

superior during the war. General Garfield stood absolutely alone, every general commanding troops having, as we have seen, either openly opposed or failed to approve an advance. But his statements were so clear and his arguments so forcible that he carried conviction.

Twelve days after the reception of this report the army moved—to the great dissatisfaction of its leading generals. One of the three corps commanders, Major-General Thomas L. Crittenden, approached the Chief of Staff at the headquarters on the morning of the advance: "It is understood, sir," he said, "by the general officers of the army, that this movement is your work. I wish you to understand that it is a rash and fatal move, for which you will be held responsible."

This rash and fatal move was the Tullahoma campaign—a campaign perfect in its conception, excellent in its general execution, and only hindered from resulting in the complete destruction of the opposing army by the delays which had too long postponed its commencement. It might even yet have destroyed Bragg but for the terrible season of rains which set in on the morning of the advance, and continued uninterruptedly for the greater part of a month. With a week's earlier start it would have ended the career of Bragg's army in the war.

There now sprang up renewed differences between General Rosecrans and the War Department. In the general policy that controlled the movements of the army Garfield heartily sympathized; he had, in fact, aided to give shape to that policy. But he had deplored his chief's testy manner of conducting his defence to the complaints of the War Department, and did his best to soften the asperities of the correspondence.

At last came the battle of Chickamauga. Such by this time had come to be Garfield's influence, that he was nearly always consulted and often followed. He wrote every order issued that day—one only excepted. This he did rarely as an amanuensis, but rather on the suggestions of his own judgment, after-

ward submitting what he had prepared to Rosecrans for approval or change. The one order which he did not write was the fatal order to Wood which lost the battle. The meaning was correct; the words, however, did not clearly represent what Rosecrans meant, and the division commander in question so interpreted them as to destroy the right wing.

The general commanding and his Chief of Staff were caught in the tide of the disaster and borne back toward Chattanooga. The Chief of Staff was sent to communicate with Thomas, while the general proceeded to prepare for the reception of the routed army.

Such at least were the statements of the reports, and, in a technical sense, they were true. It should never be forgotten, however, in Garfield's praise, that it was on his own earnest representations that he was sent—that, in fact, he rather procured permission to go to Thomas and so back into the battle, than received orders to do so. He refused to believe that Thomas was routed or the battle lost. He found the road environed with dangers; some of his escort were killed, and they all narrowly escaped death or capture. But he bore to Thomas the first news that officer had received of the disaster on the right, and gave the information on which he was able to extricate his command. At seven o'clock that evening, under the personal supervision of General Gordon Granger and himself, a shotted salute from a battery of six Napoleon guns was fired into the woods after the last of the retreating assailants. They were the last shots of the battle of Chickamauga, and what was left of the Union Army was master of the field. For the time the enemy evidently regarded himself as repulsed; and Garfield said that night, and has always since maintained, that there was no necessity for the immediate retreat on Rossville.

Practically, this was the close of General Garfield's military career. A year before, while he was absent in the army, and without any solicitation on his part, he had been elected to

Congress from the old Giddings district, in which he resided. He was now, after a few weeks' service with Rosecrans at Chattanooga, sent on to Washington as the bearer of despatches. He there learned of his promotion to a major-generalship of volunteers, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chickamauga." He might have retained this position in the army; and the military capacity he had displayed, the high favor in which he was held by the Government, and the certainty of his assignment to important commands, seemed to augur a brilliant future. He was a poor man, too, and the major-general's salary was more than double that of the Congressman. But on mature reflection he decided that the circumstances under which the people had elected him to Congress bound him up to an effort to obey their wishes. He was furthermore urged to enter Congress by the officers of the army, who looked to him for aid in procuring such military legislation as the country and the army required. Under the belief that the path of usefulness to the country lay in the direction in which his constituents pointed, he sacrificed what seemed to be his personal interests, and on the 5th of December, 1863, resigned his commission, after nearly three years' service.

General Garfield's military career was not of a nature to subject him to trials on a large scale. He approved himself a good independent commander in the small operations in the Sandy Valley. His campaign there opened our series of successes in the West; and, though fought against superior forces, began with us the habit of victory. After that he was only a subordinate, but he always enjoyed the confidence of his immediate superiors, and of the department. As a chief of staff he was unrivalled. There, as elsewhere, he was ready to accept the gravest responsibilities in following his convictions. The bent of his mind was aggressive; his judgment of purely military matters was good; his papers on the Tullahoma campaign will stand a monument of his courage and his far-reaching, soldierly

sagacity ; and his conduct at Chickamauga will never be forgotten by a nation of brave men.

CHAPTER IX.

GARFIELD AT CHICKAMAUGA.

THE foregoing chapter closes the extract from Whitelaw Reid's history of "Ohio in the War." As an appropriate pendant, the following letter from W. F. G. Shanks, which recently appeared in the *New York Tribune*, is added. Mr. Shanks was at the battle of Chickamauga as a correspondent of the *New York Herald* :

A good deal of surprised comment was made, during the sessions of the Chicago Convention, at the statesmanlike utterances and attitude of General Garfield before it, as though such might not have been expected. His moderation, his candor, his evident sincerity and earnestness, and his conciliatory and politic utterances are not new to the style and manner of the man. He has distinguished himself in the display of the same argumentative and diplomatic qualities on more than one occasion. In fact, General Garfield's military record is that of one who was at once warrior and statesman, equally brave in the field and sagacious in counsels affecting the policy, if not the military conduct, of the war.

One of the first incidents of his military career to bring him into general notice was not a feat of war, but of argument. In January, 1863, he became the Chief of Staff to Major General William S. Rosecrans, then in command of the Army of the Cumberland. How he came to be selected by Rosecrans the present writer does not remember, but it was soon after the battle of Stone River, in which the former chief was killed. Garfield was looked upon as about the only mature member of

the staff, Rosecrans having a partiality for young and gallant spirits like Captain Charles Thompson, Major Bond, Colonel Mickler, Captain Hunter Brooke, Major Horace Porter, subsequently on Grant's staff, and Major Morton McMichael. Not that Garfield was much older than these, but he had a mature look always, and his mood was ever serious, as if there was in the peril of the Nation something more of personal concern and personal interest to him than to most of his associates. It was while Garfield was acting in this capacity under Rosecrans that Clement C. Vallandigham, of Ohio, banished to the South for his treasonable sentiments, was brought to Murfreesboro, Tenn., where the army lay, to be sent by a flag of truce, into the rebel lines, a few miles distant, at Tullahoma. When brought into camp, Vallandigham was taken, in the usual course of business, to Rosecrans's headquarters, and he and Garfield being acquaintances, it was natural that they should fall into conversation, and equally natural that the conversation should be in regard to the policy and conduct of the war in a political sense. The conversation was reported by a correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, who was present, and was copied into almost every paper of the country, both loyal and rebel, as a fine illustration of sound and argumentative views on both sides. The comments of the loyal papers were highly complimentary to General Garfield, and this brought him into particular notice. His last words with Vallandigham on the next morning, just as the latter was about to be escorted into the rebel lines, at once finely illustrated Garfield's quickness and neatness at repartee and that familiarity on his part with Shakespeare without which no education can be said to be complete. Vallandigham, on his appearance in the room at a very early hour of the morning, with an affectation of unconcern and light-heartedness which he could not have felt, threw himself into a tragic air, and in a mock heroic vein exclaimed, from *Romeo and Juliet* ;

“ Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain-tops.”

Here he hesitated, when Garfield quickly but quietly finished the speech by adding, in a half aside, to the aide de-camp in charge of the flag of truce escort, waiting to convey Vallandigham to the rebel lines :

“ I must begone and live, or stay and die.”

Vallandigham, however, overheard and caught the hidden meaning of the citation, and blushed scarlet as he made its application.

Later on, in the campaign of the Army of the Cumberland against Bragg at Chattanooga, Garfield again encountered a prominent Southern gentleman in argument as to the policy of the war. What Garfield said was a powerful plea, in advance, for the policy subsequently adopted of freeing and arming the slaves of the South. This was published in the *Cincinnati Gazette* about the last of August, 1863, and would be well worth reproducing as an illustration of the clear, forcible, and logical views of the then comparatively young politician on the great questions of the time. Like the interview with Vallandigham, the conversation was quoted all over the North and served to bring Garfield into further notice.

