was received to leave a small garrison at Piketon, and to transfer the rest of the command rapidly to Louisville.

These operations in the Sandy Valley had been conducted with such energy and skill as to receive the special commendation of the commanding general and of the Government. General Buell had been moved to words of unwonted praise.

The following is the text of General Buell's congratulatory order :

" HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO.)
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, January 20, 1862.)

" *General Orders No. 40.*

" The general commanding takes occasion to thank General Garfield and his troops for their successful campaign against the rebel force under General Marshall on the Big Sandy, and their gallant conduct in battle. They have overcome formidable difficulties in the character of the country, the condition of the roads, and the inclemency of the season ; and, without artillery, have, in several engagements, terminating in the battle on Middle Creek on the 10th inst., driven the enemy from intrenched positions, and forced him back into the mountains, with the loss of a large amount of baggage and stores, and many of his men killed or captured.

" These services have called into action the highest qualities of a soldier—fortitude, perseverance, courage."

The War Department had conferred the grade of brigadier-general, the commission bearing the date of the battle of Middle Creek. And the country, without understanding very well the details of the campaign—of which, indeed, no satisfactory account was published at the time—fully appreciated the satisfactory result. The discomfiture of Humphrey Mar-

shall was a source of special chagrin to the rebel sympathizers of Kentucky, and of amazement and admiration throughout the loyal West, and Garfield took rank in the public estimation among the most promising of the younger volunteer generals.

Later criticism will confirm the general verdict then passed upon the Sandy Valley campaign. It was the first of the brilliant series of successes that made the spring of 1862 so memorable. Mill Springs, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Nashville, Island No. 10, Memphis, followed in quick succession; but it was Garfield's honor that he opened this season of victories. His plans, as we have seen, were based on sound military principles; the energy which he threw into their execution was thoroughly admirable, and his management of the raw volunteers was such that they acquired the fullest confidence in their commander, and endured the hardships of the campaign with a fortitude not often shown in the first field-service of new troops. But the operations were on a small scale, and their chief significance lay in the capacity they developed, rather than in their intrinsic importance.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAJOR-GENERAL AND CHIEF OF STAFF.

ON his arrival at Louisville, from the Sandy Valley, General Garfield found that the Army of the Ohio was already beyond Nashville, on its march to Grant's aid at Pittsburg Landing. He hastened after it, reported to General Buell about thirty miles south of Columbia, and, under his order, at once assumed command of the Twentieth Brigade, then a part of the division under General Thomas J. Wood. He reached the field of Pittsburg Landing about one o'clock on the second day of the battle, and participated in its closing scenes.

The next day he moved with Sherman's advance, and had a sharp encounter with the enemy's rear-guard, a few miles beyond the battle-field. His brigade bore its full share in the tedious siege operations before Corinth, and was among the earliest in entering the abandoned town after General Beauregard's evacuation.

Then, when General Buell, turning eastward, sought to prepare for a new aggressive campaign with his inadequate forces, General Garfield was assigned to the task of rebuilding the bridges and reopening the Memphis and Charleston Railroad eastward from Corinth to Decatur. Crossing the Tennessee here, he advanced to Huntsville, where he remained during the rest of his service in that campaign. He was presently put at the head of the court-martial for the trial of General Turchin, whose conduct at Athens had been the occasion of a parting howl against General Mitchel, and had been one of the earliest subjects forced upon the attention of General Buell on his arrival.* His manifest capacity for such work led to his subsequent detail on several other courts-martial.

The old tendency to fever and ague, contracted in the days of his tow-path service on the Ohio Canal, was now aggravated in the malarious climate of the South, and General Garfield was finally sent home on sick-leave about the first of August. Near

* This case attracted great attention at the time, and General Turchin was vehemently championed by the newspapers, particularly those of Chicago. The charges against him were neglect of duty, to the prejudice of good order and discipline, in permitting the wanton and disgraceful pillage of the town of Athens, Alabama; conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, in failing to pay a hotel bill in the town; and insubordination, in disobeying the orders against the molestation of peaceful citizens in person and property. Some of the specifications particularized very shameful conduct. The court found him guilty (except as to the hotel-bill story), and sentenced him to dismissal from the army. Six of its members recommended him to clemency on account of mitigating circumstances, but the sentence was executed.

the same time the Secretary of War, who seems at this early day to have formed the high estimate of Garfield which he continued to entertain throughout the war, sent orders to him to proceed to Cumberland Gap, and relieve General George W. Morgan of his command. But when they were received he was too ill to leave his bed. A month later the Secretary ordered him to report in person at Washington, as soon as his health would permit.

On his arrival it was found that the estimate placed upon his knowledge of law, his judgment, and his loyalty had led to his selection as one of the first members of the court-martial for the noted trial of Fitz John Porter. In the duties connected with this detail most of the autumn was consumed. General Garfield was understood to be one of the clearest and firmest in the conviction that General Porter had wilfully permitted Pope's defeat at the second Bull Run, and that no less punishment than dismissal from the service would be at all adequate to his offence.

