

POLITICAL DISCIPLE; THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
JAMES A. GARFIELD AND THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

BY

JERRY BRYANT RUSHFORD

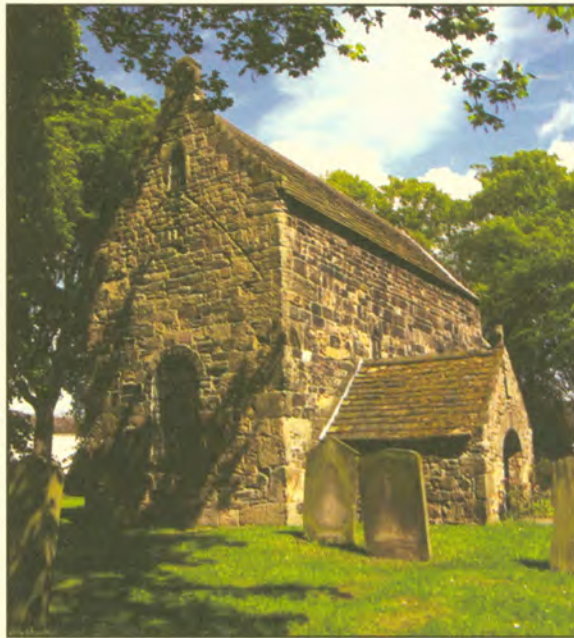
RUSHFORD

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AND THE
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

DISSERTATION

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Santa Barbara

Political Disciple: The Relationship Between
James A. Garfield and the Disciples of Christ

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Religion in America

by

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August 1977

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August 1977

PUBLICATION OPTION

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Signed *Jerry Rushford*

FOR LORI,
who shared it all

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ABSTRACT

POLITICAL DISCIPLE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JAMES A. GARFIELD AND THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

by

Jerry Bryant Rushford

James A. Garfield (1831-1881), the only preacher to ever occupy the White House, was a product of the profound social, intellectual and religious ferment of the early decades of the nineteenth century which produced the American religious movement known as the Disciples of Christ. The first fifty years of Disciple history closely paralleled Garfield's life. The purpose of this study is to focus on the intimate Garfield-Disciples relationship, and to show its reciprocal nature. Garfield was helped by Disciples in the building of a political base (he won ten consecutive elections in the Western Reserve), and they in turn shared in the prestige and influence of his expanding career.

Garfield was reared on Ohio's Western Reserve, "the principal theatre" of the Disciple movement, and at the age of eighteen (1850) he was baptized by a Disciple preacher. While a student at the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (1851-1854), a Disciple academy at Hiram, he cultivated an inner circle of friends and developed the ability to preach for Disciples. Two years at Williams College (1854-1856) enlarged his intellectual horizons and convinced him that

the Disciple ministry was "an unpromising field." By the time Garfield returned to teach at Hiram, he was already formulating plans for entering "the field of statesmanship" through the "educational portal."

In the first three years after his return to Hiram (1856-1859), Garfield was made president of the Eclectic, married into a strong Disciple family in Hiram, and became "a favorite preacher" among Western Reserve Disciples. At the same time, he was laying the groundwork for a political career with the Eclectic as a base and his beloved "Hiram circle" of Disciple colleagues as associates and supporters. In 1859, with the support of several influential Disciples, Garfield won election to the Ohio Senate and "gained a step in the direction of my purpose." At the yearly meeting of Disciples he argued that there was a greater need of "manly men in politics" than there was of preachers.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Garfield saw his course clearly. Governor Dennison assured him that successful military leaders would rule the nation for twenty years after the war, and he eagerly accepted command of the Forty-second Ohio. With evangelistic fervor he recruited hundreds of Disciples into his regiment. His avid speech at the 1861 convention of the American Christian Missionary Society led that Disciple organization to adopt a resolution of loyalty to the Union. During Garfield's military years (1861-1863)

he won rapid promotion to the rank of major general, and through the diligent work of his Disciple associates back home he won election to Congress. His congressional career began in December, 1863, and continued until the autumn of 1880 when he was elected to the Presidency.

As a member of the Hiram board Garfield initiated a theological department at the school in 1866; and in that same year he was the catalyst behind the establishment of a significant new Disciple periodical called the Christian Standard. He conceived of merging the school and the paper in an effort to make a fight for "a liberal Christianity" within the Disciple movement, but in this he failed. However, he continued to support the "new and better movement" he saw emerging in the ministries of progressive Disciples like Lewis Pinkerton and Burke Hinsdale.

The Disciples were active in Garfield's presidential campaign, and through his victory they enjoyed the fruits of world-wide publicity for their young religious movement. After Garfield's assassination, they sought to perpetuate his memory in such projects as the Garfield Memorial Church and Garfield University. This study is based on the extensive collection of Garfield manuscripts in the Library of Congress, and throughout the narrative Garfield is left to express himself in his own words as often as possible.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

(Each person on this list was a Disciple)

HENRY T. ANDERSON (1812-1872) - a Washington preacher
JOHN M. ATWATER (1837-1900) - student and teacher in Hiram
HARMON AUSTIN (1817-1893) - a member of the Hiram board
OTHNIEL A. BARTHOLOMEW (1837-1909) - a Washington preacher
SAMUEL D. BATES (-) - an Ohio preacher
ADAMSON BENTLEY (1785-1864) - an Ohio preacher
RICHARD M. BISHOP (1812-1893) - church leader in Cincinnati
JEREMIAH SULLIVAN BLACK (1810-1883) - jurist and politician
JOHN BOGGS (1810-1897) - editor of an abolitionist paper
ALMEDA A. BOOTH (1823-1875) - professor at Hiram College
JOHN B. BOWMAN (1824-1891) - regent of Kentucky University
OTIS A. BURGESS (1829-1882) - Indiana educator and preacher
DAVID S. BURNET (1808-1867) - a Cincinnati preacher
THOMAS R. BURNETT (1842-1916 - Texas preacher and editor
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL (1788-1866) - president, Bethany College
THOMAS CAMPBELL (1763-1854) - aged father of Alexander
TIMOTHY COOP (1817-1887) - church leader in British Isles
NORMAN DUNSHEE (1822-1890) - professor at Hiram College
ISAAC ERRETT (1820-1888) - editor of the Christian Standard
HARVEY EVEREST (1831-1900) - professor at Hiram College
TOLBERT FANNING (1810-1874) - church leader in Nashville
WALLACE JOHN FORD (1832-1916) - a member of the Hiram board

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1812-1878) - editor of the A. C. Review
CORYDON E. FULLER (1830-1886) - a student in Hiram
ABRAM GARFIELD (1800-1833) - father of James A. Garfield
ELIZA GARFIELD (1802-1888) - mother of James A. Garfield
JAMES A. GARFIELD (1831-1881) - an American President
LUCRETIA GARFIELD (1832-1918) - wife of James A. Garfield
ELIJAH GOODWIN (1807-1879) - editor of the Christian Record
FRANCIS MARION GREEN (1836-1911) - an Ohio preacher
RICHARD HAWLEY (1815-1884) - a Detroit businessman
AMOS SUTTON HAYDEN (1813-1880) - Ohio educator and preacher
WILLIAM HAYDEN (1799-1863) - a member of the Hiram board
D. PAT HENDERSON (1810-1897) - a Washington preacher
CHARLES E. HENRY (1835-1906) - Garfield's "Man in Ohio"
BURKE AARON HINSDALE (1837-1900) - president, Hiram College
JEFFERSON HARRISON JONES (1813-1904) - an Ohio preacher
DAVID KING (1819-1894) - editor of Ecclesiastical Observer
JAMES S. LAMAR (1829-1908) - biographer of Isaac Errett
MOSES E. LARD (1818-1880) - a Kentucky preacher and editor
WILLIAM A. LILLIE (-) - an Ohio preacher
DAVID LIPSCOMB (1831-1917) - editor of the Gospel Advocate
CHARLES B. LOCKWOOD (1829-1919) - member of the Hiram board
CHARLES L. LOOS (1823-1912) - professor at Bethany College
FRANK H. MASON (1840-1916) - author of regimental history
J. W. MCGARVEY (1829-1911) - a Kentucky preacher and editor
ANDREW J. MARVIN (-) - a member of the Hiram board

ROBERT MILLIGAN (1814-1875) - professor at Bethany College
WILLIAM T. MOORE (1832-1926) - an Ohio preacher and editor
GEORGE G. MULLINS (1841-1909) - chaplain in the U. S. Army
THOMAS MUNNELL (1823-1898) - a professor at Hiram College
W. K. PENDLETON (1817-1899) - president, Bethany College
THOMAS W. PHILLIPS (1835-1912) - Pennsylvania businessman
L. L. PINKERTON (1812-1875) - Kentucky preacher and editor
FREDERICK D. POWER (1851-1911) - a Washington preacher
JAMES HARRISON RHODES (1836-1890) - educator and lawyer
JOHN P. ROBISON (1811-1889) - a member of the Hiram board
JOHN F. ROWE (1827-1897) - an Ohio preacher and editor
ZEB RUDOLPH (1803-1897) - a member of the Hiram board
SYMONDS RYDER (1792-1870) - a member of the Hiram board
JOHN SHACKLEFORD (1834-1921) - Kentucky preacher and editor
SILAS E. SHEPARD (1801-1877) - an Ohio preacher
ANDREW J. SQUIRE (-) - a member of the Hiram board
MYRON J. STREATOR (1818-1881) - an Ohio preacher
WORTHY S. STREATOR (1816-1902) - member of the Hiram board
A. B. WAY (-) - the founder of Alliance College
CHARLES WILBER (1830-1891) - student at Hiram and Williams
FREDERICK WILLIAMS (1799-1888) - member of the Hiram board
C. M. WILMETH (1848-1898) - a Texas preacher and editor
GEORGE W. N. YOST (1831-) - Pennsylvania businessman

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PROLOGUE

The Disciples of Christ originated on the American frontier (1804-1809) in a period of religious enthusiasm and ferment. The first leaders of the movement deplored the numerous divisions in the church and urged the unity of all Christians through a restoration of New Testament Christianity. Protestantism had gone astray, they felt, and the "denominations" must be directed back to primitive Christianity. They generally conceived that this would be possible if everyone would wear the name "Christian" or "Disciple" and return to the Biblical pattern of the New Testament church in doctrine, worship, and practice.

Those two ideas--the restoration of New Testament Christianity and the reunion of all Christians--became a distinctive "plea," and unceasingly, in season and out of season, the Disciples penetrated the frontier with their appeal. They called their efforts the "Restoration Movement" or the "Current Reformation" and saw themselves as participants in a movement within the existing churches aimed at eliminating all sectarian divisions.

The Disciples accepted the Bible as the absolute and final authority in religion, and they believed that an intelligent investigation of that source would result in the discovery of truth. An early motto was: "We speak where the Bible speaks, and we are silent where the Bible

is silent."¹ With unabashed zeal they waged war on all human religious creeds and pleaded with all men to take "the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven."²

Of the two main streams of the movement, one was led by Barton W. Stone of Lexington, Kentucky, and the other by Alexander Campbell of Bethany, Virginia (now West Virginia). Of the two, priority in time belongs to Stone. In the summer of 1804 he left the Presbyterian Church to become part of an independent movement of "Christian Churches." Having renounced the name "Presbyterian" as sectarian, these churches agreed henceforth to call themselves "Christians." In a short time Stone had become the acknowledged leader, and the movement began to enjoy a rapid growth in the states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Tennessee.

In 1809 the Campbells, unaware of Stone's movement, severed their ties with the Presbyterian Church and formed their own independent movement. They called themselves "Reformers" or "Disciples," and for nearly eighteen years (1813-1830) they had a tenuous relationship with Regular Baptists. In 1823 Campbell founded his first monthly, the Christian Baptist, and for seven years he used it to gain followers among the Baptists of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, western Virginia, and Kentucky. Through the pages of this paper Campbell exposed sectarianism and pleaded for the "restoration of the ancient order of things."³

Despite difficulties of travel and communication, the two streams criss-crossed on the frontier and gradually became aware of one another. When Stone and Campbell met in 1824, they recognized that the principles of Christians and Disciples were strikingly similar. In addition to similar restoration and unity themes, both groups were Arminian in the sense in which that term was used on the frontier: both movements were born as a reaction to Calvinism and its doctrines of divine sovereignty, total depravity, predestination, and limited atonement. These similarities paved the way for a future merger of the two restoration movements.

Meanwhile, the Campbell movement had experienced a positive reception among the Mahoning Baptist Association churches on the Western Reserve. Through the evangelistic efforts of Walter Scott in 1827-1830, the Western Reserve became "the principal theatre" of the Disciples.⁴ Scott's preaching contained a sharply defined "gospel plan of salvation." If man would confess his faith in Christ, repent of his sins and be baptized into Christ, God would respond by remitting man's sins and granting him the gifts of the Holy Spirit and eternal life. This message resulted in a great revival which so transformed the association that it dissolved itself out of existence and was absorbed by the Disciple movement. That ended the seventeen year marriage with the Baptists and freed Campbell's "Disciples" to

come together with Stone's "Christians."