The first martial achievement of Garfield which attracted general attention was his conduct at Chickamauga, on the second day of that battle, September 20th, 1863. His conspicuous bravery on that occasion won for him the rank of major-general. As Chief of Staff, it was his duty to remain with General Rosecrans, and it happened that the latter had established his headquarters for the day in the rear of the right wing and centre, leaving General George H. Thomas to look personally to the direction of the left wing. McCook and Crittenden were commanders of the other two corps. Soon after the fog, which for the most of the morning enveloped the field and made manœuvring almost impossible, the rebels, under Longstreet, who had come from Lee's Virginia army to take part in this great con-

test, made a grand assault on the right and centre. A division of Crittenden's corps was moving to the left at this juncture, and the gap in the line had not been filled by other troops when the attack was made. The rebels penetrated far to the rear of the Union line at this point, and turned and drove back the right of Thomas's forces and the left of the other two corps. The latter were eventually routed, driven across a ridge of hills to roads leading into Chattanooga, toward which they retreated in dreadful disorder and panic. Thomas, however, held his ground, withdrawing his right only a little. In the tumult of the defeat of the right and centre, McCook, Crittenden, and Rosecrans, with their staff officers, were driven beyond the ridge named, and they too started for Chattanooga, not knowing how Thomas had fared. Garfield followed his commander about half way to Chattanooga, but refused to go any farther, and accompanied only by his orderly and Captain William B. Gaw, of the Engineers, who offered to act as his guide, he rode through Rossville Gap in the mountain range, and pushed southward again in search of General Thomas, the firing of whose guns, indicating that there was a brisk fight still going on, could be distinctly heard. Garfield on this occasion literally followed the Napoleonic maxim for the guidance of his generals: "March in the direction of the heaviest firing."

At the time he made this attempt the road by which Garfield expected to reach General Thomas was under cover of the sharpshooters and advance guards of the rebels, who were pushing forward to secure possession of the road and thereby cut off Thomas's line of retreat. Garfield did not know of their presence there until admonished of it by the sharp fire of the enemy. The horses of both Garfield and Gaw were shot at the first fire, and Garfield's orderly was wounded. They were compelled to swerve from the beaten road and take to the fields and mountain-side. Gaw was perfectly familiar with the topography,

and following his guidance Garfield ran the gauntlet of the rebel line and finally reached General Thomas in safety. z

He reached the "Rock of Chickamauga" just after the repulse of the enemy in a formidable assault all along Thomas's line, which the rebels enveloped on both flanks. He found Thomas and his staff, General Gordon Granger, General James B. Steedman, General Wood, and others grouped in a hollow of an open field, a depression just sufficient to protect them from the rebel fire. It is all a myth about General Thomas standing on a big rock, his breast thrown out in defiant attitude, with a look of scorn on his face. There were no rocks on the field; none nearer than Lookout Mountain, ten miles away. The fact was that Thomas was very glad of the security afforded by the depression in the field, and his look was one of much concern and anxiety, and everybody knew that he was heartily wishing it was nightfall, that he might slip away and get back to Chattanooga. The historic scene was sketched shortly after, and a very accurate painting of it, by Walker, hangs on the walls of General J. Watts DePeyster, in this city. There were several dead trees still standing, and numbers of those present in the group did not disdain their shelter, so near were the rebel marksmen, posted high in the branches of trees for the purpose of firing on the group.

When Garfield reached Thomas, he at once gave the latter a brief account of the disaster to the right and centre, and heard from General Thomas a statement of his own situation and intention. This conversation was cut short by another assault of the rebel lines. It was made with great force and in great desperation, the rebels evidently foreseeing that if repulsed they could not get their troops in position for still another attack before the sun went down. The fire lasted furiously for half an hour, when the rebels again broke and abandoned the assault. During all this fight General Garfield quietly sat on the ground, behind one of the dead trees alluded to, and coolly in-

dited a dispatch to General Rosecrans, detailing the situation. While he sat there, and during the heaviest of the firing, a white dove, after hovering around and above for several minutes, finally settled on the topmost perch of the tree above Garfield's head. Here it remained during the heat of the fight, and when the musketry ceased it flew away to the North. Garfield's attention and that of General Wood was called to the bird. The latter said nothing, but went on writing. Wood simply said in reply: "Good omen of peace." Garfield having finished his dispatch, sent it by an officer, and himself remained on the field with General Thomas until the retreat was effected the same night to Chattanooga.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST TERM IN CONGRESS.

IN the summer of 1862, when everybody supposed the war was going to end in a few months, a number of officers who had gained distinction in the field were taken up at home and elected to Congress. Among them was General Garfield, who was nominated by the Republicans of Joshua R. Giddings's old district while with his brigade in Kentucky. He had no knowledge of any such movement in his behalf, and when he accepted the nomination, he did so in the belief that the rebellion would be subdued before he would be called upon to take his seat in the House in December, 1863. His nomination was partly the result of his military fame and partly of a desire on the part of the friends of Giddings to defeat his successor, John Hutchins, who had pushed him out of Congress four years before. Garfield's popularity made him the most available man in the district for this purpose. He was elected by a large majority.

He continued his military service up to the day of the meeting of Congress. Even then he seriously thought of resigning his position as a Representative rather than his Major-General's commission, and would have done so had not Lincoln urged him to enter Congress. He has often expressed regret that he did not fight the war through. Had he done so, he would no doubt have ranked at its close among the foremost of the victorious Generals of the Republic, for he displayed in his Sandy Valley campaign and at the battle of Chickamauga the highest qualities of generalship. A brilliant opening awaited him in the Army of the Cumberland. General Thomas wanted him to take command of a corps. President Lincoln told him he greatly needed the influence in the House of one who had had practical military experience to push through the needed war legislation. He yielded, and on the 5th of December, 1863, gave up his generalship and took his seat in the House.

He was appointed on the Military Committee, under the chairmanship of General Schenck, and was of great service in carrying through the measures which recruited the armies during the closing years of the war. Schenck had just come out of the army with a shattered right arm and a Major-General's epaulets. The two Ohio soldiers became fast friends and co-workers. They took lodgings in the same house, ate at the same table, and devoted their combined energies to carrying through Congress such practical legislation as their experience in the field had shown was needed to fill up the wasted ranks and increase the efficiency of the forces engaged in the suppression of the rebellion. Garfield opposed the continuance of the commutation law, which allowed men drafted to escape service by paying three hundred dollars, or by pleading a variety of disabilities. A draft of 200,000 had produced only 13,000 men for actual service. President Lincoln went to the Capitol and told the Military Committee that this law must be repealed or the armies drawn back and placed upon the defensive. The politi-

cal campaign of 1864 was at hand, and members of Congress were afraid of the effect of a vigorous draft upon the fortunes of the Republican Party. One of the committee reminded Lincoln that his own re-election was pending, and that of all the members of the House, and that the unpopularity of a draft which could not be evaded might defeat them all. Lincoln replied, with a solemnity of manner unusual with him: "It is not necessary that I should be re-elected, or that the members of this Congress should be re-elected, but it is necessary that the rebellion should be suppressed, and the Union restored. Give me the men I ask, and I will end the war with another year; refuse, and I must withdraw our armies from Atlanta and from the march to Richmond." General Garfield warmly supported the President; the timidity of Congress was overcome; the draft was vigorously enforced, and the rebellion was crushed within the time Lincoln promised.

General Garfield soon took rank in the House as a ready and forcible debater, a hard worker, and a diligent, practical legislator. His superior knowledge used to offend some of his less learned colleagues at first. They thought him bookish and pedantic, until they found how solid and useful was his store of knowledge, and how pertinent to the business in hand were the drafts he made upon it. His genial personal ways soon made him many warm friends in Congress. The men of brains in both houses and in the departments were not long in discovering that here was a fresh, strong intellectual force that was destined to make its mark upon the politics of the country. They sought his acquaintance, and before he had been long in Washington he had the advantage of the best society of the capital.

In the summer of 1864, a breach occurred between the President and some of the most radical of the Republican leaders in Congress over the question of the reconstruction of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana. Congress passed a bill providing for the organization of loyal governments within the Union

lines of these States, but Lincoln vetoed it and appointed military Governors. Senator Ben Wade, of Ohio, and Representative Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, united, in a letter to the *New York Tribune*, sharply criticising the President for defeating the will of Congress. This letter became known as the Wade-Davis manifesto, and created a great sensation in political circles. The story got about in the Nineteenth District that General Garfield had expressed sympathy with the position of Wade and Davis. His constituents condemned the document, and were strongly disposed to set him aside and nominate another man for Congress. When the convention met the feeling against Garfield was so pronounced that he regarded his re-nomination as hopeless. He was called upon to explain his course. He went upon the platform and everybody expected something in the nature of an apology, but he boldly defended his position, approved the manifesto, justified Wade, and said he had nothing to retract and could not change his honest convictions for the sake of a seat in Congress. He had great respect, he said, for the opinions of his constituents, but greater regard for his own. If he could serve them as an independent Representative, acting on his own judgment and conscience, he would be glad to do so, but if not, he did not want their nomination; he would prefer to be an independent private citizen. Probably no man ever talked in that way before or since to a body of men who held his political fate in their hands. Leaving the platform, he strode out of the hall and down the stairs, supposing that he had effectually cut his own throat. Scarcely had he disappeared when one of the youngest delegates sprang up and said: "The man who has the courage to face a convention like that deserves a nomination. I move that General Garfield be nominated by acclamation." The motion was carried with a shout which reached the ears of the Congressman and arrested him on the sidewalk as he was returning to the hotel. He was re-elected by a majority of over 12,000.

CHAPTER XI.

IN CONGRESS—1865 TO 1867.