The intimacy that sprang up during the trial between General Garfield and General Hunter, the President of the court-martial, led to an application for him for service in South Carolina, whither Hunter was about to start. Garfield's anti-slavery views had been greatly strengthened by his experience thus far during the war, and the South Carolina appointment, under a commander so radical as Hunter, was on this account peculiarly gratifying. But in the midst of his plans and preparations, the old army in which he had served plunged into the battle of Stone River. A part of the bitter loss that followed was the loss of Garesche, the lamented Chief of Staff to the commanding general. Garfield was at once selected to take his place; the appointment to South Carolina was revoked; and early in January he was ordered out to General Rosecrans.

The Chief of Staff should bear the same relation to his general that a Minister of State does to his sovereign. What

this last relation is the most brilliant of recent historians shall tell us: "The difference between a servant and a Minister of State lies in this: that the servant obeys the orders given him, without troubling himself concerning the question whether his master is right or wrong; while a Minister of State declines to be the instrument for giving effect to measures which he deems to be hurtful to his country. The Chancellor of the Russian Empire was sagacious and polite. . . . That the Czar was wrong in these transactions against Turkey no man knew better. . . . But, unhappily for the Czar and for his Empire, the Minister did not enjoy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon his sovereign, nor even, perhaps, to offer him counsel in his angry mood."* We are now to see that in some respects our Chief of Staff came to a similar experience.

From the day of his appointment, General Garfield became the intimate associate and confidential adviser of his chief. But he did not occupy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon him.

The time of the general's arrival marks the beginning of that period of quarrels with the War Department in which General Rosecrans frittered away his influence and paved the road for his removal. We have seen in tracing the career of that great strategist and gallant soldier, how unwise he always was in caring for his own interests, and how imprudent was the most of his intercourse with his superiors. Yet he was nearly always right in his demands. General Garfield earnestly sympathized with his appeals for more cavalry † and for revolving arms. But he did all that lay in his power to soften the tone of asperity which his chief adopted in his dispatches to Washington. Sometimes he took the responsibility of totally

* Kinglake's "Crimean War," vol. i. chap. xvi.

† A demand which General Buell had made, quite as emphatically as his successor, and with an accurate prediction of the evils that would flow from its absence.

suppressing an angry message. Oftener he attempted to soften the phraseology. But in all of this there was a limit beyond which he could not go; and when Rosecrans had pronounced certain statements of the department "a profound, grievous, cruel, and ungenerous official and personal wrong," the good offices of the Chief of Staff were no longer efficacious—the breach was irreparable. Thenceforward he could only strive to make victories in the field atone for the errors in council.

He regarded the army as vitally defective. We have already pointed out, in tracing the actions of its chief, the great mistake of retaining as commanders of the wings such incapables as A. M. McCook and T. L. Crittenden. Almost the first recommendation made by General Garfield was for their displacement. It is gratifying now to know that he was so little moved by popular prejudice, and so well able to perceive real ability beneath concealing misfortunes, that he urged upon Rosecrans to replace them by Irvin McDowell and Don Carlos Buell. With George H. Thomas already in command, with men like these as his associates, and with the energy and genius of Rosecrans to lead them, the Army of the Cumberland would have been the best-officered army in the service of the nation. But Rosecrans was unwilling to adopt the suggestion—for a reason creditable to his kindness of heart, but not to his military character. Crittenden and McCook ought to be removed—of that he had no doubt, but—"he hated to injure two such good fellows." And so the "two good fellows" went on until Chickamauga.*

* To the above statement it should be added that General Garfield made the recommendation for the removal of Crittenden and McCook in the course of a discussion of the battle of Stone River, in which Rosecrans explicitly said that these officers had shown themselves incompetent in that engagement. Garfield did not take the ground that Buell and McDowell had approved themselves equal to the high commands they had formerly held, but, discussing this, he argued at length their masterly qualifications for im-

From the 4th of January to 24th of June General Rosecrans lay at Murfreesboro. Through five months of this delay General Garfield was with him. The War Department demanded an advance, and, when the spring opened, urged it with unusual vehemence. General Rosecrans delayed, waiting for cavalry, for re-inforcements, for Grant's movements before Vicksburg, for the movements of the enemy, for the operations of his generals. The Chief of Staff at first approved the delays, till the army should be strengthened and massed, but long before the delaying officers were ready he was urging movement with all of his power. He had established a secret service system, then perhaps the most perfect in any of the Union armies. From the intelligence it furnished he felt sure that Bragg's force had been considerably reduced, and was now greatly inferior to that of Rosecrans. As he subsequently said, he refused to believe that this army, which defeated a superior foe at Stone River, could not now move upon an inferior one with reasonable prospects of success.

Finally, General Rosecrans formally asked his corps, division, and cavalry generals as to the propriety of a movement. With singular unanimity, though for diverse reasons, they opposed it. Out of seventeen generals, not one was in favor of an immediate advance, and not one was even willing to put himself on record as in favor of an early advance.

General Garfield collated the seventeen letters sent in from the generals in reply to the questions of their commander, and fairly reported their substance, coupled with a cogent argument against them and in favor of an immediate movement. This report we venture to pronounce the ablest military document known to have been submitted by a Chief of Staff to his

portant subordinate positions, as well as the fact that this offer of an opportunity to come out from the cloud under which they rested would insure their gratitude and invite them to their very best efforts.