In 1830 Campbell changed the name of his paper to the Millennial Harbinger, which reflected his optimistic faith that a golden age for Christianity was dawning. A number of consultation meetings between the leaders of Christians and Disciples in 1831 led to a large unity meeting at Lexington, Kentucky, on January 1, 1832, in which both groups agreed that they should unite. Since neither group recognized any ecclesiastical authority above the local church, actual union could only be accomplished by going to the congregations and urging them to unite. This was accomplished on a broad scale, and it was estimated that the united Campbell-Stone movement probably had over 20,000 members in 1832.⁵

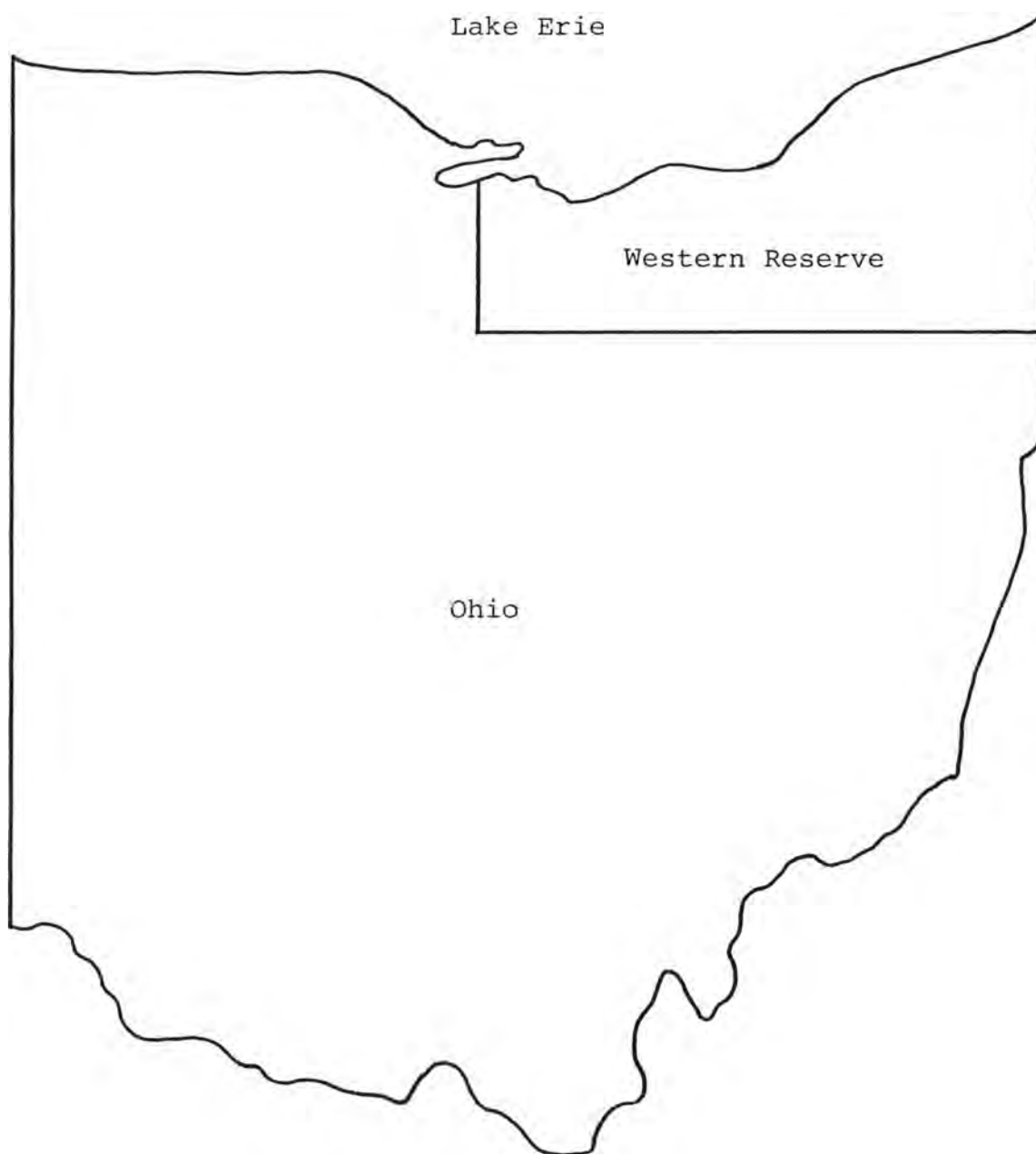
The American religious movement which resulted from the Campbell-Stone merger never agreed on an exclusive name. Campbell preferred "Disciples of Christ," whereas Stone had an attachment to "Christian Church." In some localities the name "Church of Christ" had been widely used by members of both groups.⁶ Throughout most of the nineteenth century all three of these names were accepted and used interchangeably. The name "Disciples of Christ" is used in this dissertation to describe the movement as a whole.

Although Stone had a major role in bringing Disciples and Christians together and regarded the union the "noblest act" of his life, Campbell soon became the dominant figure

in the movement. "A scholar of the first rank, a proud and aggressive leader, and a forceful spokesman,"⁷ Campbell gave direction to the youthful movement for another thirty years. His Bethany College, founded in 1840, became the principal training school for a new generation of Disciple preachers, and his Harbinger commanded the patronage of the entire Disciples brotherhood. In 1849 he was named president of the American Christian Missionary Society, the first national organization established by Disciples.

Between 1832 and 1860 the Disciples multiplied from 20,000 to 200,000 and became history's "greatest religious movement of peculiarly American origin."⁸ This acceleration convinced many Disciples of the righteousness of the cause. Doubtless James Garfield exaggerated when he wrote in 1855: "the cause in which we are engaged must take the world,"⁹ but he was not alone. Many overly optimistic Disciples saw their rapid growth as an indication that in time they would conquer the nation if not the world.

By 1880 the Disciples had emerged as one of the six largest religious bodies in America. That year the General Missionary Society estimated that there were over 600,000 Disciples in the country.¹⁰ In the same year the Disciples received a national recognition and prestige which they had never before enjoyed. This occurred when one of their former preachers was elected President of the United States.



The Western Reserve comprised the northeast section of the state of Ohio, lying along the southern shore of Lake Erie. It ran approximately one hundred twenty miles east and west. Its widest distance north and south, extending along the Pennsylvania line, was sixty-eight miles.

CHAPTER ONE

"THE SON OF DISCIPLE PARENTS"

I am the son of Disciple Parents, have always lived among Disciples, listened to their teachings, have become one myself, and have for some time been a teacher among them.

-- James A. Garfield, June 23, 1854

James Abram Garfield was born on the Western Reserve, "the principal theatre" of the Disciples movement, on November 19, 1831. Six weeks after his birth the Campbell and Stone movements merged, and for the next fifty years the history of the Disciples of Christ closely paralleled the life of Garfield.

Abram and Eliza Garfield, the parents of James, had by 1831 lived for several years in this western outpost of sparsely settled New England families. Like many of the inhabitants of the frontier the Garfields had severed whatever religious ties they had in New England when they arrived on the Western Reserve.

As related by Eliza Garfield, she and her husband had "resolved to live a different life" after the death of one of their children, provided they "could find the right way."¹ Some sense of direction came from a Disciples of Christ preacher by the name of Murdoch who delivered "the first Gospel sermon" they had ever heard.² Then into the district moved Adamson Bentley, a Disciple preacher whose

Sunday services, conducted in the neighborhood and in his house, Abram and Eliza seldom missed.

Adamson Bentley³ had been converted by Alexander Campbell to the principles of the restoration movement and had become one of the most respected of all the Disciple preachers on the Reserve. According to Campbell, he held a foremost position "in authority with the people."⁴ Bentley farmed, ran a store, and pleaded for the restoration of New Testament Christianity wherever he could find listeners.

Through Bentley the Garfields heard the plea for a return to primitive Christianity, and the "right way" soon became clear to both. "We knew our duty," Eliza mused years later, "but like a great many, postponed it."⁵ As a result of Adamson Bentley's wise and patient ministry, Abram Garfield was baptized into Christ on January 22, 1833. In less than two weeks Eliza Garfield likewise "obeyed the Saviour." "It then seemed," wrote Eliza, "we were perfectly happy."⁶

Both Abram and Eliza became zealous Disciples, and their religion became an important part of their lives. But Abram had only a short time to express his new faith, for he died in May, 1833, leaving a widow and four young children. In later years when James Garfield wanted to know more about his father, his mother wrote: "Your father . . . was a zealous Christian" who "contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints."⁷

The tragic event of her husband's death drew Eliza Garfield even closer to her religion. She became an avid Bible reader and taught her children to read it. Her letters and speech were profusely interspersed with the language of the Bible, and she lived up to the Disciple ideal that every member of the church should have a thorough understanding of the Bible and be able "to give a reason for his faith." J. M. Bundy wrote:

In all ways she impressed religious truth on her children, and kept them not only from bad habits but from bad thoughts. Anything that approached impurity of life and speech in any degree, was hateful to her beyond expression. In that household there was a sort of flaming sword swinging constantly against all forms of indecency and immorality.⁸

For several years the widow Garfield and her children walked three miles every Sunday to the Disciple meetinghouse to hear Adamson Bentley or another Disciple preacher plead for the unity of all Christians on the basis of the New Testament. These years had a significant influence on young James Garfield, and according to a story related by his niece (who heard it from "Grandmother Garfield"), he expressed a desire to become a preacher. This incident occurred on a Sunday afternoon when he was three years old. His mother noticed that he was missing from the area near the log cabin and she set out through the woods to find him. When she came within sight of him he was "standing on a high rock swinging his arms and talking like preacher Bentley

whom he had heard that day and he was praying to God to make him a preacher."⁹

Close by the Garfield cabin stood the little district schoolhouse in which James began his formal education when he was only three years old. Tradition says that "after a few months he was able to read in the Bible" and further that "at the end of the first term he received a New Testament as a prize for being the best reader in his class of little boys."¹⁰ Another traditional story has young James at age seven listening to a political discussion between his relatives and several guests in the Garfield home. When one of the guests turned to the young boy and asked whether he was a Whig or Democrat, he is supposed to have replied, "Oh, I'm a Whig, but I haven't been baptized yet."¹¹

Through the encouragement of Eliza Garfield a Disciple church was organized in the small schoolhouse on her property, and this became the focal point for many religious activities of the Garfield family. There can be no question that James Garfield's childhood experiences, many of them centered in this little schoolhouse, aroused his interest in religion. His knowledge of the contents of the Bible and the Disciple hymn book were to be part of him for the remainder of his life.

The religious influence that Garfield derived from his mother was considerable. It was the opinion of F. M.

Green, a fellow Disciple and a classmate of Garfield's at Hiram, that this influence was enduring. He wrote:

Whatever Mrs. Garfield did for her son in other directions, nothing is clearer than that her influence was great in keeping his mind and heart in the direction of the moral and the spiritual. His whole life was religiously influenced by the seed which was planted by his mother's hand, while he lived with her in the little log cabin in the wilderness.¹²

Bundy was one of the few biographers who studied the early years carefully, and he was persuaded that "the dynamic forces that were to take him out of range of all previous Garfields lay coiled up in the fine, sensitive, religious nature of his mother."¹³

During Garfield's childhood and teen-age years the Disciples were experiencing a rapid growth on the Western Reserve. The optimism generated by such progress had a wondrous affect on Western Reserve Disciples, and it was probably felt in the Garfield household as well. The Disciples were fond of gathering together in large annual meetings which reminded them that they were members of a growing and energetic movement. Garfield had an opportunity to participate in several of these exciting affairs before he left home at the age of sixteen.

Alexander Campbell had encouraged the Disciples to gather together in "Yearly Meetings" for the purpose of preaching and fellowship, and these gatherings soon became events of great social and religious significance. Yearly

meetings were usually scheduled for the fall of the year and were attended by people from several counties. Over a large region the meetings were staggered in such a way that a person could attend several in one season. In the fall of 1833 Campbell made a twenty-day preaching tour through the Western Reserve and attended several yearly meetings. He gave generous space to these meetings in the pages of his Millennial Harbinger, and he reported that over one thousand persons were in attendance at the meeting in Warren. In the fall of 1835 he repeated the tour, this time taking note of the great meeting at Newburg (now Cleveland) in Colonel Wightman's barn.¹⁴

Throughout the decade of the eighteen thirties the yearly meetings continued to increase in size and Campbell extended his press coverage. The Harbinger carried a full report of the yearly meeting at Newton Falls in August of 1839, with Campbell calling it the largest meeting ever held by Disciples in the Western Reserve. In the following month he reported on another large yearly meeting held at Bedford. This was near the Garfield homestead and James, now nearing his eighth birthday, might have been present. Three years later, when Garfield was nearly eleven, Bedford was the site of another exceptional yearly meeting. It was in 1847 that the Disciples on the Reserve raised five hundred dollars for the purchase of the "Big Tent" to be used

for their yearly meetings.¹⁵ This tent contained seating for three thousand people and was indicative of the increasing crowds at the annual Disciple gatherings.

Lasting from two to three days, the yearly meetings helped to fill the need for fellowship among the loosely organized churches of the Disciples. It was at such meetings that the progress of the past year was discussed and plans were made for future work. Preaching was one of the central functions, and whenever Alexander Campbell was able to be present, he was the featured speaker. But the Disciples were not short of good preachers, and such men as John Henry, Jonas Hartzel, Adamson Bentley, William Hayden, Amos Sutton Hayden, A. B. Green, W. A. Lillie, and J. H. Jones, were always in popular demand at the great meetings.