At the beginning of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December, 1865, General Garfield asked Speaker Colfax to transfer him from the Committee on Military Affairs to that of Ways and Means, saying that in the near future financial questions would occupy the attention of the country and he desired to be in a position to study them carefully in advance. The Military Committee having on its hands the work of reorganizing the Regular Army on a peace basis, was the more important of the two at the time, but Garfield foresaw the storm of agitation and delusion concerning the debt and the currency which was soon to break upon the country, and wisely prepared to meet it. He began a long and severe course of study, ransacking the Congressional Library for works that threw light on the experience of other countries, and that gave the ideas of the thinkers and statesmen of all nations on these subjects. As he read he made copious notes, which were of great service to him in after years. Most of all he studied the history of the long suspension of specie payments in Great Britain during and after the Napoleonic wars. He used to sit at his library-table until long after midnight, surrounded by volumes of Parliamentary reports and debates. In them he found every dishonest theory and wild delusion respecting the public debt and paper money which was afterward advanced in this country as new and beneficial discoveries. The Bullion Report of Horner and Huskisson was like a flood of light to him. He used to characterize it as the bulwark of sound currency ideas for this whole century. It demonstrated by facts too plain for controversy that gold had not risen during the suspension, but was still the measure of values, though out of use as currency, and that it was paper

which went up and down. In Sir Robert Peel's manly avowal in 1820 that Horner had been right in 1810 and he wrong, and in his subsequent sturdy defence of specie payments, he found much instructive material which he afterward used to good effect in the battles he led against inflation and repudiation.

Then he went back to study the history of the Continental currency, and still further back to the French assignats and the George Law scheme, and afterward passed down the line of early American statesmen, gathering their wisdom to reinforce his belief that the precious metals were the only trustworthy standards of value. All this time there was not a ripple of financial agitation in Congress. The public mind was wholly occupied with the new Constitutional Amendments and the legislation for reconstructing the Rebel States. In the passage of those amendments and that legislation he bore a prominent part, but he never relaxed his financial studies. They gave him the firm basis of fact and conviction which was like a rock under his feet in all the turbulent agitation of the following years. He forged from them a sharp sword to slash the wind-bag paper-money schemes of demagogues and fanatics, and to cut to pieces the many projects which arose for repudiating the obligations of the nation to its creditors.

His membership of the Ways and Means opened up a line of congenial work in connection with the tariff and the system of internal revenue taxation. These two sources of income, gauged to the needs of the war, had to be changed to conform to the conditions of peace. In the course of this work and of the investigations which accompanied it, he reached a conclusion upon the tariff question from which he has never departed since—namely, that whatever may be the truth or falsity of abstract theories about free trade, the interests of the United States require a moderate protective system. He made a speech in which he expressed his views on this subject very clearly. Subsequent experience and study has shown him no occasion

for modifying those views. In March, 1866, he made his first speech on the currency question, and took strong ground in favor of a speedy return to specie payments. "On the one side," he said, "it is proposed to return to solid and honest values; on the other to float on the boundless and shoreless sea of paper money, with all its dishonesty and broken pledges. I, for one, am unwilling that my name shall be linked to the fate of a paper currency. I believe that any party which commits itself to paper money will go down amid the general disaster, covered with the curses of a ruined people." In that speech he traced the history of suspension in England and drew from it a warning for this country which few were disposed to heed at the time.

General Garfield's third nomination, in 1868 was not accomplished without resistance. Some of the iron-workers in the southern part of his district were dissatisfied because he was not willing to go to the extreme length of an almost prohibitive tariff on their products. They brought forward as their candidate the old member John Hutchins, whose place Garfield had taken four years before, and made an active canvass of the district, flooding it with circulars attacking Garfield's record in Congress, and charging him, without evidence, with being a free trader. They elected a small minority of the delegates to the nominating convention, but their strength was not great enough to make a showing against a movement to renominate Garfield by acclamation. In after-years, when the crash of 1873 had shown the folly of over-stimulating manufactures by exorbitant tariffs, these same iron-masters became convinced that he was their best friend.

In the summer of 1867 General Garfield went to Europe, and made a rapid tour through Great Britain and the Continent. His health failed under the pressure of too much brain-work, and he took this means of recuperating. This was the only year since he entered public life that he had been absent from a

political campaign. He returned late in the fall to find that Pendletonism—a demand for the payment of the bonded debt in irredeemable greenback notes—had run rampant in Ohio, and had taken possession of the Republican Party as well as of the Democracy. A reception was given him at Jefferson, in his district, which assumed the form of a public meeting. He was told that he had better say nothing about his financial views, for his constituents had made up their minds that the bonds ought to be redeemed in greenbacks. He made a speech in which he told his friends plainly that they were deluded, that there could be no honest money not redeemable in coin and no honest payment of the debt could be made save in coin, and that as long as he was their representative he should stand on that ground, whatever might be their views. The speech produced a deep impression throughout the district. The next June the National Republican Convention took sound ground upon the debt and currency questions, and most Republicans who had been carried away by Pendletonism grew ashamed of their folly.

In the Fortieth Congress General Garfield was put back upon the Military Committee and made its chairman. The work was hardly to his taste but there was plenty of it to do, and he engaged in it with his usual energy. It consisted mainly in tying up the loose threads of the war, examining the claims for pay and bounty of irregular military organizations and of officers and men in whose records there were technical errors. General Garfield set on foot a thorough examination of the condition of the army, the organization and efficiency of the staff and line, and sought to correct by legislation the errors of routine and tradition, and to modernize the service. He prepared a report which has since been a standard work in military circles.

The time for taking the decennial census was at hand, and on his motion a special committee was raised to prepare the

needed legislation. Although second on the committee, he was its acting chairman. The committee devoted six weeks to the study of the subject, and prepared a bill which considerably enlarged the field of statistics to be covered by the census, and sought to make the returns far more valuable than before to the political economist and the sociologist. The bill passed the House but failed in the Senate, and the census of 1870 was taken under the old law. Ten years later, however, the Garfield bill was revived, and with a few modifications made by the Commissioner of the Census, became the law for the census of 1880.

General Garfield got a bill through for the establishment of a National Bureau of Education, in response to a report of the National Teachers' Association. This bureau is his own creation, and he had to defend it for many years against the assaults of the weak-government people, who did not want any new function added to the Federal Government. At last, however, its utility was so fully demonstrated that the attacks ceased.

In 1868 Garfield was renominated without opposition, and chosen a fourth time to represent his district.

CHAPTER XII.

IN CONGRESS—1869—1875.

ON the organization of the Forty-first Congress, in December, 1869, General Garfield was made chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency. The inflation movement was rapidly gathering force in the country, and men of both parties in Congress were swept into it by fear of their constituents. A cry was set up that times were getting hard because there was not money enough to do the business of the people. The West, par-

ticularly, clamored for more currency. The necessary shrinkage from war prices was taken as a proof of a dearth of circulating medium. False tabular statements were circulated, making a contrast between the amount of currency in circulation in 1865 and 1869. General Garfield led the opposition to inflation. Seeing that what the people needed to lead them to right conclusions was information, he studied the situation with great care and his speeches bristled with facts which could not be controverted. Finally, after a long fight in his committee with the men who wanted to throw out a flood of new greenbacks, he brought in and carried through Congress, a bill allowing an addition of fifty-four millions to the national bank circulation and giving preference in the assignment of the new issue to the States which had less than their quota of the old circulation. This measure was a stunning blow to the inflation movement. The new issue was not all taken up for four years, and during all that time it was a sufficient answer to all demands for "more money" to call attention to the fact that there was currency waiting in the Treasury for any one who would organize a bank. Soon after the fifty-four millions were applied for national banking was made perfectly free. Then the inflationists were forced to change their ground, assault the banks, and claim that it was greenbacks which were to bless the country, and make people rich, and no other kind of paper money. The New York gold panic came during General Garfield's chairmanship of the Banking Committee. Under orders of the House, he conducted with great sagacity and thoroughness an investigation which exposed all the secrets of the gold gamblers' plot which culminated in "Black Friday". He made a report which was a complete history of the affair, and the lesson he drew from it was that the only certain remedy against the recurrence of such transactions was to be found in the resumption of specie payments. Pushing his researches into financial subjects, and defending on all occasions the principle that the

only safe and sound currency was one based upon coin, he became the recognized leader of the honest-money party in the House and the most potent single factor in the opposition to inflation. He helped work up the bill to strengthen the public credit, which failed to get through during the closing days of Johnson's administration, but was passed as soon as Grant came in and was the first measure to which the new President put his signature. This bill committed Congress fully to the payment of the public debt in coin and was the fortress around which the financial battle raged in subsequent years. Thaddeus Stevens, deluded in his old age by the sophistries concerning the greenbacks, deserted the hard-money side in the struggle over the bill, declared that the bonds were payable in greenbacks, and denied that he had taken other ground in his advocacy of the original five-twenty bond bill in 1862. General Garfield made an analysis of the history of the law and showed that in the debate over the bill Stevens said six times that the bonds were payable in coin; that everybody so understood the contract at the time; that the Secretary of the Treasury so advertised the bonds; that the people bought them with the promise that they were to be so paid. Garfield's speech furnished the rallying ground for the opponents of the greenback theory. Day after day the *New York Tribune* kept a paragraph standing in its editorial columns challenging a refutation of the facts he had presented. From the strong bulwark of those facts a successful appeal was made to the conscience of the American people.