By 1848 the Western Reserve Disciples were in the statistics business. Their rapid growth had aroused an interest in numbers, and that fall at the yearly meetings they gathered statistics. In the nine counties that were represented, it was discovered that Disciples had seventy-one churches and 4,508 members. Cuyahoga County, where the Garfields lived, boasted of 823 members in its twelve churches. These optimistic figures were an encouragement to Disciples everywhere, and Campbell eagerly published the full report in the Harbinger.¹⁶

But James Garfield was not numbered among the 823

Disciples in Cuyahoga County in 1848, because he had not yet "obeyed the gospel." His earlier interest in religion had been temporarily replaced by a strong desire to go to sea. The reading of nautical novels had aroused in him a longing for travel, and in the summer of 1848 he decided to leave home. So, against the wishes of his mother, the sixteen year old Garfield gathered up what money he had and "started for Cleveland with the firm intention of beginning at the bottom of the business of sailing and carefully mastering it."¹⁷

Garfield's canal experience lasted a little over six weeks and ended abruptly when he returned home with an illness (apparently malaria).¹⁸ Perhaps the most significant event of his six-week nautical career was an incident where he nearly drowned. Reflecting on the narrowness of his escape, and remembering the prayerfulness of his mother, he concluded that God had spared him. "I did not now believe that God had paid any attention to me on my own account," he later wrote, "but I thought He had saved me for my mother and for something greater and better than canaling."¹⁹

In his reminiscences of 1877 Garfield described his return home from the canal:

As I approached the door at about nine o'clock in the evening, I heard my mother engaged in prayer. During the prayer she referred to me, her son away, God only knew where, and asked that he might be preserved in health to return to her and comfort her in her old

age. At the conclusion of the prayer I quietly raised the latch and entered. I will not attempt to describe the scene which followed. I did not know then how badly mother had felt over my departure. But I afterwards found out that it nearly killed her.²⁰

Garfield's bout with malaria was no slight affair, and he lay ill for five months. He was determined to return to the canal, but his long sickness and the weakness that followed it proved to be a turning point in his life. He explained later:

I still expected to go back. But my mother captured me. All the terrible months of my sickness she did not once repine or reprove me. She simply went about her duties quietly and permitted things to work themselves out. She had great trust in a Providence that should shape the ends of those who trusted in God.²¹

Another account says that as Garfield lay tossing with fever, his brain throbbing and his mind wandering in semidelirium, he overheard in an adjoining room his mother praying. She was asking God to spare his life and to raise him up for wise and noble purposes. "This made me think," he said, "that if my mother could thus rise in the dead of night and pray for my recovery, my life must be worth something; and I then and there resolved to prove myself worthy of my mother's prayers."²²

Although Garfield later attributed his leaving the canal and enrolling in Geauga Seminary to the providence of God, it was probably aided by the silent influence of his mother and a young Disciple preacher named Samuel D. Bates. Bates had attended Geauga Seminary earlier and was planning

to return in the spring of 1849. He urged Garfield, who was still home convalescing from his attack of malaria, to return with him. Garfield's mother offered him seventeen dollars, probably her entire savings, if he would use it to go to school with Bates. "I took the money," Garfield wrote, "as well as the advice and went to the Geauga Seminary."²³ Geauga Seminary was located in the township of Chester, twelve miles from the Garfield log cabin, and had been founded by the Free Will Baptists. In the spring of 1849 Geauga Seminary was a co-educational academy with two hundred fifty-two students.

During the years 1849 and 1850, Garfield attended this academy for four terms (March 8 - July 4, 1849; August 7 - October 30, 1849; March 12 - July 2, 1850; and August 7 - October 23, 1850). On three occasions during and immediately after the Geauga years he taught district schools (November, 1849 - March, 1850, in Solon; November, 1850 - February, 1851, in Warrensville; and March, 1851 - May, 1851, in Blue Rock).

In his first two terms at Geauga Seminary, Garfield seemed at home in the prevailing Baptist atmosphere of the school, and he was frequently in Sunday attendance at the Free Will Baptist meetinghouse. There he listened to the preaching of George H. Ball. The young student displayed no evidence of Disciple intolerance until the final Sunday

of the second term. That night he wrote in his Journal:

Went to meeting. Elder Ball spoke from the following text, 'But now ye are commanded, every where to repent, baptising them,' etc. He endeavored to prove that they were not baptised till they were converted, etc. I can't go his sentiments.²⁴

But Garfield left for home on Tuesday, thereby postponing further confrontation with Baptist theology. The following week he was in Solon for his first district school.

In February, 1850, two weeks before he closed his district school in Solon, Garfield was in attendance at a Disciple meeting in Bedford where J. Harrison Jones²⁵ was preaching. Garfield noted that there was "great rejoicing" when "Elder Hawley and another Baptist Preacher and several members of that church united with the disciples."²⁶ Less than two weeks later he confided to his Journal:

About this time I find myself reading Pollok's Course of Time. Candor requires me to admit that it has a sensible effect upon my feelings and tends to raise my mind to nobler and sublimer thoughts than the mean and groveling scenes of Earth. I feel disgusted with low vulgar company and expressions.²⁷

It was in the next week that Garfield, now eighteen years of age, experienced a spiritual awakening which became an important event in his personal history. This was his conversion to the growing religious movement of the Disciples of Christ. Fittingly, his public acceptance of the religious principles of the Disciples occurred in a meeting at "the little schoolhouse" near the Garfield log cabin where so many events in his childhood had transpired.

On Sunday morning, March 3, 1850, Garfield heard W. A. Lillie preach at the schoolhouse and was "considerably roused on the subject" of baptism and "determined to investigate" it further. That evening, after hearing another sermon, he "determined to obey the Gospel" and made his decision public. The next day he was baptized into Christ in one of the tributaries of the Chagrin River, and in the Biblical terminology of the Disciple preachers he wrote: "Today I was 'buried with Christ in Baptism and arose to walk in newness of life.' For as many as have been Baptised into Christ have put on Christ."²⁸

Garfield's conversion proved to be an experience which released his whole emotional nature and gave stimulus to his increasing interest in religion. As Wasson noted: "Henceforth his life was to revolve with varying degrees of interest around the religious and educational progress of the Disciples of Christ."²⁹ His new religious affiliation also determined to a considerable extent his friends and associates. One record says:

Then and later, both at home and in the ever widening circles in which he moved, many of his warmest friends and most earnest supporters were to be found in the church to which, committed as a young man, he always remained faithful.³⁰

Theodore Clarke Smith was convinced that "without any doubt this conversion in 1850 was the strongest single influence he received"³¹ until his involvement in the Civil War.

Garfield attended the Disciple meetings twice each day for the remainder of the week of his conversion. His Journal reflected his joy, and on March 10 he concluded:

Our little school house was filled to overflowing, the cause of God is prospering. In this place 17 have made the good confession and are rejoicing in the hope of eternal life. Thanks be to God for his goodness . . . I'll praise my maker while I've breath . . .32

Thereafter, Disciple gatherings satisfied many needs in the growing youth. Of prayer meetings he wrote: "I love to attend them," and after a busy week-end of attending religious meetings he wrote one Monday: "Commenced the work with renewed energy. Such meetings renew my strength."

Seven months after his conversion, Garfield reflected on the course his life had taken and wrote:

Two years ago today I was taken with the ague in Cleveland. When I consider the sequel of my history thus far, I can see the providence of God in a striking manner. Two years ago I was ripe for ruin. On the canal . . . ready to drink in every species of vice--and with the ultimate design of going on to the ocean. See the facts. I was taken sick, unable to labor, went to school two terms, thus cultivating my moral and intellectual faculties, took a school in the winter, and greatest of all, obeyed the gospel. . . . Thus by the providence of God I am what I am, and not a sailor. I thank Him.34

When Garfield returned to Geauga Seminary in the spring of 1850, his whole being was in a state of ferment. All of his daily activities were illuminated by the new light, and he filled his Journal with pious phrases and short homilies. After listing the subjects he was taking he wrote: "Can see many beauties in each, and especially

Botany, which teaches us to 'look through nature up to nature's God' and to see his wisdom manifested even in the flowers of the field." The next day he wrote: "Studying. Good times. Thank God for them." The beginning of a new month was cause for serious meditation:

This is the first day of May and still the progress of time is unabated. Month after month rolls around . . . and we are carried nearer to eternity at every revolution. What a responsibility rests upon us for the way and manner in which we spend our time!³⁵

For months after his conversion there were Journal entries like the following: "God's goodness again permits me to see the light of another pleasant morning. May I ever be thankful." And again: "The Lord has again permitted me to see the light of another Monday morning. May I be thankful for the same, and improve my time the coming week." An outbreak of cholera brought forth trust: "Sickness and death are abroad in the land, but I rest myself in the hands of 'The Almighty.'"³⁶

Another significant result of Garfield's conversion was the emergence of an austere attitude toward personal morals. A month after the conversion he wrote:

Studying as usual, and trying to serve the Lord in my daily walk and conversation. We have lately commenced family worship. Although I as yet feel diffident, yet I still consider it a privilege to read a portion of God's word and call on his name.³⁷

He was "determined to continue to be faithful," and wanted to "ever live worthy of his blessing." In one entry he

wrote: "I pray God to keep me in the right way," and in another, "May I ever grow in grace and the knowledge of the truth." When he was particularly troubled, it only served to increase his faith, and he responded, "I must however trust in God who is able to assist me in time of need."³⁸

In this new life of moral discipline, Garfield was eager for the fellowship of other Disciples, and he was pleased to write: "Instead of spending our time in dissipation and vice, we have (a few names of us, about 20) met together in order to improve the immortal mind." But he also cultivated the life of solitude. In the morning hours prior to the beginning of classes, he would climb to the top of a hill to "contemplate the surrounding scenery." It was, for him, a "place for meditation and communion with the Creator."³⁹

Garfield's mounting religious enthusiasm seemingly colored every event in his daily life. When his mother visited him at Geauga Seminary, he was touched by her advancing age, and he was moved to write: "O! that I may be able to render the decline of life peaceful and happy to her, and so live that I meet her again, when we have crossed the Jordan of death, where parting shall be no more."⁴⁰

After Garfield's conversion, the beginning of a new year was always the signal for a Journal entry of spiritual

reflection on the course of his life. In 1851 he wrote:

Today commences a new era in my existence. Nineteen years have made their impress upon me since first I saw the light. Yes! for nineteen long years the mercies of God have surrounded me, and I bless his name that I am what I am. May I ever live mindful of his many blessings to me a poor worm of the dust.⁴¹

In his new life as a Christian, Garfield's critical eye focused on a wide range of the aspects of his society--drinking, levity, tobacco, novels, the theatre, the circus, the bloomer dress, and agitators for women's rights--and his caustic pen recorded for posterity his opinionated observations on each one.⁴²

But the young Disciple reserved his harshest criticism for the "denominations." One of the immediate results of his conversion was a militant attitude aroused against other religious bodies--whose teachings he rejected as "sectarian." His conversion prompted him to evaluate each of these religious groups in terms of Disciple principles as he understood them. Such devotion to the Disciple cause naturally colored Garfield's thoughts and behavior, and it produced in him a spirit of intolerance. As could be expected, his new theological combativeness was trained first on his associates at Geauga Seminary. In particular, "Elder Ball" received the most heated condemnation.

On his first Sunday back at the Seminary, the new convert indignantly wrote: "Am sorry to hear folks pray for the Lord to baptise sinners with the Holy Spirit. Think it

is wrong." The next Sunday he protested further: "Elder Ball preached on Baptism. Explained the Greek word 'eis' (into) quoted Acts 2-38 and left out the word 'Repent,' I could not say intentionally. Think he is in error." Two months later Garfield was still complaining about "Elder Geo. H. Ball's rendering of Acts 2-38," when he wrote:

Elder G. H. B. said . . . that Peter did not preach to the Pentecostians as he did to others, for instance, as he did to Cornelius; and because he was young and inexperienced! But when he came to preach to Cornelius he preached about right. O how can a man in this age of Bibles preach such doctrine! Can the Holy Spirit err? The Apostles spoke, not their own experience, but they spoke as the Holy Spirit of God gave them utterance.

By the time he had completed his critique of Elder Ball's interpretation, Garfield was sounding very much like the Disciple preacher he was to become. He wrote defiantly:

Will then mortal man dare to dispute the teachings of God and supplant his own word? Let us rather meekly follow the precept and bright example of our savior and not attempt to spiritualize and explain away plain passages of Scripture to suit our views, but let us take the naked word, the truth as it is in Jesus as our only rule of faith and practice. If the world would do this how much less strife and contention would there be than at the present time.⁴³

Elder Ball didn't fare much better in Garfield's estimation when he changed subjects. One Sunday in July, after hearing Ball's attempt to prove the authenticity of the Bible, Garfield wrote disappointingly, "he had better let that subject alone." On another Sunday in August he recorded: "At meeting at F. W. Baptist (Free Will Immerser) house. G. H. Ball spoke. I slept some." It was in that

exercises were nearly closed. It pains my heart to see the ignorance and bigotry that is abroad in the land. I wish that men would let all human traditions alone and take the Bible alone for their guide.

Three months later he wrote: "At meeting to Methodist house (an unscriptural name) A.M., Presbyterian (another) P.M. Heard a missionary . . . He has done some good, but it is adulterated with sectarianism." At a Methodist church in October he was subject to "a historical rather than a gospel sermon." At a Catholic service in Muskingum County he was annoyed by the priest, who spoke neither loudly nor distinctly enough to be understood. "He stood with his back to the congregation," Garfield noted with disgust, "and made occasional gyrations and genuflections and changed his garment two or three times. He had two young men to wait upon him and carry his trail (tail)." Garfield observed that "the priest (a libel upon the name) seemed the least reverential of all."⁴⁶

The Mormons and Shakers were enjoying a period of growth, but Garfield found fault with them too. He was pleased when "Bro. Lillie spoke upon the prophecies, showing that the whole foundation of the Book of Mormon is false." And when he looked in on a Shaker gathering, he reported: "A fellow pretended to have the power--fell on stove and knocked it over, etc. I sounded him and found him to be a villain."⁴⁷

When Garfield was teaching a district school at Blue

same month that Garfield revealed his displeasure with the Seminary saying, "In this sectarian place we get a great many 'dry knocks,' but it only makes us stronger in the truth."⁴⁴ It was encouraging that the principal, S. J. Fowler, was a Disciple, but even Fowler was feeling the restraints of working at a Baptist school.

Less than two months later, Fowler ran afoul of the Baptist authorities when he attempted to establish a time for separate Disciple worship services. When Garfield heard that the move had been blocked by the Board of Trustees, he snapped:

I ever have seen, and still see, a manifest Sectarian Spirit in this school, which I fear will eventually destroy the school. I see that the free spirit of S. J. Fowler cannot and will not brook their restrictions. Nor will I.