In December, 1871, General Garfield was placed at the head of the important Committee on Appropriations, a position which made him the leader of the majority side of the House. With his old habit of doing everything he undertook with the utmost thoroughness, he made a laborious study of the whole history of appropriation bills in this country and of the English budget system. Especially did he seek to discover the philosophic law

back of all legislation, if one existed, governing the return of a nation from the high plane of war expenditures to the normal level of peace. He found that the experience of both England and this country, in the past, showed that it took a period after the close of a war about twice as long as the war itself to get upon a peace basis of expenditures.

He made a speech in which he predicted that by the end of 1876 Congress would reach the limit of the lowest possible reduction of expenditures, and that from that time forward there would be a gradual increase under the conditions of peace, in a ratio which he stated in proportion to the growth of population and the settlement of new territory. About a year ago, in an article on "Appropriations and Missappropriations," in the *North American Review*, he quoted his prediction of 1871, and showed that it had come true within a few months of the time then fixed, and within a small percentage of the increase after that date which he had stated. That speech of 1871 was the first regular budget speech, explaining thoroughly the needs of all departments of the Government, and the means for meeting them, which had ever been made in the House. Thereafter, General Garfield made such a speech regularly every year on introducing the General Appropriation Bill, and his successors in the chairmanship of the committee have continued the custom.

General Garfield found a great deal of looseness and confusion in the practice concerning estimates and appropriations. Unexpended balances were lying in the Treasury, amounting to \$130,000,000, beyond the supervision of Congress and subject to the drafts of Government officers. There were besides what were called permanent appropriations, which ran on from year to year without any legislation. Garfield instituted a sweeping reform. He got laws passed covering all old balances back into the Treasury, making all appropriations expire at the end of the fiscal year for which made, unless needed

to carry out contracts, and covering in all appropriations at the end of every second year. At the same time he required the Executive Departments to itemize their estimates of the money needed to run the Government much more fully than had been done before, so that Congress could know just how every dollar it voted was to be expended.

All this time he was a rigid but intelligent economist. He was often forced to make himself unpopular by opposing the measures of his fellow-members involving unwise expenditures of public money. He was the faithful guardian of the Treasury, but he pursued no penny-wise policy. The needs of the country and the requirements of an efficient administration were fully appreciated, and the irresponsible efforts of the Democrats to cripple the Government by a reckless cutting down of its supplies were successfully resisted. The total expenses of the Government were steadily reduced under his management but no branch of the public service had its efficiency impaired by such reduction.

The four years of his chairmanship of appropriations were years of close and unremitting labor. He worked habitually fifteen hours a day. In addition to the demands of his own department of legislation, he took part in all the general work of the House, bore a leading part in all the debates involving the principles of the Republican Party, fought without cessation a brave battle against inflation and repudiation, and omitted no opportunity to aid in educating the public mind to a comprehension of the importance of returning to specie payments.

CHAPTER XIII.

A CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER.

FIVE times had General Garfield been chosen to represent the old Giddings district without serious opposition in his own party, and without a breath of suspicion being cast upon his personal integrity. With one exception, all his nominations had been made by acclamation. In his sixth canvass, however, a storm of calumny broke upon him. A concerted attack was made upon him for the purpose, if possible, of defeating him in the Convention, and failing in that, to beat him at the polls. He was charged with bribery and corruption in connection with the *Crédit Mobilier* affair and the De Golyer pavement contract, and with responsibility for the Salary Grab. A few Liberal Republicans of 1872 led the attack and the Democrats supported them. The district was soon broadcast with printed sheets traducing him. An extra sheet of the *New York Sun*, devoted to assailing and misrepresenting his record, was printed and sent in enormous numbers to the district. So many copies were received in the town of Painesville alone that a dray was loaded with them. Wherever Garfield went on his canvass of his district, he found the sheets in everybody's hand. He met the charges in a bold, straightforward way, published a pamphlet, reviewing the testimony against him, showed that the only evidence connecting him with the *Crédit Mobilier* stock was the unsupported and self-contradicted testimony of Oakes Ames, who had himself sworn at the beginning of the investigation that Garfield had none of the stock; that in the pavement business he had earned and received a fee, as any other lawyer might have done, in a matter which was not before Congress nor likely to come there; and that he opposed the Salary Grab persistently, and only voted at the last for the appropriation

bill containing it when the alternative was its passage or an extra session, with all its expense and its disturbance to business ; and that he had refused to receive the extra pay, and had so fixed it in the Treasury that neither himself nor his heirs could ever draw it.

In the Convention, General Garfield was nominated by a majority of three to one, and the opposition to him did not bring forward a candidate, but merely cast blank votes. His enemies then took their charges before the people. They nominated a second Republican candidate—a Methodist presiding elder, well-known and highly esteemed throughout the district, hoping to defeat the regular nominee. General Garfield met the charges against him before the jury of his constituents. He visited all parts of the district, speaking day and night at township meetings. The verdict of the election was a complete vindication of his character and actions. It was the year of the great Republican back-set. The Republicans lost every Northern State, from Massachusetts to Illinois. Governor Noyes, their soldier-candidate for re-election in Ohio, was beaten. Congressional districts that had gone Republican ever since the party was formed deserted to the Democracy. The adjoining district to Garfield's, which had given unbroken Republican majorities of from 4000 to 7000, elected a Democrat. All the general influences which produced this reaction were, of course, at work in Garfield's district, in addition to the personal charges against him and the special efforts made to defeat him. He held his district, however. It is important to notice the figures of the vote, for it has been claimed that the district rebuked him by cutting down his majority heavily. The fact is, his majority was greater than that of the State ticket, greater than Governor Noyes's. The total Republican vote fell off, but not so much as in many other districts. Nothing was accomplished by the campaign of mud-slinging. The honest, intelligent farmers of the Nineteenth District heard the evidence on both

sides and refused to believe that they had been represented for twelve years by a rascal. They declined to withdraw their confidence from General Garfield. The vote, as contrasted with that of 1872, was as follows :

In 1872, Garfield's vote for Congress was 19,189 ; opposition vote, 8254, Garfield's majority, 10,935. State ticket : Republican candidate for Secretary of State, 19,202 ; Democratic candidate, 8313. Republican majority, 10,889. In 1874, Garfield's vote for Congress was 12,591 ; opposition vote, 6245, Garfield's majority, 6346 ; Noyes's (Rep.) vote for Governor, 12,543 ; Allen's (Dem.) vote for Governor, 6021 ; Noyes's majority 6524 ; Garfield's vote more than Noyes's, 47. Garfield's falling off from 1872, 6598 ; Noyes's falling off from vote for State ticket in 1872, 6659. Garfield's decrease less than Noyes's, 61.

These figures are a perfect refutation of the charge that General Garfield's district gave any credence to the slanders so widely circulated against him. His constituents fully vindicated him, and in 1876 and 1878 nominated him by acclamation and elected him by increased majorities.

CHAPTER XIV.

LEADING THE MINORITY.

THE result of the elections of 1874 was to give the Democrats control of the House which met in December, 1875. Hitherto the legislative work of General Garfield had been constructive. The impress of his thought, study, and genius had been given to all the measures for closing the war, restoring popular government in the South, conferring suffrage and citizenship on the emancipated slaves, reorganizing the army, funding the national debt, and placing the currency on a sound basis. Now he was

called upon to defend this work against the assaults of the party which step by step had opposed its accomplishment, and which by the aid of the solid support of the late rebel element had gained power in Congress. One of the first movements of the Democrats was for universal amnesty. Mr. Blaine offered an amendment to their bill excluding Jefferson Davis. Then followed the famous debate about the treatment of prisoners of war, opened by Blaine's dashing attack on Hill, continued by Hill's reply defending the South, and charging that Confederates had been starved in Northern prisons, and closing with Garfield's response to Hill. Garfield, by a brilliant stroke of parliamentary strategy, forced a Democrat to testify to the falsity of Hill's charge. He said that the Elmira, New York, district, where was located during the war the principal prison for captured rebels, was represented in the House by a Democrat. He did not know him, but he was willing to rest his case wholly on his testimony. He called upon the member from Elmira to inform the House whether the good people of his city had permitted the captured Confederate soldiers in their midst to suffer for want of food. The gentleman thus appealed to rose promptly and said that to his knowledge the prisoners had received exactly the same rations as the Union soldiers guarding them. While this statement was being made, a telegraphic dispatch was handed to General Garfield. Holding it up he said, "The lightnings of heaven are aiding me in this controversy." The dispatch was from General Elwell, of Cleveland, who had been the quartermaster at the Elmira prison, and who telegraphed that the rations issued to the rebel prisoners were in quantity and quality exactly the same as those issued to their guards. Garfield's speech killed the Democrats' bill. They withdrew it rather than risk a vote.