When it was announced four days later that Fowler was going to leave, Garfield wrote, "Good, Good." On the last Sunday of the term he added, "this is the last time I shall attend meeting here." When the school term closed, he left without a word of regret.⁴⁵

Although Garfield's initial criticism was focused on Geauga Seminary and the Baptists, his natural curiosity led him to attend services in a number of churches. But the results were always the same--the sectarianism was intolerable. Two months after his conversion he reported:

. . . went to meeting to the Presbyterian House, listened a few moments and then slept soundly till the

Rock in the spring of 1851, he discovered that there was little Disciple activity, and he felt himself "surrounded by sectarianism." He visited the Methodist church but was horrified by the spectacle of a woman preacher named Mitchell who "spoke very well but her manner was vehement and she screamed loud, frothed at the mouth, pounded, etc." The young Disciple "could not help thinking of the words of St. Paul, 'Let your women keep silence in church for it is a shame for a woman to speak in church.'"⁴⁸

In marked contrast to Garfield's intolerance of sectarianism, was his love and devotion for his brothers and sisters in the Disciples of Christ. In the summer of 1850 he participated in the yearly meeting under the "Big Tent" at Aurora and began the practice of calling everyone "brother." His Journal reflected his new-found joy:

About 10 o'clock the people convened under the broad spread canvas to celebrate the praise of the Lord in their annual festival. Bro. H. Jones spoke in the forenoon and Bro. Green in P.M. 2 were immersed in the name of the Lord Jesus for the remission of sins. I took supper at Bro. Jewett's, got acquainted with Bro. Parks and his wife from Chardon. Staid at Bro. W. Taylor's over night. Enjoyment. Felix sum (I am happy).

In the following week the new Disciple subscribed to the Millennial Harbinger. To make up for lost time he began reading back issues of the Harbinger and was particularly impressed with Alexander Campbell's "Address on War" which he considered "a profound work."⁴⁹

On Sundays he was determined to attend the Disciple

meetings whenever possible, and before long he was taking part in them. Four months after his conversion he wrote, "This is the first time I ever recited a lesson in Sunday school," and in the summer of 1851 he reported that at a Sunday meeting he "said a few words on the parable of the wedding, in Matthew 22nd."⁵⁰

Garfield did not resume his education for nearly a year after leaving Geauga Seminary, but by the early summer of 1851 he was already planning on being a student at the new Disciple academy in Hiram. The Disciples had established the academy a year earlier and had given it the pretentious title of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute. The principal, Amos Sutton Hayden, was a Disciple preacher, and the six-member faculty consisted entirely of Disciples.

From his enrollment on August 23, 1851, to his graduation on June 23, 1854, Garfield's intellectual and spiritual life was centered in the friendly Disciple atmosphere on "Hiram Hill." Wasson writes:

Here, beginning in 1851, he lived for three years in the midst of admiring Disciple friends and congenial associates and in an environment which further awakened his intellectual and religious propensities as well as giving shape and form to them.⁵¹

The Eclectic (later to become Hiram College) was the result of the desire of earnest Disciples to found a school where their children, without being exposed to "sectarianism," could obtain a "Christian" education in surroundings

conducive to a moral life. They selected the tiny village of Hiram, which was three miles from the nearest stage road, and they built a three-story stone and brick building in the middle of a corn field. There, on the highest range of land in the Western Reserve, they set about to realize their aim: "to make men and women of the youth committed to our trust; good men and women; and leave it to the finger of providence to point out to them the path of usefulness." It was agreed that the Bible would be "the foundation of education" at the academy, and that every student would "devote a part of each day" to studying it.⁵²

It soon became clear that James Garfield was one of the more promising students in the school. Along with his new friend, Corydon Fuller,⁵³ he eagerly devoted himself to his studies and with encouraging results. At the end of the first year, according to Fuller, "we . . . congratulated ourselves upon our progress, which our teachers assured us was rather extraordinary."⁵⁴

As was to be expected, religion continued to play an important part in Garfield's life while he was at the Eclectic. Most of his speeches, poems, and essays had either religion as their theme or were colored by religious sentiment. Smith explains:

It is only by realizing the nature of the literary standards of the fifties in the United States and by calling to mind that Garfield's models were chiefly

the sermon and the hymn book that one can do justice to the amusingly turgid effusions which he poured forth in these years.⁵⁵

His first major speech, given in the form of a valedictory, shows the extent to which religious sentimentality permeated his phraseology. In it he said:

Three short months have been chronicled upon his mighty scroll since a band of strangers met within these walls. We had left the society of friends and parents, the endearments of home, to seek the sparkling gems of science; to expand and elevate the mind, to raise the soul from earth and point it to the skies . . . At the return of each glad morning we have here assembled to read the word of God; to learn sweet lessons from its sacred pages; to invoke His blessing to rest upon us; and then we have raised our voices, in singing praises to His name . . .⁵⁶

He also had occasional outbursts of poetical fervor, writing dozens of stanzas in hymn book meters upon the usual religious themes. A typical poem was:

Why do we in the silent night
While darkness shrouds the earth
Delve by the taper's dreamy light
For truths of countless worth?

That we may rise above the dust
And mist of ages past,
And soar on high and place our trust
On him whose word stands fast.

To fit the soul, the immortal soul,
For mansions in the skies,
And there, while endless ages roll
Our songs of praise shall rise.⁵⁷

In his second year at Hiram, Garfield continued to excel in his studies, and in the winter terms of 1852-1853 he began to take advanced work in the classics under Professor Norman Dunshee. He was also added to the faculty,

teaching introductory courses in arithmetic, grammar, and Greek. In addition to his scholastic work and his teaching, Garfield delighted in the intellectual challenge of debating, which was one of the central activities of the literary societies on campus.

In his first year at the Eclectic, Garfield was elected president of the Philomathean society and was soon engaged in "lyceums," as these debates were called, with members of the other societies. This kind of activity had a particular appeal to Garfield, and he was always anxious during vacations to be back at school where he could "wake the slumbering echoes of the old Eclectic and make its classic halls resound again with the fiery clashing of debate and forensic declamation."⁵⁸ These lyceums were not confined to the Eclectic community in Hiram alone, but were occasionally given in nearby towns like Warrensville, Orange, and Solon, all of which made the young debater and speaker favorably known to his Disciple brethren.

According to F. M. Green, the "most brilliant period" of the Philomathean society was the winter of 1853-1854.

Its meetings were public and all who cared to do so attended. Such subjects as Secular History, Church History, Prophecy, Phrenology, Geology, and Logic and Rhetoric, were discussed in twenty-minute lectures, by James A. Garfield, H. W. Everest, O. P. Miller, Phillip Burns, Norman Dunshee, and Amaziah Hull.⁵⁹

Burke Hinsdale said of the Philomathean: "The impression made upon my own mind was quite . . . deep. Night after

night I climbed the east hill, and sometimes in rain and darkness, to hear those wonderful debates and lectures."⁶⁰

Garfield's intolerance of the "sects" continued after his enrollment at Hiram. Typical of this militant attitude was his criticism of a Methodist service. "Went to a love-feast at the Methodist House," he wrote in his Journal. "They related experiences, etc., and partook of bread and water in token of their love and union. I find no such command in the word of God." When reading on the subject of Christian evidences, he grudgingly acknowledged some good done by the "sectarian" writers. "Been reading Nelson on Infidelity," he wrote. "A very good book. Have also read The Bible Against War, by Amos Dresser. Some good things in it. He is however sectarian, as so also is Nelson." An exhibition of the students of Asbury Seminary at the Methodist meetinghouse prompted him to write: "Not so smart a performance as I have seen."⁶¹

When, in the spring of 1854, Garfield attended a Methodist meeting in southern Ohio, his intolerance was stronger than ever. He reported on that occasion:

Attended a Methodist protracted meeting . . . and was grieved and disgusted with the shameful proceedings. The most excessive shouting and roaring. My conclusion is that this religion is only adapted to the coarser order of mind, and has more of the animal than spiritual in it. Hence they preach the terror of the law and work upon fear, the lowest emotion in the human heart, and they also shout and stamp to get up a pleasurable excitement by social attrition.

"The motives and enjoyments of the Gospel are higher and nobler than this," he concluded, "producing a holy quiet of calm enjoyment, and not a furiously piety and noisy zeal. For the fruits of the spirit are love, joy, peace, etc., not confusion."⁶²

In June, 1854, Garfield returned to the township of Chester to speak at a "meeting among our Brethren." It was his first visit to the home of Geauga Seminary in nearly four years, and he found that the school had ceased operation. This was no surprise to the zealous Disciple, and he had his own opinion of the cause of death. "Then there was a flourishing Academy," he recorded in his Journal, "but the canker worm of religious sectarianism was gnawing at its heart and it withered and is dead."⁶³

Garfield's contempt not only embraced the "sects," but was equally pronounced on the worldly. One Fourth of July he wrote: "Hundreds are today shouting independence who are slaves to their appetites and passions and sins." A year later he questioned: "Ought not the 4th of July to be spent in rescuing mankind from the thralldom of sin, than in such dissipation as actually characterizes this day?????????"⁶⁴

In the spring of 1852 Garfield had his first confrontation with "Infidelity," in the person of a traveling atheist named Joseph Treat. The Journal is disappointingly

brief at this point, but Fuller, in his Reminiscences, gives a description of this encounter. Treat, whom Fuller calls "a miniature edition of the Bob Ingersoll style of philosopher" with "less brains" but more "impudence and egotism," was accustomed to challenge anyone to answer him at the end of his lecture, which consisted of an attack on Christianity and the Bible.

Following one of the first lectures, Professor Thomas Munnell, a Disciple preacher and teacher at the Eclectic, made an attempt to answer Treat but was roughly handled in return by the unscrupulous debater. Garfield was angered by this exchange, and he determined that at the right time he would challenge the atheist himself. His disgust for Treat's philosophy was reflected in the Journal:

His principles would arraign the Holy Book of God at the bar and he puts his feeble reason upon the throne to judge it by. Let him raise his insect arm against infinity, and the Almighty, but truth is mighty, eternal, and the Bible firm as the Throne of God shall stand when kingdoms crumble and the planets crash. Its holy truths through ceaseless ages still, shall send a blaze of heavenly light and drive the darkness from the nauseous tomb, and point us to the morning star of God which shall arise from out the tomb and blaze his glories while eternity endures, or God exists in heaven.⁶⁵

When Treat issued another challenge, Garfield seized the opportunity to respond with a half-hour speech. Fuller remembered the speech as "a most impassioned eulogy upon the Bible as the source of civilization, the creed of all the mighty nations; the accepted moral guide of all the

grandest men in history." Garfield called the Bible "the only light through a dark world to lead a suffering and sorrowing race to the blessed hills of eternal life and peace." Of the impact of this speech, Fuller wrote:

Before he had spoken five minutes he had the sympathy of almost the entire assemblage, and the applause was constant and deafening, until he began his eloquent eulogy of the sacred volume; then the audience became as orderly and quiet as a religious assembly. He spoke with a readiness and power and eloquence which were perfectly overwhelming. I do not think Mr. Treat ever attempted another speech at Hiram.⁶⁶

In the summer of 1853 Garfield was in Pittsburgh to attend a debate on the evidences of Christianity between a Disciple preacher and an "Infidel." During the course of his three days at the debate, he spent much time "discussing with Infidels" and gaining a clearer picture of their intellectual position. "I did not know they were going to such awful lengths as they do," he wrote in the Journal. "They claim to have men among them much better than Jesus Christ!! Blasphemy!" At the debate's conclusion he wrote: "Infidelity has taken a new and bold stand. I am determined to know the evidence upon which the word of God rests, and be able to meet such revilers of God's words."⁶⁷

In a February, 1854, letter to Fuller, Garfield was rejoicing in an apparent Disciple victory over the forces of infidelity. "I have just heard from the debate which J. J. Moss has been holding with Joel Tiffany," he wrote. "I had my information from a non-professor, and he said

that Bro. Moss flayed the man alive, proved him to be an infidel, and gained a complete victory before the bar of public opinion."⁶⁸

Garfield's Journal during his student days in Hiram reflects his continuing stern commitment to personal piety. "I am not enough devoted to the cause of Jesus of Nazareth," he wrote on one occasion. "May the Lord fill my heart with love and keep me in the right way." "I must read the Scriptures more," he stressed. "I need more faith. Faith comes by hearing and it by the word of God." When he returned to his home one Sunday to preach at the little schoolhouse, it reminded him of his conversion, and he wrote: "This place, above all others, awakens old associations . . . here I gave myself to the Lord in, (I hope) an everlasting covenant. May I be more devoted to his cause than I have ever been." He was troubled by licentiousness and admitted, "I think that passion is the most difficult one in my nature and at times it seems perfectly untamable. I know of no other one I have so hard struggles to control." The next day he wrote, "May God hide from me the day when I am sold to licentiousness and lust."⁶⁹

In the midst of these moral struggles the young student decided: "There is but one course for a Christian to take and that is to make religion a personal thing and a matter of every day and hour's reflection and practice."

But four months later he was still struggling to obtain his "holy aspirations," and this time he decided:

There is only one means by which I can shield my heart and soul, and that is by humble and earnest prayer. May the Lord walk by me in the labors of life, and rule in my thoughts and heart for good, and lead me to his everlasting rest. I will call upon his holy name for protection.

Though the prayers brought solace and strength, Garfield was conscious of "a spirit of scepticism standing back of my thoughts, and it whispers through the courts of reason, that all the good results of prayer were the effects of natural causes." He was determined to overcome this mood and wrote in the Journal, "May my God cleanse my vile heart from the chilling and blighting influences of doubt."⁷⁰

In these student years at Hiram, Garfield was in the habit of contemplating the way in which God was providentially guiding his life. In his first Journal entry for 1853 he was still prepared to trust "the hand that has brought me thus far on the journey of life, and believe that God is preserving me for some wise purpose." When he preached in Franklin, Ohio, it brought him back to the Ohio Canal with all its memories of his brief nautical career, and he was reminded again of God's providence. As he relived the intervening five years he was moved to write:

Took tea at Sister Day's on the bank of the river. I have just made a circuit of nearly 5 long years and O! what a change. I am now looking upon that turbid and fickle stream upon whose surface I was floating with a company of degraded young men. O where are

they now? To what end did dissipation bring them? And myself--O my God make me more thankful for the wondrous mercies to me preserved from the awful gulf into which I was plunging. How has this great change been effected? Why have I been preserved? What destiny awaits me . . . O! at that time I was ripe for ruin, and an active and willing servant to sin. How fearfully I was rushing with both soul and body to destruction. O my God! take me--for thou hast redeemed me from death. Make me whatsoever thou wilt--but let me be thy child.