Mr. Blaine's transfer to the Senate soon after this debate left Garfield the recognized leader of the Republicans in the House. Mr. Kerr, the Democratic Speaker, died in the midst of his term,

and in the election for his successor General Garfield received the unanimous Republican vote. All his party associates turned to him with one accord as the man best fitted by experience, talent, and judgment to lead them. Soon after, in August, 1876, came the dispute with Lamar, in which Garfield's ability as an orator and a party chief shone with new brilliancy. Lamar was the greatest orator the Democrats had, and was selected by them to make a key-note campaign speech. In order to prevent, if possible, an effective reply, this effort was postponed to the end of the session. Four days before the adjournment Lamar got the floor and delivered the speech so long prepared. It was a sharp attack upon the Republican party, an appeal for sympathy for the "oppressed South," and an argument to show that peace and prosperity could come only through Democratic rule. General Garfield took notes of the speech. All his colleagues insisted that he alone was competent to break the force of Lamar's masterly effort. This speech is usually accounted the greatest of his life. It created a furor in the House. All business was suspended for ten minutes after he finished, so great was the excitement. One hundred thousand copies of the speech were subscribed for at once by members who wanted to circulate it in their districts, and during the campaign over a million copies were distributed. It contributed powerfully to the success of the Republican party in the Presidential campaign of that year.

After the election arose the dispute about the count of the votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. President Grant telegraphed to General Garfield under date of November 10th, as follows: "I would be gratified if you would go to New Orleans and remain until the vote of Louisiana is counted. Governor Kellogg requests that reliable witnesses be sent to see that the canvass of the vote is a fair one. U. S. GRANT."

Garfield went to Washington, consulted with the President, and then proceeded to New Orleans in company with John Sher-

man, Stanley Matthews, and a number of other prominent Republicans. The Democratic National Committee had already dispatched a committee there to look after the interests of their party. Neither in the newspapers at the time, nor in the subsequent report of the Potter Committee, was there any charge of unfairness brought against General Garfield on account of his actions in Louisiana. The special work was assigned him of taking up the official testimony in relation to the Parish of West Feliciana and reporting upon it. So conscientious was he in the matter that he was not content with the written testimony, but sent for the witnesses themselves and examined them personally, in order to satisfy himself of their credibility. He wrote a full account of the conduct of the campaign and election in West Feliciana which was embodied in Sherman's letter to President Grant. While on his way to Washington, returning from New Orleans, he was again chosen by the unanimous vote of the Republicans of the House as their candidate for Speaker.

General Garfield opposed the Electoral Commission bill. In common with many of the best constitutional lawyers in the country, he held that the terms of the Constitution and the practice of the first forty years after its adoption made it the duty of the Vice-President to count the Electoral votes, Congress being present as official witnesses, and not as participants in the transaction. He did not object to a commission as a mere committee to examine and report upon the facts, but he maintained that it could have no judicial authority. In support of his position he made a strong legal argument to the House. In spite of his opposition to the commission scheme, when the bill passed he was selected as a member of the tribunal. The Republicans of the House were to have two members. They met in caucus, and were about to ballot, when Mr. McCreary, of Iowa, said that there was one name on which they were all agreed, and which need not be submitted to the for-

mality of a vote—that of James A. Garfield. Garfield was chosen by acclamation. The second Commissioner was George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, who afterward presided over the Chicago Convention, which nominated General Garfield for the Presidency.

As a member of the Electoral Commission, General Garfield delivered two opinions, in which he brought out with great clearness the point that the Constitution places in the hands of the Legislatures of the States the power of determining how their Electors shall be chosen, and that Congress had no right to go behind the final decision of a State. If there was nothing in the Constitution or laws of a State touching the matter, its legislature could appoint Electors, as Vermont had done after her admission to the Union. This position, although in accord with the unbroken practice and the long line of constitutional authorities from the foundation of the Government, was antagonized by the Democrats, who tried to make Congress a great returning board, to canvass the returns of the election and take testimony as to the fairness of the action of local boards and State authorities.

Immediately after President Hayes's inauguration the Republicans in the Ohio Legislature desired to elect General Garfield to the United States Senate in place of John Sherman, who had resigned his seat to enter the Cabinet. Mr. Hayes made a personal appeal to him to decline to be a candidate and remain in the House to lead the Republicans in support of the Administration. General Garfield acceded, in the belief that his services would be of more value to the party in the House than in the Senate, and withdrew his name from the canvass, greatly to the disappointment of his friends in Ohio, who had already obtained pledges of the support of a large majority of the Republican members of the Legislature.

When Congress met in December, 1877, the reaction against Hayes, on account of his Southern policy, was in full force, and

there was imminent danger of a split in the Republican Party on this question which would cripple if not destroy it. General Garfield threw himself into the breach as a pacifator, to keep the party together. He saw that if Republicans quarrelled among themselves in the face of a united enemy, they could have no hope of future success. He prevented by his influence the holding of caucuses which would develop antagonisms and lead to bitter debates, and by his "Louisiana Pacification Speech," threw oil on the troubled waters. With rare sagacity and judgment, he succeeded in preventing a public outbreak of the feeling against the administration until the Potter Committee was raised by the Democrats to reopen the Electoral dispute and try the President's title. That committee united the Republicans like a closed fist. They rallied as one man to the defence of the President's right to be President. Mr. Hayes's subsequent conduct in upholding the election laws by his vetoes and in courageously asserting Republican doctrine in regard to the supremacy of the national authority, cemented the party by the strong tie of principle and all old controversies within itself were soon forgotten.

In the session of 1878, General Garfield led the long struggle in defence of the resumption act, which was assailed by the Democrats with a vigor born of desperation. His speech in support of the law was accepted by Republicans throughout the country as the financial gospel of the time. He also made a remarkable speech on the tariff question, in opposition to Wood's bill, which sought to break down the protective system.

During the extra session of 1879, forced by the Democrats, for the purpose of bringing the issue of the repeal of the Federal election laws prominently before the country, General Garfield led the Republican minority with consummate tact and judgment. The plan of the Democrats was to open the debate with a general attack on the Republican Party in order to throw their adversaries upon the defensive as apologists for the course

of their party. McMahon, of Ohio, was selected to make the opening speech. Garfield did not wait for him to make his argument, but securing the floor ahead of him, delivered his famous "Revolution in Congress" speech, in which he attacked the Democrats with such vigor and exposed with so much force their scheme for withholding appropriations for the support of the Government, to compel the President to sign their political measures, that they were thrown into confusion, and instead of taking the offensive, were obliged to resort to a weak, defensive campaign. Driven from position to position by successive vetoes and by the persistent assaults of the Republican minority, they ended with a ridiculous fiasco. Instead of refusing \$45,000,000 of appropriations, as they threatened at the beginning, they ended by appropriating \$44,600,000 of the amount, leaving only \$400,000 unprovided for.

Last winter the Democrats recommenced the fight, but in a feeble, disheartened way. They set out to refuse all pay to the United States Marshals unless the President would let them wipe out the election laws. General Garfield met them with a powerful speech on "Nullification in Congress," in which he showed that while it was clearly the foremost duty of the lawmakers in Congress to obey the laws, the Democrats had become leaders in an attempt to disobey them and break them down.

General Garfield's last work in Congress was a report on the Tucker Tariff Bill. An attempt was made by an advertising agency in New York last spring to prejudice the press of the country against him by making him appear as the friend of the paper-makers' monopoly, because he opposed the repeal of the tariff on paper pulp. The paper-makers wanted the duty abolished and managed to make the newspapers believe that it alone was the cause of the high price of paper. General Garfield investigated the matter with his accustomed thoroughness, and found that when it cost seven cents

to make a pound of paper, the value of the pulp was only one cent, and as the duty was twenty per cent., the difference it made in the cost of a pound of paper, was only four-tenths of a cent. The manufacturers had nearly doubled the price of paper and were pretending that this trifling duty was the cause of their exorbitant demands. General Garfield favored the reduction of the pulp tariff to ten per cent, but was not willing to break down an important industry and depart from the protective system in the case of a single article by repealing it altogether.

In January, 1880, General Garfield was chosen to the Senate by the Legislature of Ohio for the term of six years beginning March 4th, 1881. He received the unanimous vote of the Republican caucus, an honor never before conferred upon a citizen of Ohio by any party. The Republicans of his State with one accord demanded his promotion to the upper house of Congress, as a fitting reward for his long and faithful service in the lower branch, but the Republicans of the nation soon after selected him for a still greater promotion, and made him their candidate for the Presidency.

CHAPTER XV.

NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT.

GENERAL GARFIELD went to the Republican National Convention at Chicago as a delegate at large from the State of Ohio. His great experience and prominence in national politics made him very naturally the leader of the delegation. Ohio had agreed to present the name of General Sherman to the convention as its candidate for President. General Garfield entered heartily into the Sherman movement, and labored earnestly for the success of the candidate of his State. His

speech, presenting Sherman's name was universally applauded as a model of dignified oratory, and as a timely effort to prevent the sharp differences of feeling in the convention from weakening the party in the approaching campaign. His wise utterances in favor of harmony were in such decided contrast to the heated declamation indulged in by many partisans of other candidates that the convention instinctively turned to him as the peacemaker who could bring harmony out of the troubled sea of contention. His short speeches on questions arising before the convention during its long and turbulent session were all couched in the same vein of wise moderation, while adhering firmly to the principle of district representation and the right of every individual delegate to cast his own vote.