When he reviewed his life again three months later, he was amazed at the wonderful intervention of God in his life and could only conclude that the last four years of his life had been "little less than a chain of miracles--a concatenation of events over which I have seemed to have little or no control." He was fully convinced that "the hand of the Lord has been with me, and he has preserved me for some purpose."⁷¹

There were an increasing number of Disciples who felt that God's purpose in Garfield's life was clear. It appeared that he had all of the qualifications for a fine career in the Disciple ministry, and during his student years at Hiram he made considerable progress in that direction. Hiram had now become a center for the propagation of Disciple principles, and the Disciple schoolboy found a special satisfaction in attending the Disciple church services in Hiram. "I can enjoy myself better in our meeting here than anywhere else,"⁷² he wrote in his Journal. Soon after his arrival in Hiram, he was listening to the

leading Disciple preachers of the day, including Alexander Campbell, David S. Burnet, and Isaac Errett.

As a young boy, Garfield had most likely heard Campbell speak at some of the yearly meetings on the Western Reserve, but soon after his arrival in Hiram he heard the great reformer again. He listened appreciatively to the morning chapel lecture by Campbell and then responded by writing admiringly: "He is a great man. He compared man to a keystone to an arch resting on two eternities, a past and a future. Grand Idea." For Garfield it was the beginning of a warm friendship with the leader of the Disciples of Christ, and he revered Campbell through the remainder of his life. He was soon devoted to the writings of Campbell, noting on one occasion that he was "reading Bro. Campbell's 'Address on Demonology' and also the one of 'Phrenology, Mesmerism, Spiritual Rappings'" and on another occasion that he had "read Alexander Campbell's description of sunrise at sea, which surpasses any thing that I ever saw or read."⁷³

In the summer of 1853 Garfield attended commencement exercises at Bethany College as a preparatory step towards his enrollment there the following year. But as Wasson has explained: "To the young religious enthusiast the journey was as much a pilgrimage to the living shrine of Alexander Campbell . . . as it was anything else."⁷⁴ In the course

of this exciting week-end, he was privileged to attend the family worship one morning in the Campbell home. "Among the many objects of interest there," he wrote, "we found none that made so strong an impression on my mind as the interview with old Father Thomas Campbell." Garfield was impressed with the way in which the ninety year old father of Alexander, now entirely blind, could quote entire hymns and lengthy passages of Scripture from memory. "Let men see in him the sustaining power of the Gospel of Christ," he wrote. "I shall never forget my visit with him." But the highlight of the four-day visit was the time spent in the presence of Alexander, and the memory of these wonderful moments moved him to write exaltingly:

Of the man himself I must say he is a living wonder. When in his company, you feel the shadow of greatness falling upon you; he is a new man every time you meet him, for his mind seems to be taking a sweep through the universe and is enlightening new objects at every inch of its orbit. Thus far in his course, systems have been crushed before him, truth has blazed around and peace and righteousness have followed in his train.

The twenty-one year old student spent part of one afternoon "upon the lofty hill" that overlooked Campbell's separate octagonal study, and he thought of "that tremendous influence there in that secluded octagon beneath me, that was not bounded by space nor will it be by his mortal life." He was convinced that Campbell's influence had not only spread over the American continent but had "crossed the isles of the ocean and rested down upon the mighty Empire

of Great Britain, and today the stroke of his pen is felt over half the civilized world."

On Sunday morning Garfield visited the meetinghouse of the Bethany church and heard "a powerful and eloquent discourse from Bro. Campbell upon the new-birth as recorded in John 3rd." He commented that Campbell's "own remark, at least the first clause, is exemplified in himself, viz: 'Great minds play with systems, small minds with atoms.'"⁷⁵

Two months later Garfield and Fuller traveled to Euclid, Ohio, for the yearly meeting of the Disciples in Cuyahoga County. On Saturday they gathered under the "Big Tent" to hear sermons by David S. Burnet, Isaac Errett, A. B. Green, and William Hayden, but the main attraction was to be Campbell's appearance the next day. Garfield and Fuller were in "the vast congregation gathered under the great tent" when Campbell delivered his sermon on the question, "What think ye of the Christ?" The two students agreed that this masterpiece of a sermon "was worth a journey of a thousand miles."⁷⁶

Next to Campbell, the Disciple preacher who had the greatest impact on Garfield during his student years was Isaac Errett. Errett's twelve-day protracted meeting at Hiram in December, 1852, was the most successful evangelistic effort Garfield had ever witnessed. On the tenth day "Bro. Errett spoke a farewell (so intended) sermon, and an

invitation was given, and 19 glorious souls were induced to obey the Lord." With that kind of encouraging response the meeting was extended two more days, and when it closed after the twelfth day, Garfield added up the conversions:

Meeting closed today with 12 more baptisms. This has been such a meeting as I have never before attended. So much sound good sense, and so little attempt at raising an excitement and yet so great an excitement. 47 were immersed, 3 reclaimed, and one came from the Baptists. If I do not live better after this I shall be greatly to blame.⁷⁷

The Garfield Journal during these years is replete with information about his attendance at various Disciple meetings, and it reveals his particular enjoyment in being present at baptismal services. On one such occasion he referred to baptism as "a sublime and solemn spectacle," and after witnessing a baptism at night he called it "a most impressive scene as I ever saw." Fuller remembered another time when he and Garfield had witnessed baptisms in Lake Erie and had been moved by the spectacle. As he described it:

At the close of the afternoon service a great concourse found their way to the shore of Lake Erie, to witness the baptism of a number of persons who had determined thus to enlist in the Master's service. The spectacle was particularly impressive . . . As James and I stood on the shore and witnessed the solemn rite, we felt that we understood the great apostle when he spoke of the Christians of his day as 'buried with Christ in baptism.'⁷⁸

Considering his passionate involvement with the Disciple cause, and his admiration for Disciple preachers

like Campbell and Errett, it was inevitable that Garfield would begin the practice of preaching in Disciple pulpits. The Disciples did not recognize an ordained clergy and made no sharp distinction between those who preached and those who did not. Any man who demonstrated the ability to preach soon gained the approval of the churches. With no clerical requirements to fulfill, Garfield's ordination consisted only of the encouragement of Disciple churches.

He had "spoken in meeting" on a number of previous occasions, but he actually preached his first full-length sermon on March 27, 1853, at the age of twenty-one. This inaugural sermon, on the subject of "Divine Providence," represented Garfield's "first attempt to speak away from my own congregation any thing more than a mere exhortation." When he preached in Mantua the next Sunday, it was "the first time I ever spoke from the desk." That night he wrote, "I tremble when I think of the step I am taking and feel my weakness." But soon he was preaching for the Disciples in Mantua again, then at Franklin, and finally at Ravenna and Aurora. By the end of the year he had become such a popular speaker that he was called upon to preach somewhere nearly every Sunday. "After I get to speaking," he wrote, "I feel very calm and collected, I know not why. I am almost alarmed, fearing it is a kind of self-confidence."⁷⁹

As Garfield entered his final year at the Eclectic, it appeared that his path in life lay straight before him. His ability to preach acceptably to Disciple congregations was proven, and his future seemed secure. With his intense interest in the progress of the Disciples of Christ, he could count on rising to whatever position of responsibility and leadership was available in the Disciple ministry. It was the opinion of Disciple historian, Henry K. Shaw, that "Had James A. Garfield chosen a religious rather than a political career, he would probably have ranked next to Campbell as a leader in the movement."⁸⁰ Garfield's close friends in "the Hiram circle" were confident at this time that he was going to give his life to preaching. Fuller wrote: "To me there is not the slightest doubt that for two or three years, at least, Mr. Garfield fully expected to devote his splendid talents to the work of preaching the gospel."⁸¹

CHAPTER TWO

"LIBERALIZING MY MIND"

I thought best, for the sake of liberalizing my mind, to spend some time in the atmosphere of New England which is so different from that of our Western Institutions . . . in Literature, Politics, and Religion.

-- James A. Garfield, June 23, 1854

When twenty-one year old James Garfield attended the Bethany College commencement in the summer of 1853, he was giving serious consideration to enrolling there the next year. If he was going to give his life to preaching the gospel in Disciple churches, and that seemed to be the way he was progressing, the logical choice was to continue his preparation at the highly honored "mother college" in the Disciples movement. It would not only mean an opportunity to study under the guidance of the renowned Alexander Campbell, but a chance to live with the young men from all over the nation who would be the leaders in the next generation of the rapidly advancing movement.

The week-end at Bethany made the decision difficult. The time spent in the presence of the venerable religious reformer was intoxicating to the young preacher from the Western Reserve, and the reverence with which he viewed the Disciple leader could but find exalted expression in the Journal. But the college was another matter. Garfield was stunned when the Neotrophian society put on a performance

of The Lady of Lyons with, as he angrily noted, "all the trappings of Park Theatre!!" He thought "the piece itself was tinged with obscenity," and sadly concluded, "It does not seem much like educating preachers of the Gospel."¹

Garfield's reactions to other aspects of Bethany society revealed a growing sectional spirit that will be examined in a later chapter. He was not impressed with the quality of the Bethany students and filled his Journal with biased observations of their work. Upon his return from Virginia, he continued to express these criticisms in a letter to Fuller but thoughtfully concluded, "Yet there was some fine talent there."²

That summer Garfield began to reevaluate his future. In spite of his attraction to Campbell, the desire to live and study in Bethany, the Disciple mecca, was noticeably declining. For the first time he demonstrated a capacity to critically examine some of the weaknesses in the religious movement to which he was so deeply attached.

One Thursday night in August he and Professor Norman Dunshee stayed up half the night engrossed in a thoughtful discussion. Garfield described the exchange of ideas in the following way:

Our conversation was, in the main, on Christianity and its spirit; and especially the fact that our brethren, to a great extent, are debaters, and literal critics, and do not enough teach the spirit of Christ and his Gospel. This is too fearfully true!³

This significant conversation showed a new side of Garfield and revealed an admirable quality of independent judgment and objective thinking. It also marked the beginning of his growing impatience with a Biblical legalism that was common among many Disciples. One Disciple historian has described this legalistic tendency and given it the following interpretation:

The Disciples taught a conception of the gospel marked by a definiteness and positiveness that gave great power to their evangelism. The defect of this virtue was that it easily ran into legalism, and this latent tendency was not long in developing. Since they knew exactly what a man must do to become a Christian, they could with equal certainty determine whether a man was a Christian by finding whether he had fulfilled the three requirements--faith, repentance, and baptism. It seemed equally simple to determine whether a church was a true and proper church of Christ by comparing its practice with the divine blueprints. Such was the attitude of the strict constructionists.⁴

In Garfield's last year at Hiram he began to show evidence of greater maturity in his thinking, brought on by his wider knowledge of books and people. This resulted largely from his work with a faculty member named Almeda Booth.⁵ In later years he frequently acknowledged this intellectual indebtedness to Miss Booth, and after her death he published a memoir that said in part:

When I struck Hiram I found her there--a woman nine years older than I, and who, I do not hesitate to say, was in some respects greater even than Margaret Fuller. In fact, I am disposed to think her the greatest American Woman I have ever known. She was a very plain-looking person, with no external attractions, but with prodigious intellectual power.

Garfield studied with Miss Booth for two years prior to his graduation from the Eclectic in June, 1854, and he was persuaded later that "she and President Hopkins were the two great minds, outside of books, that helped shape my life."⁶

In the winter of 1853-1854, Garfield wrote to three Eastern colleges--Yale, Williams, Brown--inquiring about expenses and programs of study. Along with Bethany, this gave him four choices for completing his education, but he admitted in January, 1854, that the odds were "in favor of Bethany." This was because he could graduate in one year at Bethany, whereas the others would require at least two years. By the end of March he was "every day becoming more and more opposed to going to Bethany," but he felt that there was "some fate saying I must go there."⁷

The question was still up in the air in May, but Garfield's heart was already in the East. However, in a candid letter to Fuller he expressed some misgivings about studying in a Calvinistic environment, and his Disciple conditioning surfaced when he wrote:

It is strange to me that any set of Christians can hold so tenaciously to any dogma so cold and comfortless as the Calvinistic faith, and at the same time regard the gospel as a scheme of benevolence and even-handed justice. Certainly I could never rejoice in such a gospel. May the day soon come when the nations, tongues and people that lie in darkness may see the glorious light and liberty of the gospel of our blessed Lord.⁸

I am the son of Disciple Parents, have always lived among Disciples, listened to their teachings, have become one myself, and have for some years been a teacher among them. Now I know that every denomination (for even those who oppose sectarianism seem themselves to be a sect) has its peculiar views and distinctive characteristics. Each is accustomed to look at the world and all its belongings from one particular stand point, and each has its own sphere of Knowledge, and does not go beyond it. Thus the Methodists have their particular things which they must know, the Presbyterians theirs and the Disciples theirs.

This position which he now took in regard to the Disciples, was remarkably different from the one he had held just a year before. He was now prepared to admit that there were "sectarian" tendencies among his own people, something he would have vehemently denied a year earlier. The young Hiram graduate was convinced that each denomination had its own particular limitation. Although he stated that he was still committed to "the doctrines of Scripture and theological principles" of the Disciples, he felt that "the same remark applies to us that does to others to a great extent." Having expressed his critical judgment, he concluded:

Hence I thought best, for the sake of liberalizing my mind, to spend some time in the atmosphere of New England which is so different from that of our Western Institutions . . . in Literature, Politics and Religion.¹⁰

The next day he "took leave of Bro. and Sister Hayden who have so long been a father and mother to me and also of Bros. Dunshee and Munnell" and started for home. On Sunday he preached for the Disciples in Russell. This was a sentimental occasion for Garfield, and he wrote tenderly:

This I presume to be the last time I shall meet with our brethren for a long time, but I hope to know of their prosperity in the cause of truth, and their triumph over error. They are as a people sympathetic and benevolent beyond most others. The Gospel makes them so.¹¹

Four days later Garfield was on his way to Williamstown. This new phase in his education was both an adventure and a challenge, and any misgivings which he may have had were lost in a general euphoria. It rained in the course of his steamer trip from Cleveland to Buffalo, a fact which caused him to note in his Journal that "the murmuring cadence of the deep had swelled into the storm's pealing anthem," while he "stood entranced and gazed with awe-struck admiration on this sublime display of the midnight glories of Him who holds the floods in the 'hollow of His Hand.'"¹²

By previous arrangement he had planned his itinerary in such a way that he would meet Corydon Fuller in South Butler, New York, on Sunday. It was one of the few places in central New York where there was a Disciple church, and it was also the home of Fuller's fiancée. At the Disciple meetinghouse Fuller noted that Garfield's "fame had preceded him and he was at once called upon to preach, which he did to the delight of his hearers."¹³

By the following Sunday, Garfield and Fuller were in Schraalenburgh, New Jersey, where Fuller was then employed as a teacher. Their attendance at the Dutch Reformed services gave vent to Garfield's lingering religious intolerance.

He thought the preacher was "as perfect a specimen of a modern ministerial sanctimoniousness as any one I ever saw" and commented in the Journal:

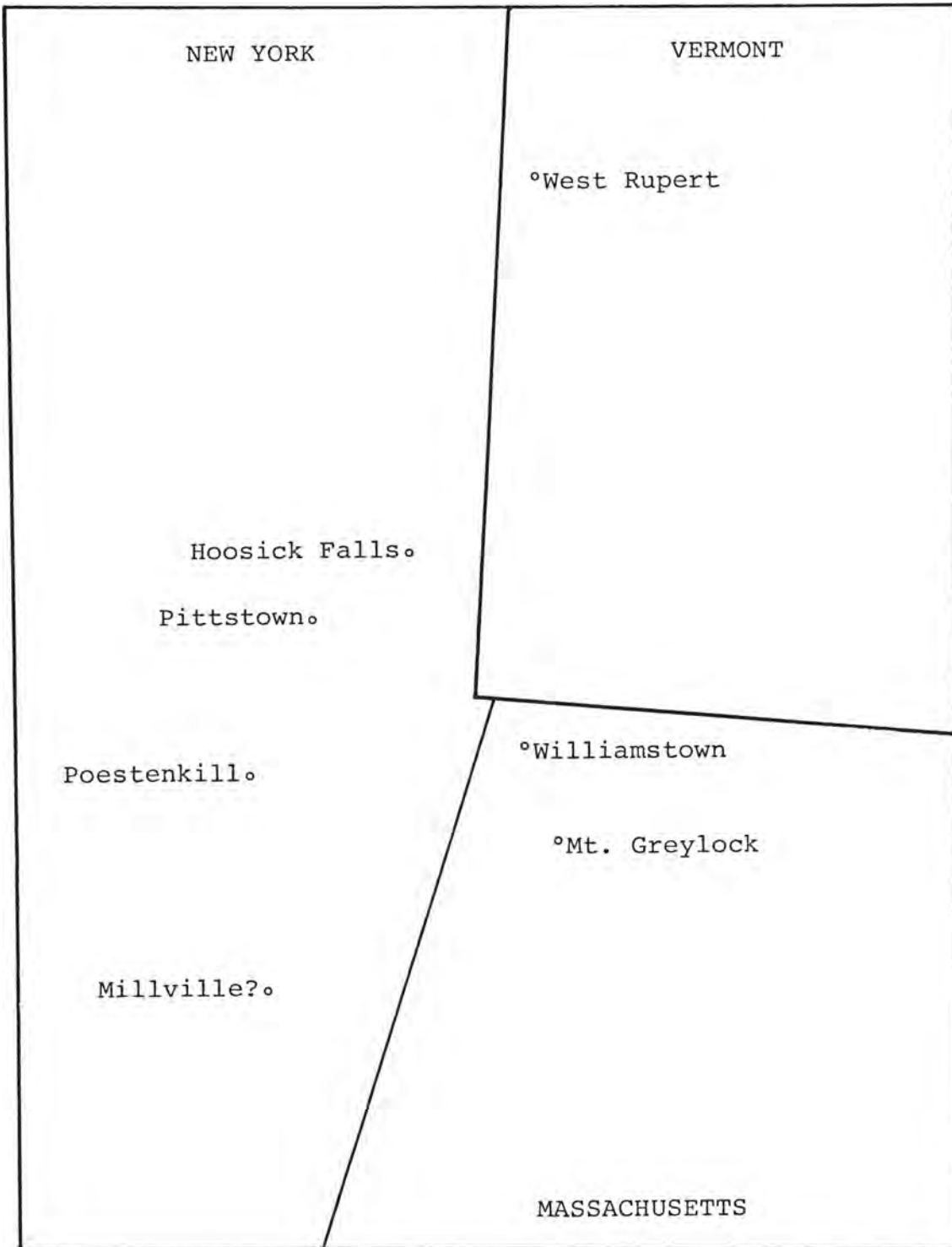
I endured an hour of his sermonizing on the comfortable themes of original sin, Total Depravity, etc. How strange that men will be so tenacious for dogmata that contain neither Gospel, logic, rhetoric nor truth, and hold them out as the comforting truths of the word of God.¹⁴

Following a visit to New York City the next day, Garfield sailed up the Hudson to Troy and hence by train to Hoosick, New York. On July 11, 1854, the twenty-two year old Hiram graduate bounded into Williamstown, Massachusetts, on board the daily stage from Hoosick Falls. His enthusiasm reached new heights as he described the great moment:

We pass through a gorge between the towering peaks, which suddenly expands into a delightful valley for a mile or two, and then contracts again. In the center of this valley like a diamond in an emerald casket is Williamstown . . . This beautiful little village is literally walled in with mountains--a wall not of "ruined parapets and crumbling towers," but God's own wall of granite, the everlasting hills, clothed with the richness of his own verdure, and wreathed with the gorgeous clouds of his own skies.¹⁵

But after finding a letter "from my dear Sister Almeda A. Booth" at the post office, Garfield was momentarily overcome by "a sense of loneliness and separation," and he broke down and cried freely.¹⁶ He was still very much the provincial Disciple from the Western Reserve and perhaps a little apprehensive of the challenge before him.

During his two years at Williams College, Garfield slipped out of the habit of recording daily entries in his



James A. Garfield at Williams College 1854-1856

Journal and only made an occasional entry.¹⁷ Therefore, to understand his life and thought during these years it is necessary, for the most part, to look elsewhere. Fortunately, he managed to find time for many letters and other miscellaneous writings.

Garfield had not realized that the fall term at Williams started a month later than the Eclectic's, and he arrived in time for the closing weeks of the summer term. This gave him an opportunity to sit in on some of the classes and examine the quality of the faculty. He immediately sent his reactions back to Lucretia Rudolph:¹⁸

I am pleased, very well pleased with the College and the Professors, and am very glad I determined to come here instead of Bethany . . . I do not feel satisfied merely to carry away the skin of a Massachusetts sheep but I want to know something of the men, the thoughts that are here. I feel the necessity of breaking the shell of local notions and getting mentally free.

Lest she think him unfairly critical of Hiram, he quickly added that he meant "no disrespect for the influences and teaching that I have had," but that he felt "to mould one's mind in one place and under one system of things must necessarily give it one particular channel and not that breadth of field that is desirable."¹⁹

In a letter to Fuller he admitted: "There is a high standard of scholarship here, and very many excellent scholars; those that have had far better advantages and more thorough training than I have." But the ambitious Garfield

had been calculating "their dimensions and power," and he now confided to Fuller that "between you and me, I have determined that out of the forty-two members of my class thirty-seven shall stand behind me within two months." "I lie here alone on my bed at midnight, tossing restlessly, while my nerves and sinews crawl and creep," he wrote further, "and I almost feel that there are but two tracks before me--to stand at least among the first, or die. I believe I can do it, if granted a fair trial."²⁰

The Williams College that Garfield confronted had two hundred fifty students and "a reputation for thorough scholarship and religious orthodoxy of the New England Calvinist type, resting on firmly established traditions of settled, respectable, conventional life."²¹ The religious atmosphere at the college was conservative. Each student was expected to attend chapel twice a day in Griffin Hall and to be present at both services on Sunday in the Congregational church at the head of Main Street. In addition to this, there were noon prayer meetings on four days of the week and spontaneous prayer meetings on Sundays.

In the prevailing religious and social atmosphere at Williams, Garfield had to adjust to the fact that his Western ways and his religious unorthodoxy set him apart from most of his fellow students. If he had enrolled at Bethany for the school-year of 1854-1855, he would have been associated

with young Disciples like John F. Rowe, J. S. Lamar, B. W. Johnson, John Shackelford, Harvey Everest, Otis A. Burgess, and J. M. Barnes, all of whom had backgrounds similar to his own. Familiar faculty members like Alexander Campbell, W. K. Pendleton, Robert Richardson, and Robert Milligan would have provided the direction for a Disciple-oriented education.²²

At Williams College he had to adjust to a fairly cosmopolitan student body, drawn primarily from the urban centers of New York and New England. He was no longer surrounded by an admiring group of "brothers and sisters" but was confronting a social situation where friendships had already been made and in-groups already existed. And, all of this in a Calvinistic religious environment which he found uncongenial.

There were other adjustments, also. Within two months after his arrival in Williamstown, the young Disciple from the Western Reserve had come into contact with three of the finest lecturers in America--Mark Hopkins, Henry Ward Beecher, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. The mode of thought he encountered in these men was immeasurably more challenging than the sort of thing prevalent at Hiram. Apart from his beloved Alexander Campbell, he had never experienced lectures that were so stimulating.

Mark Hopkins had been president of Williams College

since 1836 and was largely responsible for the national reputation it enjoyed. Garfield presented himself before President Hopkins on his first day in Williamstown and was immediately impressed with this "noble specimen of a man." Five days later he had an opportunity to hear Hopkins preach, and he wrote approvingly:

First and most important of all he impresses me with the idea that every word comes from his heart up through his understanding, and I feel that he is a good man. He is certainly a great thinker though I should say not a very original one. He is more of the Analytical stamp . . . There is a symmetry about his mind that is admirable . . . On the whole, I think he is a great man.²³

In the following month he paid a dollar to hear Henry Ward Beecher speak before the Young Men's Library Association, and reported that he "was much pleased with him."²⁴

But the greatest impact came from Emerson. After hearing Emerson speak for the first time, Garfield wrote excitedly to Fuller:

On Tuesday evening I listened to an address from Ralph Waldo Emerson, of Boston, and I must say, he is the most startlingly original thinker I ever heard. Each bolt which he hurls against error, like Goethe's cannon ball, goes "fearful and straight, shattering that it may reach, and shattering what it reaches." I could not sleep that night, after hearing his thunderstorm of eloquent thoughts. It made me feel so small and insignificant to hear him.²⁵

According to one writer it not only kept him from sleeping that night, but marked an epoch in his intellectual development. "He told me," wrote Edward Atkinson, "that he dated his intellectual life from listening to a lecture by Ralph

Waldo Emerson, given in the old parish church in Williamstown."²⁶ A month after the lecture Garfield wrote that he was still "almost intoxicated" over Emerson's "thoughts and manner of expressing them." He had started to collect some of Emerson's writings, and he continued to find him "one of the most startlingly original and attractive men" he had heard or read.²⁷

Garfield's first letters from Williamstown reflect his enthusiasm over scenery, library, buildings, and professors. There was, of course, one marked exception--the area of religion. It was to be expected that the committed follower of Alexander Campbell would have difficulty adjusting to the ways of New England orthodoxy. "I have listened to two long essays (sermons) read by two 'reverend' gentlemen today," he wrote to Lucretia, "and feel nearly exhausted by the effort. I see I am doomed to two hours of misery weekly while I stay here."²⁸ Wasson has written:

One can almost see the contempt Garfield had for such ways of preaching. He was accustomed to the extempore preaching of the Disciple minister whose message was mainly an unemotional exposition of a favorite text, with an abundance of Scriptural passages quoted verbatim and never read! And to be called 'Reverend' rather than 'Brother' was usurping terms belonging only to God.²⁹

Two weeks later one of the leading clergymen of New York City fared no better. Garfield reported:

I have listened to the great Dr. G. W. Bethune, the lion of the clergy of N. Y. and Brooklyn. Although he really is a great and eloquent man, he evidently looks

at the gospel through the colored spectacles of a shackled and purblind theology and would be but an infant on that theme by the side of our dear Bro. Campbell.³⁰

Perhaps feeling himself isolated and on the defensive in regard to his religious views, Garfield was given to reading "Bro. Campbell's writings," in the weeks before the opening of the fall term.³¹

Prior to the opening of classes in September, 1854, Garfield discovered a Disciple church at West Rupert, Vermont, about fifty miles away. When he learned that two Disciple preachers from the state of Ohio, "Bro. Benedict and Bro. Streator," were in the midst of a meeting at West Rupert, he hastened there to share in the good times. Once again his reputation had preceded him, and he was invited to preach one evening of the meeting. When he wrote home to Lucretia, he was overjoyed. "It seems so good to get among our brethren," he wrote. "Oh, how I long to be among them, permanently! We have the truth and our cause must triumph."³² To another Hiram student he wrote:

They had an excellent meeting. Eleven in all were immersed and one added from the Baptists. I was much refreshed and strengthened. Oh! how I long to be among our dear brethren again! I know we have the truth, and I believe that our brethren are the noblest and best men that live. If God's Truth can make men godlike they ought to be so.³³

Back in Williamstown to begin the school year, Garfield was joined by Charles D. Wilber, a classmate from Hiram, who had decided to follow him to Williams College.