When the balloting began, a single delegate from Pennsylvania voted for Garfield. No attention was paid to this vote, which was thought to be a mere eccentricity on the part of the man who cast it. Later on a second Pennsylvania delegate joined the solitary Garfield man. So the balloting continued, the fight being a triangular one, between Grant, Blaine and Sherman, with Washburne, Edmunds, and Windom in the field, ready for possible compromises. General Garfield's plan, as the leader of the Sherman forces, was to keep his candidate steadily in the field, in the belief that in the end the Blaine men, seeing the impossibility of the success of their favorite, would come to Sherman and thus secure his nomination. After a whole day's voting, however, it became plain that a union of the Blaine and Sherman forces in favor of Sherman could not be effected, and that an attempt in that direction would throw enough additional votes to Grant to give him the victory. Some unsuccessful efforts were made on the second day's voting to rally on Edmunds and Washburne. Finally, on the 34th ballot, the Wisconsin men determined to make an effort in an entirely new direction to break the dead-lock. They threw their 17 votes for Garfield. General Garfield sprang to his feet and

protested against this proceeding, making the point of order that nobody had a right to vote for any member of the convention without his consent, and that consent, he said, "I refuse to give." The chairman declared that the point of order was not well taken, and ordered the Wisconsin vote to be counted. On the next ballot nearly the whole Indiana delegation swung over to Garfield, and a few scattering votes were changed to him from other States, making a total of fifty votes cast for him in all. Now it became plain that, by a happy inspiration, a way out of the difficulty had been found. On the 86th ballot, State after State swung over to Garfield amid intense excitement, and he was nominated by the following vote: Garfield, 399; Grant, 306; Sherman, 3; Washburne, 5. The nomination was accepted on all hands as an exceedingly fortunate one, and both the friends and opponents of General Garfield vied with each other in the enthusiasm with which they endorsed it. Congratulations poured in from all parts of the country, and on his way from Chicago to his farm in Ohio, General Garfield was the recipient of a popular ovation, which repeated itself at every town and railroad station.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL GARFIELD AS AN ORATOR.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S reputation as a stump-speaker was, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, an affair of steady growth, beginning in the immediate vicinity of his home in Hiram, spreading in a few years to the neighboring counties, extending in 1860 to the State of Ohio, and afterward widening so as to embrace the whole country. At present there is probably no living political orator whose efforts before large audiences are so effective. He appeals directly to the reason

of men, and only after he has carried his hearers along on a strong tide of argument to irresistible conclusions, does he address himself to their feelings. The emotions he arouses are all the more intense, from the fact that he has first convinced the mind that they are just and timely. He has a powerful voice, great personal magnetism, and a style of address that wins confidence at the outset, and he is a master of the art of binding together facts and logic into a solid sheaf of argument. At times he seems to lift his audience up and shake it with strong emotion, so powerful is his eloquence; but he loves best to reason with his hearers, calmly but emphatically. He never reads a speech from manuscript; he never writes one to commit to memory. His method of preparation is first to study his subject with great care, and then make a few head notes. With these notes to refer to, he speaks extemporaneously, and so well thought out is his matter that when reported verbatim it reads as if carefully written out in advance.

During the war General Garfield made but one speech—a Fourth of July oration delivered to five thousand soldiers from an army wagon in Alabama. In the campaign of 1864 he made a series of addresses in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, speaking sixty-five times and travelling 7,500 miles. The same year, before Congress adjourned, he went over to the eastern shore of Maryland, on the invitation of Postmaster-General Creswell, and spoke in Chestertown. This was the only time he ever met with a demonstration of mob spirit. Some rebel sympathizers in the crowd threw rotten eggs at him. He broke off the current of his discourse to say to them: "I have just come from fighting brave rebels at Chickamauga; I shall not flinch before cowardly rebels like you." Then he went on with his speech and was not again assailed. Every year from 1864 to 1870 save one he spoke almost every day while the campaign lasted, either in his own or other States. In 1865 he took the lead of his party in advocating manhood suffrage in Ohio. A

sentence from an address on this subject, delivered at Ravenna on July 4th, was kept standing as a motto in many of the Republican papers. It was, "Suffrage and safety, like liberty and union, are one and indivisible."

He has always regarded the stump as a great educating influence, and has felt a conscientious duty to offer to his audience the whole truth and the best thoughts he could command on the subject in hand. He is scrupulously careful in his statement of facts, and never gives as a fact what is only an opinion, or garbles an authority to gain support for an argument. His first speech in every campaign has for many years past been issued as a national campaign document.

Five years ago he began to go to the Maine canvass, and has kept up the custom regularly ever since. He has made three stumping tours of Michigan, one of New Hampshire, one of New Jersey, one of New York, one of Kansas, three of Indiana, two of Illinois, and he has also spoken in Wisconsin, Iowa, Pennsylvania, and other States. In Ohio there is scarcely a county where his voice has not repeatedly been heard before large assemblies. In 1868 he held a joint debate at Newark, O., with General George W. Morgan. In 1878 he carried on two joint discussions in Ohio with the present Senator Pendleton. In the first of these encounters, Pendleton supposed Garfield was going to make the same speech he had been making elsewhere in the canvass, and to this he thought his own stock speech for the campaign a sufficient reply, but Garfield surprised him by making an entirely fresh extemporaneous speech, consisting of a tremendous attack on the Democratic Party. Pendleton had nothing prepared to meet this, and was forced to make his old speech, which was an arraignment of the Republican Party. As Garfield had half an hour to close the debate, he was able to refute all of Pendleton's points, leaving his own to stand unanswered. His remarkable power of thinking on his legs was admirably exemplified on this occasion.

Outside of his political work, General Garfield has been a frequent platform speaker on topics connected with education, finance, and social science. In 1878 he delivered a notable address in Faneuil Hall, Boston on "Honest Money." In 1874 he delivered six lectures on social science at Hiram College. In 1869 he spoke on the value of statistics before the American Social Science Association in New York. In late years he has been an occasional contributor to the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *North American Review*.

A striking instance of General Garfield's power over a vast, excited multitude is related by a correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*:

"I shall never forget the first time I saw General Garfield. It was the morning after President Lincoln's assassination. The country was excited to its utmost tension, and New York city seemed ready for the scenes of the French Revolution. The intelligence of Lincoln's murder had been flashed by the wires over the whole land. The newspaper head-lines of the transaction were set up in the largest type, and the high crime was on every one's tongue. Fear took possession of men's minds as to the fate of the Government, for in a few hours the news came on that Seward's throat was cut and that attempts had been made upon the lives of others of the Government officers. Posters were stuck up everywhere, in great black letters, calling upon the loyal citizens of New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City and neighboring places, to meet around the Wall Street Exchange and give expression to their sentiments. It was a dark and terrible hour. What might come next no one could tell, and men spoke with bated breath. The wrath of the workingmen was simply uncontrollable, and revolvers and knives were in the hands of thousands of Lincoln's friends, ready at the first opportunity to take the law into their own hands and avenge the death of the martyred President upon any and all who dared to utter a word against him.

“Eleven o'clock A.M. was the hour set for the rendezvous. Fifty thousand people crowded around the Exchange Building, cranning and jamming the streets, and wedged in tight as men could stand together. With a few to whom a special favor was extended, I went over from Brooklyn, at 9 A.M., and, even then, with the utmost difficulty, found way to the reception room for the speakers in the front of the Exchange Building, and looking out upon the high and massive balcony, whose front was protected by a heavy iron railing. We sat in solemnity and silence, waiting for General Butler, who, it was announced, had started from Washington and was either already in the city or expected every moment. Nearly a hundred generals, judges, statesmen, lawyers, editors, clergymen, and others, were in that room waiting Butler's arrival. We stepped out to the balcony to watch the fearfully solemn and swaying mass of people. Not a hurrah was heard, but for the most part dead silence, or a deep, ominous muttering ran like a rising wave up the street toward Broadway, and again down toward the river on the right.

“At length the batons of the police were seen swinging in the air, far up on the left, parting the crowd and pressing it back to make way for a carriage that moved slowly and with difficult jogs, through the compact multitude. Suddenly the silence was broken, and the cry of ‘Butler! Butler! Butler!’ rang out with tremendous and thrilling effect, and was taken up by the people. But not a hurrah! Not one! It was the cry of a great people, asking to know how their President died. The blood bounded in our veins, and the tears ran like streams down our faces. How it was done I forget, but Butler was pulled through, and pulled up, and entered the room, where we had just walked back to meet him. A broad crape, a yard long, hung from his left arm—terrible contrast with the countless flags that were waving the nation's victory in the breeze. We first realized then the truth of the sad news that Lincoln

was dead. When Butler entered the room we shook hands. Some spoke, some couldn't. All were in tears. The only word Butler had for us all at the first break of the silence was: 'Gentlemen, he died in the fulness of his fame!' and as he spoke it his lips quivered, and the tears ran fast down his cheeks.