Garfield was cheered by the arrival of his fellow-Disciple, and the two soon made arrangements to room together in the South College. Since Wilber was lame and required the help of crutches, a classmate later remembered the roommates as: "Garfield of large frame, looming up six feet high, strong and healthy, looking like a backwoodsman, and Wilber, with a pale intellectual cast . . . limping along beside him."³⁴

This same classmate, S. P. Hubbell, described how the two Disciples were received at Williams. He wrote:

Their position at first was a very isolated and peculiar one, and which was enhanced by a whisper that soon circulated among the students that they were Campbellites. Now what that meant, or what tenets the sect held, nobody seemed to know, but it was supposed to mean something very awful. But they continued on pursuing the even tenor of their way, unmoved by the stares and criticisms of their companions.

According to Hubbell, the Hiram graduates were "in dead earnest" about getting an education and were "entirely engrossed in their studies and college duties."

Garfield appeared to have little difficulty with the first term course of study at Williams, and it soon became clear he would "take one of the first honors" in the class.³⁵ He described the daily schedule to Lucretia:

Rise and attend prayers in the chapel at 5 and then recite one hour in Quintilian. Then go a quarter of a mile to breakfast. At 9 o'clock, three times a week attend lectures on Philosophy and at 11 recite in Mechanics. At 4 P.M. Greek for an hour, then prayers. In addition to these there are occasional exercises in themes, debates and orations.³⁶

But Garfield's life on the campus was not all study. He soon became what he called a "College Statesman." He joined three campus organizations: the Philogian Society, the Equitable Fraternity, and the Mills Theological Society. The Philogian was one of the two great literary clubs at Williams, and Garfield soon won recognition as a formidable debater. This led to his election as president of the Philogian in his second year. The Equitable Fraternity was a non-secret society which sought to lessen the influence of the six secret societies on campus. These fraternities were little more than debating societies, and by the spring of his first year Garfield had forged to the front as a "leader of the nonfraternity element" at Williams.³⁷

Shortly after joining the Philogian society, he gave an oration on "Chivalry" in which he said that one of the best expressions of modern chivalry was to be found in the life of a Christian. So as not to be misunderstood by his listeners, Garfield presented his own personal definition of a Christian. The true Christian was not "merely the man who stands within the pale of the Christian Church, nor the scrupulous observer of forms and ceremonies"; nor was he "the learned and powerful Theologian, who can logically and fluently advocate the dogmas and maintain the tenets of some particular sect"; nor was he "the man who subscribes largely for the erection of splendid churches, with the

wealth which he has wrenched from the hard hand of poverty." The true Christian, according to Garfield, was "the man who lives Christ-like, and like his Divine Master, goes humbly with his God."³⁸

This understanding of the meaning of the word Christian was probably in advance of much of the religious thinking at Williams. Although Garfield had come East for the purpose of liberalizing his mind, he soon found that the type of thought represented at Williams was not nearly so liberal as that which he had left behind on the Western Reserve among the Disciples of Christ. His experience of the "broad, liberal and free" West, as he put it, made him "feel somewhat the restraint of New England conservatism."³⁹ Two days after his "Chivalry" speech, Garfield gave expression to his disillusionment and at the same time reaffirmed his commitment to the principles of the Disciples in a significant letter to a friend in Hiram. He wrote:

I have been here long enough to be initiated into the duties and mysteries of college life. Though there are a great many fine scholars and brilliant minds here, yet there are but few who seem to have any correct views of life and its aims and objects . . . I have had a fine chance to see the workings and hear the doctrines of New England orthodoxy and I am more convinced than ever of the fact that the reformation pleaded by Bro. A. Campbell is the brightest light of the age. The people here look some ways down on Western men and institutions; but I say that if New England has any boasting to do, she must do it quickly or it will be forever too late.⁴⁰

In the autumn of 1854, Garfield had been called away to preach to a small congregation of Disciples in Pittstown,

New York.⁴¹ His reputation was evidently growing among the scattered Disciple churches in eastern New York, and in February, 1855, he accompanied "Bro. Streator" to a meeting in Poestenkill, New York. He only planned a brief visit but ended up staying two weeks due to special circumstances. As he explained to Fuller:

Bro. Streator commenced a series of meetings, and insisted on my staying with him a week. I did so, and by the close of the week the burden of the meeting had nearly fallen on me, and a deep interest was awakened. They would not consent to let me go, and so I remained another week. During my stay I spoke fifteen discourses, and visited with all the brethren in the neighborhood. Nothing else could have kept me away from college, but I am glad I stayed. I think I can make it up in a short time.⁴²

"It was a half-month of joy and blessing to me," he wrote home to Lucretia. Nor did he return to Williamstown empty-handed. In addition to twenty dollars in cash for his part in the meeting, he had received all sorts of gifts from the appreciative Disciples. He reported to Lucretia:

Sister Mary Cole gave me four new shirts, six collars and when I came away stuffed my trunk with cakes and apples. Her sister Mrs. Maria Learned also gave me two silk neck handkerchiefs and a satin stock. Another gave me two new pairs of socks. Sister Cole also got me two white linen pocket handkerchiefs.⁴³

Garfield's meeting in Poestenkill was the beginning of his warm and intimate relationship with that Disciple church. Since Poestenkill was only twenty miles from the Williams campus, Garfield became a frequent visitor on the week-ends and his preaching was much appreciated by the local Disciples. He usually made the journey by horseback,

but occasionally he traveled on foot. Among his closest friends there were Charles and Maria Learned, Edmond and Mary Cole, and Rebecca Jane Selleck.⁴⁴ The latter was a young lady from Lewisboro, New York, to whom Garfield became greatly attracted. She was a frequent visitor in the Learned home, particularly on those week-ends when she knew Garfield would be present.

The Poestenkill meeting had put Garfield a little behind schedule at the beginning of the spring term, but he quickly made it up. He described his work for the new term as "Political Economy, Astronomy, Evidences of Christianity and Latin" and assured Fuller that he had "never stumbled before the professors" since his enrollment at Williams.⁴⁵ By the spring of his first year Garfield began to feel more at home in the Williams environment. His roommate, Charles Wilber, later wrote that:

. . . in six months, although the criticism was formidable, he had broken down all the college walls so completely that, though every class seemed to be bound by its traditions and its peculiar style of selfishness, all seemed to be laid low and he was one with the college and the hero of all.⁴⁶

Garfield's religious interest was still directed primarily to the progress of the Disciples, but he was becoming open to the religious programs at Williams. In his second term he actually participated in a religious revival on the campus. This was probably surprising to his friends back at Hiram, but he willingly explained his position:

They are having a great "Revival," and though I cannot subscribe to all the ways and means yet I believe there is much good being done and I can truly say that I have never been among more spiritually-minded Christians than those I find in Williams College. I am heartily cooperating with them in arousing the unconcerned to the interests of the Christian religion, but I let them have their way in reference to doctrine. I do not think it would be right to interpose a discordant element at such a time though I can hardly resist my desire to tell them what the Gospel is.⁴⁷

This growing cooperative attitude was also displayed in his relationship with the members of the Mills Theological Society. Garfield held successively the offices of librarian and president of the society, and according to one of his classmates, "he won the respect and esteem of all its members" because of "his urbanity, innate kindness of nature, and good sound judgment in the management of its affairs." This same classmate felt that Garfield "lived the life of a true Christian."⁴⁸

However, Garfield's spirit of cooperation did not prevent him from clashing with his Calvinistic associates on doctrinal matters. In one letter to a Disciple living on the Western Reserve, he wrote: "I must stop writing, and prepare to discuss baptism this evening in the Theological Society with about forty young Congregational Preachers."⁴⁹ As Wasson says: "One can readily guess that the debates of Alexander Campbell on the subject of baptism had been freely resorted to by Garfield, and that he was well fortified with arguments."⁵⁰

In May, 1855, Garfield returned to Poestenkill to preach in another protracted meeting. In the midst of these labors he reported to Fuller: "I have spoken ten discourses since I came, and six have been immersed . . . We are still hoping for more conversions."⁵¹ When he wrote to Lucretia at the conclusion of the meeting, it was to relate the continuing generosity of his Poestenkill friends. "They gave me a pair of pants worth seven dollars," he enthused, and "two pairs of socks and seventeen dollars in money."⁵²

The following month found Garfield attending "a yearly meeting of Disciples" in Pittstown, New York, for four days, after which he went again to Poestenkill and "spoke to the people Saturday evening and three discourses on Lord's day." He wrote to Fuller: "We had good meetings in each place, and much interest. I can not resist the appeals of our brethren for aid while I have the strength to speak to them."⁵³ It was in this letter to Fuller that Garfield, now spiritually refreshed from the Pittstown and Poestenkill meetings, wrote the following significant paragraph:

I tell you, my dear brother, the cause in which we are engaged must take the world. It fills my soul when I reflect upon the light, joy and love of the Ancient Gospel and its adaptation to the wants of the human race. I look upon old New England as a wilderness of dead pines, where the winds moan solemnly, and though they play an orthodox tune, yet they can not much longer keep time with the on-rushing spirit of free thought, free speech and free gospel. Our Reformation is the greatest light of the nineteenth century: I believe it. I long to be in the thickest of the fight, and see the

army of Truth charge home upon the battalions of hoary-headed error. But I must be content to be a spy for a time, till I have reconnoitered the enemy's strongholds, and then I hope to work.

He closed the letter by expressing his approval of the news that Fuller was making a move to Mishawaka, Indiana, since ". . . you will then be brought among our brethren. You know how to appreciate that privilege, and so do we all that have been deprived of it." He hoped that Fuller would be able to put his "shoulders to the wheel and push the Truth forward," and he wrote encouragingly of the way in which their Reformation was "going forward in the valley of the Mississippi, where the life currents of our nation are bounding so briskly." The optimistic Garfield believed that before long "America's heart will be filled with Primitive Christianity." Like other overly optimistic members of the movement, Garfield thought that in time the Disciples might conquer the nation with their message.

Meanwhile, back at Williams College, Garfield was achieving recognition in the literary field. In May, 1855, he had been elected as one of the editors of the Williams Quarterly for the coming school year of 1855-1856. This was one of the highest honors bestowed on a Williams senior, and Garfield took his new position seriously. The Quarterly was a serious literary publication. Although its editorial and miscellaneous matter concerned general college news, its formal literary articles were aimed at high standards of

writing. Both students and faculty were encouraged to contribute articles to this periodical. Garfield appears to have shouldered much of the editorial work in connection with the publication of the summer issue in August, 1855.

When he wrote to Lucretia on August 11, he apologized for his long silence and explained: "I have been at work on the Quarterly, and the examinations, and the latter were finished last evening and the Quarterly--my literary first-born--will be out this afternoon."⁵⁴ To Fuller he wrote: "I read the proof sheets of the first 48 pages myself . . . I had nine-tenths of all the labor of criticising proof, keeping the books and carrying on the correspondence."

Garfield remained on campus for the commencement exercises on August 15 and heard Henry Ward Beecher deliver the annual oration before the literary societies. Then he hurried home to Ohio for a month-long visit with family and friends. This was the only time he returned home during the two years at Williams, and he must have been filled with a sense of accomplishment as he prepared to meet his friends. In one academic year he had emerged as one of the most promising students at Williams College.

The month at home brought many reunions with his friends in the Disciples of Christ. He arrived home in time to preach for the Disciple church in Solon and then wrote to Fuller: "I go tomorrow to Hiram, on my way to the yearly

meeting in Warren, where I hope to see many of our dear brethren and sisters. I shall also attend the meeting at Euclid."⁵⁶ Two weeks later Garfield wrote with news of the "glorious meeting at Euclid" and happily informed Fuller: "I am rejoiced to tell you your--yes, our--dear sister Elma is now a doubly dear sister in the Lord, and is with us a partaker of the good hope of immortality and eternal life."⁵⁷ Having reestablished his ties with the Disciples on the Western Reserve, Garfield returned to Williamstown in mid-September for the beginning of his Senior year.

With the opening of the school year, Garfield made a change in his rooming arrangements. He no longer needed the close association of a Disciple roommate, and he worked out an agreement with Charles Wilber whereby both of them could live alone. Garfield moved into a room in the East College next to the 1600-volume theological library. "My situation is extremely pleasant," he confided to Lucretia. "I think I shall be much better satisfied to live alone where I can commune with myself more than I have heretofore been able to do."⁵⁸

It is doubtful that Garfield had much time for communing with himself. As president of the Philogian Society, president of the Mills Theological Society, leader of the Equitable Fraternity, and editor of the Williams Quarterly, he immediately plunged into all sorts of student activities.

Less than two months into this hectic schedule, Garfield wrote in his Journal:

It is now ample time for a reform in some of my social . . . habits. I have allowed myself by degrees and almost imperceptibly to be drawn into the currents of College partizanship and have thus made myself a sort of College Statesman. This has been well enough for the externals of my life and being but has it been well enough for me, my inner self and inner life? . . .

I here record my protest against the farther continuation of this state of things and also my resolution to do more for and by myself.⁵⁹

During his Senior year Garfield continued to enjoy the fellowship of the Disciples in Pittstown and Poestenkill. After a pleasant week-end in Poestenkill in November, 1855, he reflected on the "affectionate kindness" of his "dear friends" in that church and wondered if it was providential that they had been brought together. "The whole story of my going to Poestenkill in the first place," he wrote, "and the results that have followed are fully in line of most of the strange lights and shadows along my life's path. To me there is a large field for reflection in reference to it."⁶⁰

The academic work of the Senior year at Williams revolved around the teaching of President Mark Hopkins. The Senior class studied anatomy and zoology for a time, to get some grounding in the physical nature of man, and then moved into Logic and Moral Philosophy--all under the instruction of Hopkins. The only other course in the first term was Professor John Bascom's Philosophy of Rhetoric. Later in

the year there were courses in American History, Political Philosophy, and Natural Theology.