"Then, after a few moments, came the speaking. And you can imagine the effect, as the crape fluttered in the wind, while his arm was uplifted. Dickinson, of New York State, was fairly wild. The old man leaped over the iron railing of the balcony and stood on the very edge overhanging the crowd, gesticulating in the most vehement manner, and next thing to bidding the crowd 'burn up the rebel seed, root and branch,' while a bystander held on to his coat-tails to keep him from falling over. By this time the wave of popular indignation had swelled to its crest. Two men lay bleeding on one of the side streets, the one dead, the other next to dying; one on the pavement, the other in the gutter. They had said a moment before that 'Lincoln ought to have been shot long ago!' They were not allowed to say it again! Soon two long pieces of scantling stood out above the heads of the crowd, crossed at the top like the letter X, and a looped halter pendent from the junction, a dozen men following its slow motion through the masses, while 'Vengeance!' was the cry.

"On the right, suddenly, the shout rose, '*The World!*' '*The World!*' '*The office of *The World!**' '*World! World!*' and a movement of perhaps 8,000 or 10,000 turning their faces in the direction of that building began to be executed. It was a critical moment. What might come no one could tell, did that crowd get in front of that office. Police and military would have availed little or been too late. A telegram had just been read from Washington. 'Seward is dying.' Just then at that juncture a man stepped forward with a small flag in his hand, and beckoned to the crowd. 'Another telegram from

Washington !' And then, in the awful silence of the crisis; taking advantage of the hesitation of the crowd, whose steps had been arrested a moment, a right arm was lifted skyward, and a voice clear and steady, loud and distinct, spoke out : ' Fellow-citizens ! Clouds and darkness are round about Him ! His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds of the skies ! Justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne ! Mercy and truth shall go before His face ! Fellow-citizens ! God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives !'

" The effect was tremendous. The crowd stood riveted to the ground in awe, gazing at the motionless orator, and thinking of God and the security of the Government in that hour. As the boiling wave subsides and settles to the sea when some strong wind beats it down, so the tumult of the people sank and became still. All took it as a divine omen. It was a triumph of eloquence, inspired by the moment, such as falls to but one man's lot, and that but once in a century. The genius of Webster, Choate, Everett, Seward, never reached it. Demosthenes never equalled it. What might have happened had the surging and maddened mob been let loose, none can tell. The man for the crisis was on the spot, more potent than Napoleon's guns at Paris. I inquired what was his name. The answer came in a low whisper, ' It is General Garfield, of Ohio !' "

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL GARFIELD AS A LAWYER.

GARFIELD formed the intention of studying law while in college, but his poverty and his debt for his college expenses made it necessary for him to earn money at once, and for many years, while teaching in the Hiram Institute he saw no way of carrying out his plan. He managed to read law books, however.

and his election to the State Senate giving him more time for study, he entered his name in a Cleveland law office, and began a systematic course while serving in the Legislature. In 1861, as stated in a foregoing chapter, he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the State. His army service and his subsequent busy career in Congress prevented him from practising for a long time, but he always entertained the idea of settling in Cleveland when his public career should close, and devoting himself to the legal profession. His constituents refused to retire him from public life, however, and kept on returning him to Congress term after term, by unanimous nominations and large majorities at the polls. Being always a working member, giving up his time during the sessions to the business of legislation, and spending most of the vacations of Congress helping his party by his efforts upon the stump, he has found little opportunity for making briefs and pleas. Some business that was pressed upon him and that he could attend to without interfering with his public duties, he has accepted. His first case was that of the Indiana conspirators, Bowles and Mulligan, who were tried and convicted by a military commission in 1864 for treason. The case was brought before the Supreme Court on a question involving the right of a military tribunal to try civilians in a State not the theatre of actual war. General Garfield undertook the defense of the men, not from any desire to shield them from punishment, but because he believed the civil law should be supreme where not necessarily suspended by the operations of hostile armies. He made an argument of great ability and won the case. For his action in defending the conspirators, he was severely criticised by many of his Republican friends at home. In reference to these criticisms he said in a speech at Warren, Ohio, that he argued the case "in defense of what I believe to be a most vital and important principle, not only to the Republican Party, but to the nation—namely: that in no part of our civil community must the military be exalted above

the civil authority. . . . I believe that all over this land one of the great landmarks of civilization and civil liberty is the self-restraining liberty of the American people, curbing themselves and governing themselves by the limitation of the civil law."

In the spring of 1868 he was engaged to defend the will of Alexander Campbell, the founder of the sect of Disciples and of their college at Bethany, West Virginia. This case he also won. Since then he has been engaged in fifteen cases before the United States Supreme Court, most of them of considerable importance, one case in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, one in the United States Circuit Court at Mobile, Ala., and one in the Equity Court of Lawrence County, Pa. In these cases he has been associated with several of the leading lawyers of the country. His powers of analysis, his habit of going to the bottom of a subject at no matter what cost of hard study, and his ability to carry on a closely-interwoven logical argument, make him a formidable advocate. If he had devoted his life to the law, there is no doubt that he would rank with the five or six lawyers who by the general verdict of their confrères stand at the head of the profession in this country. He has an immense capacity for work, and his remarkable intellect, always kept in harness by his will, together with his oratorical powers, peculiarly fit him for the higher walks of the legal calling.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOME AND FAMILY LIFE.

THE first years of General Garfield's married life were passed in Hiram, boarding with families of friends, and it was not until he went to the war that he saved money enough to buy a home. In 1862 he purchased a small frame cottage facing the college

green, paying for it \$800. About \$1000 more were spent in enlarging it by a wing and fitting it up. It had a small front yard ornamented with a few shade trees and evergreen shrubs, and at the back of the lot was a barn and kitchen garden. The rooms were small and the ceilings low, as was the fashion in village houses of moderate pretensions, but the young housewife soon made the place cosy and homelike. This was the only home of the family for many years. While in Washington they lived in apartments. The lack of a settled home at the capital, where the children could grow up amid wholesome influences, was seriously felt early in General Garfield's Congressional career, but it was not until he had been three times elected that he began to regard that career as likely to continue for an indefinite period, and sought the means of escaping from the disagreeable features of hotel and boarding-house life. He bought a lot on the corner of Thirteenth and I Streets, facing Franklin Square, and with money loaned him by an old army friend put up a plain, square, substantial brick house, big enough to hold his family and two or three guests. Some years later the wing of the house was extended to enlarge the dining-room and library, the requirements of the household having outgrown the capacity of the one and those of the General's library that of the other. The cottage in Hiram was sold and the family life for several years centred in the Washington house; but in order not to be without a foothold in his own district General Garfield built a small cottage on Little Mountain, in Lake County, for a summer sojourning place.

As the boys grew older, however, and needed more range for their activities than a city house could afford, the desire to own a farm which he had always felt increased upon him. When he had paid off the mortgage on his house and had a little money ahead, he thought he could safely gratify his desire, and after a good deal of thought about localities, decided to settle in the vicinity of the Lake Shore Railroad on one of the hand-

some productive ridges that run parallel to Lake Erie. A farm of 160 acres was bought in the town of Mentor, Lake County, a mile from a railway and telegraph station and half a mile from a post-office. The buildings consisted of a tumble-down barn and an ancient farm-house a story and a half high ; but the land was fertile, the summer climate, tempered by breezes from the neighboring lake, was delightful, and the people in the vicinity were of the best class of farmers to be found in Ohio. The old house was somewhat modernized with paint and paper and a new piazza, a barn was built, and the family migrated to the new home. All were delighted with the change. The children ran wild in the orchards and hay-fields, the mother took pleasure in the new duties of a farmer's household, the good old grandmother rejoiced to get back to rural scenes like those amid which her early years had been spent, and the General revived all the farming skill of his boyhood days, holding the plow or loading the hay wagon or driving the ox team. Drainage, fencing, and other improvements absorbed all the money the place brought in, but the time spent upon it was highly enjoyed by all the members of the household, and every winter they looked forward to the adjournment of Congress and their release from Washington with pleasant anticipations.

After three summers in the cramped, low-ceiled little house it was resolved that it must be enlarged. Plans were made last winter, mainly by Mrs. Garfield, who has considerable natural talent for architecture, and in the spring a new house grew around and over the old one, just in time for the throng of old friends and new that poured in after the nomination of its owner for the Presidency. The house faces the Ridge Road which runs from Cleveland eastward to Erie, through a string of pretty towns and villages. It is broad, high, and spacious. Its two stories are capped by a steep red roof, which shelters a big garret lighted by dormer windows. A wide piazza extends the whole length of the front—a wide hall runs through to a

back porch. Below is the parlor, dining-room, kitchen and two large bed-rooms, the pleasantest being the room of "grandma," the venerable mother of the General, who is now nearly eighty years old. Above are numerous sleeping-rooms and the study of the master of the house. A few steps from the house, in the edge of the orchard is a little building of a single room, called the library, with its walls lined with bookcases, its windows on all sides through which the lake breeze pours. A pleasanter working place for a summer day could not be desired.

The farm raises good crops of wheat, oats, corn, hay, and potatoes, and the big barns hardly hold the products of the harvest. There is a good orchard, a little vineyard, and a large vegetable garden which comes up unabashed beside the croquet lawn and crowds its cabbage-heads and pea-vines against the roadside fence. The railroad runs through the meadows on the lower end of the farm; the village of Mentor, with a score of neat white houses, three little churches, and a fine brick school-house, is half a mile distant; Painesville, the county town, with a population of 5000, is six miles eastward by an excellent gravel road; Willoughby, a village where the census-taker has found just 999 inhabitants, is four miles westward on the high road to Cleveland; over the wooded hills to the southward, three miles distant is the half-deserted village of Kirtland, where the first temple built by the Mormons is still standing, an enduring monument to folly and superstition; Lake Erie is three miles north, and on the southeastern horizon that dark green elevation is the hen'ock-covered summit of Little Mountain, and the white fleck on its brow is the hotel from whose portico can be seen thirty miles of the blue waters and fertile shores of Lake Erie. The County of Lake is strongly Republican, every town in it giving a heavy Republican majority. The people are of New England descent—an unmixed race of Yankees modified in their characteristics only by the influence of a climate less severe and conditions of life less rigorous than prevail in rural

New England. A thriftier or more intelligent farming population cannot be found in the United States. With all these pleasant surroundings, it is no wonder that the Garfields are greatly attached to their farm. Whatever may be the result of the next election, they will keep it as a permanent home.

General Garfield has had seven children and five are living. The oldest, Mary, died when he was in the army and the youngest, Edward, died in Washington about four years ago. Of the surviving children, the oldest, Harry, is fourteen; after him come James, Molly, Irwin (named after General McDowell), and Abram. Harry and James are preparing for college at St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire. Harry is the musician of the family and plays the piano well. James, who more resembles his father, is the mathematician. Molly, a handsome girl of thirteen, is ruddy, sweet-tempered, vivacious, and blessed with perfect health. The younger boys are still in the period of boisterous animal life. All the children have quick brains and are strongly individualized. All learned to read young except Abe, who hearing that his father had years ago said in a lecture on education, that no child of his should be forced to read until he was seven years old, took refuge behind the parental theory and declined to learn his letters until he had reached that age.

Mrs. Garfield superintends all the duties of the household and helps in its active labors during a portion of each day. Her tastes are for a quiet domestic life, brightened by reading and study and by the society of a few intimate friends. Few women have as wide a range of culture. She reads Greek and Latin, German and French, has considerable knowledge of the natural sciences, and keeps up with the best of the literature of the day. She is the companion of her husband's intellectual life as well as the devoted mother of his children, the skilful manager of his household, and the cordial hostess of the many guests attracted by his fame and his social qualities.

The manner of life in the Garfield household, whether in Washington or on the Mentor farm, is simple and quiet. The long table is bountifully supplied with plainly-cooked food, and there is always room for any guest who may drop in at meal-time. No alcoholic drinks are used. There is no effort at following fashions in furniture or table service. No carriage is kept in Washington, but on the farm there are vehicles of various sorts and two teams of stout horses. Comfort, neatness, and order prevail without the least attempt at keeping up with styles of dress and living, or any desire to sacrifice the healthful regularity of household customs adopted before the General won fame and position, to the artificial usages of what is called good society.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S RELIGION.

At the centre of Mentor Township stands a little white church surmounted by a little white steeple. Within, the plain, straight-backed pews give seating accommodations for about two hundred people. There is no pulpit. Upon a broad carpeted platform stands an old-fashioned mahogany table, which, with the aid of a big red curtain, forms a reading-desk. After the sermon is over, the cushion and the Bible which it supports are removed. A white cloth is spread upon the table; the communion service is brought out from a cupboard near at hand, and the sacrament, called by the Disciples the Lord's Supper, is partaken of by all the congregation who are so disposed. The choir sit in the centre of the auditorium, in the midst of the pews. A large framed motto—"Blessed be the Peacemakers"—hangs on the wall near the platform. The windows of common glass are screened by green shutters, and the place suggests a simple, primitive form of worship, without

ritual, ceremonial, or adjuncts of any sort to impress the imagination. This is the home church of General Garfield, where he and his family attend worship regularly, while living upon their farm. Garfield joined the Disciples when a lad of eighteen, and has been a member of that denomination ever since.

The full name of the sect is Disciples of Christ. Members of other denominations frequently call them Campbellites. They number about 500,000, and have the centre of their strength in Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, within the radius of the labors of their founder, Alexander Campbell, of Bethany, West Virginia. In the East they are almost unknown, but they have scattered churches throughout the Gulf States, are numerous in Illinois and Missouri, and are pretty well organized in other States west of the Mississippi. Campbell was a Presbyterian preacher of remarkable force of mind and powers of oratory, who came from Ireland, in 1809, with his father, and settled in Washington County, Pennsylvania. He established an independent church at Brush Run, in that county, on the theory that all creeds were human, and, therefore, without authority, and that every Christian was his own judge of the meaning of the Scriptures. It was an epoch of intense doctrinal differences, when Protestantism in this country seemed to have degenerated into a battle of creeds. This sturdy reformer, preaching no creed but the Bible, and claiming for all believers liberty of conscience and judgment with regard to the meaning of the sacred book, struck a responsive chord in the public mind. Hundreds joined his standard wherever he preached, and within a few years after he commenced his independent ministry in 1827, a new sect had arisen acknowledging him as its leader. His discourses formed a body of doctrine for this sect, although its members, owning no authority but the Bible itself, did not acknowledge them as in any sense authoritative. To all intents and purposes, however, he was the founder of Discipleism, as much as Calvin was of Presby-

terianism and Wesley of Methodism. In 1841 he established a college at Bethany, near Wheeling, which soon became the educational and doctrinal centre of the new denomination, and began to publish a periodical called the *Millennial Harbinger*, which was everywhere received as its organ, and is still in existence.

The Disciples endeavored to restore the spirit and methods of primitive Christianity. They admit to their membership any one who will receive the rite of baptism by immersion and answer in the affirmative the following question: "Do you believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and your Saviour?" Nothing is asked about doctrinal points. Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain the precise points of difference between the Disciples and other denominations, because few of them can be got to formulate their faith. The New Testament, they say, is their guide of faith and practice, and they have no catechism or books of reference to settle questions of dispute. Practically, they agree on a few general doctrines, such as the necessity of immersion for the remission of sins, but on most controverted theological points they allow a wide latitude for individual opinion. They are not Calvinists. They believe in the power of every human soul to obtain salvation. They do not, as a rule, believe in the eternal Sonship of Christ, although agreeing with Trinitarians respecting His divine nature. They do not invest the Lord's Supper with a sacramental idea, but regard it only as a memorial festival designed to quicken their love of Christ and strengthen the ties of brotherhood between themselves. Sunday they call the Lord's Day, and they do not apply to it the law of the Jewish Sabbath to the extent that most of the older sects do. In church government they are purely Congregational, recognizing no authority either to direct or advise, superior to the individual congregation. They support a missionary society, have a book concern, with branches at Cincinnati and at Oskaloosa, Iowa, and maintain a large number of

colleges and seminaries. Indeed, they claim that they have more institutions of learning in proportion to their membership than any other denomination.

The Disciples are a friendly, sociable people. They are fond of calling each other by their first names, prefaced often by the affectionate term brother or sister, and are very cordial in their personal intercourse with fellow-members. They care less for the Old Testament than do the Calvinists and Methodists, and do not speculate much about the Book of Revelations. The Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles are studied closely. They are very hospitable and entertain travelling brethren at their houses in the manner of the apostolic times. They have communion service in their churches every Sunday after the morning discourse. Of late years they have supported a settled ministry, but their early successes were achieved by travelling preachers speaking in the woods, or in tents which were transported in big wagons around the country. Any member can speak in their pulpits, administer the communion, and baptize converts. The ministry is not a peculiar class, although there is a form of ordination for men who wish to devote themselves to it.

General Garfield's father and mother sat under the powerful preaching of Alexander Campbell, when he visited their locality during one of his tours, and were converted to the new faith without creed or catechism, discipline, or formulated statement of belief of any sort. It was natural that their son should connect himself with the same denomination. Most of his early education before he went to college was got at a new struggling Disciples' school at Hiram. His gift of public speaking soon drew him into the way of talking at religious meetings, and he was constantly encouraged in this habit by the members of the denomination, who saw that his powerful intellect and unusual oratorical powers would be of great help to them. Although he spoke regularly in the churches of Hiram, Solon, and Newburg for nearly three years, he never had the thought of de-

voting himself to the ministry. Law was then his chosen profession. He was never ordained, but was what might be called a lay preacher, filling pulpits on Sundays while teaching week-days. Those who remember his preaching say that it was characterized by the vigor, magnetism, wealth of illustration, and intellectual force of his later political addresses. The war put a stop to both his teaching and his pulpit work. He has since kept up his association with the church of his boyhood, but has not taken an active part in its religious services, save now and then to offer a prayer in the church at Mentor, in response to a call from the minister.

With General Garfield's breadth of mind and keen interest in scientific research and philosophical discussion, it would be impossible for him to run in any narrow rut of sectarianism. His religious views are characterized by great tolerance and liberality. His Christianity is of a very broad pattern, and is without a trace of bigotry. In form it is the religion of his parents; in spirit it is enlightened, elevated, and imbued with the progressive thought of the age; a Christianity not of ceremonies and statements, but of humanity and the heart.