For most students at Williams, however, the subjects taught were of minor interest alongside the inspiration of President Hopkins. His course in Moral Philosophy was one of the drawing cards of the college, and every Senior was required to take it. Christian influence was central in the approach of Mark Hopkins, and to him the great aim of education was to help the student perceive religious truth. "As he moved through the lectures on moral philosophy," Hopkins' biographer has written, he "approached each spring the question of choice, at which time he made abundantly clear to every senior that within his own power lay the opportunity to choose God or reject Him."⁶¹

In his classroom discussions, which followed the Socratic method, Hopkins always made his students think. He was always asking the reciting student who stood before him, "What do you think about it?" It was in this method of classroom dialogue that Garfield saw the greatness of Mark Hopkins. According to Hopkins, the responsibility of the teacher was "to watch the progress of the individual mind, and awaken interest, and answer objections." Throughout his Senior year, Garfield flourished under the tutelage of the inspiring Dr. Hopkins.

In November Garfield wrote in his Journal: "There is

a mine opened in the college Chapel twice a day and the treasures are the wealth of President Hopkins' great mind and heart."⁶² Two days later he added: "Today and yesterday I have done about what I ought to do in four days . . . But this mighty Dr. Hopkins is so infinitely suggestive."⁶³ "We are revelling in Metaphysics now," he wrote to Lucretia the same day. "I love to flounder in such a sea of strange thoughts. But I never treasured so many jewels of thought in twice the time as I am now doing from our powerful and beloved president, Dr. Hopkins."⁶⁴ "We are now gathering the ripest fruit of the college course," he informed Fuller in February, "and our beloved and powerful President Hopkins is leading us with a strong hand along the paths of thought which my feet have never before trodden." Garfield intended "to save some of the treasures he is giving us, to use in coming life."⁶⁵

Garfield even received intellectual stimulation from Hopkins' classes on the Catechism. It was the custom "for the Senior class to devote Saturday morning to an exercise in that time honored standard of the Calvinistic faith," and Garfield entered into these discussions on Calvinistic doctrine with his usual enthusiasm. One Saturday in November he recorded in his Journal: "This morning we had a lesson in Vincent on the Catechism and investigated the Doctrine of Purposes and Decrees and Election and Reprobation." This

prompted Garfield to work out his own theory of the elect. God, he suggested, had perhaps elected, not persons, but a character, and left men free to make the choices which would produce a character to meet the test and win salvation.⁶⁶

But Garfield also found much with which to disagree in the Saturday morning sessions. J. K. Hazen, a Presbyterian clergyman and a classmate of Garfield, referring in later years to these discussions, wrote:

. . . though holding a different type of theology, none of our class entered into the study more heartily than Garfield. It suited his metaphysical turn of mind. In the discussions which followed, as we went from our class-room to the dinner-table, I was always impressed with the keenness of his criticisms . . . and with the straightforward fairness and hearty respect which he accorded to views which he utterly refused to accept.⁶⁷

As a result of Hopkins' inspiration, Garfield's interests were turned away from hectic college politics and into philosophical and literary lines during the winter of 1856. In February he informed Lucretia: "I am leading a calm, quiet life of study." During this term he took up the voluntary study of Hebrew and immersed himself in the writings of Shakespeare, Tennyson, and Sir Walter Scott. His letters show that in the same term he plunged into the reading of fiction, mainly Cooper and Dickens. He explained this new interest in fiction to Lucretia:

When I was thirteen and onward to eighteen I read a great many novels, but when I embraced Christianity I not only left them off but did not even read newspaper tales . . . In examining myself I found my mind was getting too dull and matter-of-fact in its operations

. . . and I therefore determined to take up a course of reading a few volumes of the best authors of fiction.⁶⁸

During his Senior year, Garfield continued to have moods of introspection when he would analyze the direction in which his life was moving. There were occasional references to the hand of providence and to the impact of his mother's influence. In one of these moods he wrote:

In reviewing the varied scenes of my short yet eventful life, in examining the tangled web of circumstance and earthly influences I can see one golden thread running through the whole--my Mother's influence upon me. At almost every turning point in my life she has been the moulding agent.⁶⁹

Throughout his days at Williams College, Garfield kept up the practice of reading a portion of the Bible each evening in correspondence with his mother. This practice was made known to the rest of his classmates when Garfield, fulfilling the duty of every Williams man, climbed Mount Greylock in July, 1856. One of his classmates, E. N. Manley, later described what happened on that occasion. He wrote:

We used to have an annual holiday called 'Mountain-Day.' At the close of one, a Fourth of July evening, on the summit of old 'Greylock,' seven miles from the college, there was a goodly gathering of students about their campfire, when Garfield, the recognized leader, taking a copy of the New Testament from his pocket, said, 'Boys, I am accustomed to read a chapter with my absent mother every night; shall I read aloud?' All assenting, he read us the chapter his mother in Ohio was then reading, and called on a classmate to pray.⁷⁰

As Garfield's graduation from Williams drew near, he expressed some anxiety about the outcome of the examinations that would determine college honors. Of the 45 members of

the Senior class, only the first six would graduate with honors and be invited to give an oration at the commencement. But Garfield did not have to worry. The result of the exams was all that he could have hoped for. "I am one of the six," he wrote excitedly to Fuller, "and received the Metaphysical Oration which is considered second only to the Valedictory."⁷¹ And since the Valedictory was always awarded to a student who had been at Williams for his entire college course, Garfield had achieved the highest possible honor available to a transfer student.

With his academic standing at Williams established, the ambitious Garfield now turned to a greater anxiety--the consideration of his future. The two roads that were before him were to preach in the Disciple ministry or to become a teacher. If he chose the latter, he had to choose further whether to return to the Eclectic or to launch out on his own. Although many of his Disciple friends were urging the first alternative, by the spring of 1856 he had become disenchanted with the career of a Disciple preacher. Theodore Clarke Smith says of this development:

So far as can be made out, it seems to have been the result of his discovery that the Disciples as a body counted for little in New England and the East and that the impression of their coming triumph with which he had left Hiram entirely faded away with greater experience.⁷²

"I want very much to talk with you," he wrote to Lucretia on May 2, "in reference to my future course of life and my duty

in regard to choosing some calling." He candidly admitted: "The disorganized and distracted state of the Brotherhood rather repels me from them and renders the ministry an unpromising field."⁷³ Two weeks later he wrote further:

It is always disagreeable to talk of money in connection with the Gospel, and yet I must and will say that I do not intend to abandon our earthly support to the tender mercies of our Brotherhood. To enter the field at present when they are all torn up into warring factions is unpleasant and it almost seems as if one's efforts would be neutralized by such things.⁷⁴

In June he hurried off to attend a yearly meeting of Disciples in Millville, New York, but this time he was not spiritually uplifted. "The cause, east of the river, looks rather dark and gloomy," he informed Lucretia, "and it seems to me there is a great want of Christian devotion. Indeed I think our Brethren are proverbial for their lack of spirituality and personal piety." Garfield confessed that he was "sometimes almost discouraged in regard to the Reformation and doubt whether there has been much real gain by it."⁷⁵

The alternative to preaching was teaching, and here he was confronted with several teaching opportunities in the East. He also had an invitation to rejoin the faculty at the Eclectic, but the \$600 per year it was prepared to pay seemed paltry next to the \$1,500 per year he could get in the East. Then too, his two years at Williams had made him critical of the academic standards at the Eclectic, and the little world of Hiram now seemed small and confining.

There was a rumor in Hiram that Garfield would not return if A. S. Hayden continued as principal. Garfield confirmed this when he wrote to Lucretia: "I have said and still say (in all love to Bro. H) if he is to remain the Principal permanently I will not go there." He concluded: "I know and so do you all that the School cannot thrive as it should under his discipline and teaching."⁷⁶ There were some who felt that Garfield wanted Hayden's position.

In the midst of his deliberations, Garfield suddenly decided to accept Hayden's offer of a position on the faculty. He was aware that some board members were suggesting his name as a replacement for Hayden, but he was cautious about such a promotion and responded to Lucretia:

Your views and mine coincide perfectly in regard to the Presidency of the Eclectic. I have by no means aspired to it nor do I want it. Were I a third person I would counsel the trustees not to give it into the hands of so young a person as I am.⁷⁷

With this major decision behind him, Garfield took refuge with his Poestenkill friends during the so-called "Senior vacation" between examinations and commencement. Lucretia and Fuller were both present on August 6 for the "last triumph" of his college career, and then the commencement party enjoyed a final week in Poestenkill. Finally, on August 12, James Garfield and his future bride started back to the Western Reserve. His college days were now over, but a new and ambitious chapter in his life was just beginning.

Garfield's biographers have pointed out that he returned to the Eclectic because Hayden thought that he owed it to the academy, and because Lucretia Rudolph and Almeda Booth were both eager for his return.⁷⁸ But there may have been another reason in the back of Garfield's mind--one which he was not yet ready to reveal. In his Senior year at Williams, he had discovered a new interest in national politics; and by the summer of 1856 he may have already begun to see his Hiram connections as a potential base for a career in "the field of statesmanship."

As a student at Chester and Hiram, Garfield had been very negative in his opinions of politics and politicians.⁷⁹ "Politics are now raging with great violence," he wrote during the presidential campaign of 1852. "I am profoundly ignorant of its multifarious phases and am not inclined to study it." Election day found him glad he lacked "17 days of being old enough to vote," for he was undecided as to his duty upon the subject. Then he added: "I think, however, I should not have voted had I been 21 years of age."⁸⁰

It was in Garfield's Senior year at Williams that his prejudice against politics began to dissolve. The turning point occurred on November 2, 1855, when he listened to two speeches on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its aftermath. The speeches were delivered by Massachusetts Congressman John Z. Goodrich and by Jeb Patterson, whose newspaper office in

Missouri had been subjected to mob violence as a result of his stand against illegal voting by Missourians in Kansas. That night Garfield wrote in his Journal: "I have been instructed tonight on the political condition of our country and from this time forward I shall hope to know more about its movements and interests."⁸¹

At its first national convention in June, 1856, the newly formed Republican Party nominated John C. Fremont as its candidate for the presidency. He was nominated on a platform dedicated to preventing the further extension of slavery and to subsidizing a great Pacific Railroad. When news of Fremont's nomination reached Williamstown, Garfield made his first political speech at a college meeting that was called to ratify the nomination.⁸² He had now become an ardent member of the Republican Party and was eagerly looking forward to an active role in the campaign.

In the same month that Garfield delivered his first political speech, he made the significant decision to return to the Eclectic. Three years later, on the eve of his first political victory, he confided: "I have for some years had it in contemplation to enter the field of statesmanship, either at the legal or educational portal."⁸³ That plan may have been conceived in the summer of 1856 when he went back to his Disciple people on the Western Reserve.

CHAPTER THREE

"THE DIRECTION OF MY PURPOSE"

I have for some years had it in contemplation to enter the field of statesmanship, either at the legal or educational portal, and if this plan succeeds I shall have gained a step in the direction of my purpose.

-- James A. Garfield, August 22, 1859

The Hiram that Garfield returned to in August, 1856, was still just a village, smaller than Williamstown, and located a full three miles from the nearest railroad. Less than seventy houses surrounded the Eclectic, which continued to operate from its single two-story brick building on the central green. But student enrollment had risen to nearly 300, and the constituency of the school was increasing.

Burke Hinsdale once remarked to Garfield:

I know of nothing better to compare the Eclectic to than the circulatory system of the human body. The heart is in Hiram, the arteries run along the mail routes to all places where retired students reside, and the veins flow back again through the same channels to the heart in Hiram.¹

Garfield was well aware of the growth of this "circulatory system" throughout the Western Reserve, and he had come to see how important the Eclectic could be in terms of his own personal career. When the twenty-four year old Williams graduate returned to teach at the Eclectic, he had reason to believe that the responsibility for running the school would soon be placed in his hands. But three weeks after the first term began, Garfield experienced a letdown when

he discovered that he did not have the unanimous backing of either the Board of Trustees or the faculty. In a mood of great depression he wrote to Fuller:

Sutton is away most of the time, and can't govern and I won't, under present arrangements. I want very much to give you a view of the state of things in Ohio in general and Hiram in particular. There are many undercurrents of maneuvering that never see the light. I am inclined to say with Shakespeare, 'There's something rotten in the State of Denmark.' My stay here will certainly be very short; no longer at most than the year for which I have engaged. Had I known before all I now know, I would not have come here at all.²

What bothered Garfield was that he found himself in the middle of an internal power struggle. One group among the trustees wanted him to be president of the Eclectic, while others favored either the retention of President Amos Sutton Hayden or his replacement by an older member of the faculty like Professor Norman Dunshee. Of the five faculty members, Garfield had the support of Almeda Booth and J. H. Rhodes, but Harvey Everest was promoting Dunshee.³

It was an uncomfortable year on Hiram Hill. Although most of the supporters of the Eclectic probably were aware that the school had outgrown Hayden's competence, some of them distrusted the ambitious and forceful young man whose education and experience of the larger world far surpassed their own. If it was necessary to have a trained scholar as head of the school, the conservative Disciples preferred Dunshee because he was untainted by contact with Eastern liberalism and sophistication.

In the fall term Garfield diverted his attention to the Republican party's presidential campaign. "In the great political issue of the day, I felt myself justified in taking an active part," he wrote to Fuller, "and the moment I was fairly afloat I had more calls to speak than I could respond to."⁴ He informed Fuller that he had participated in several debates with the Democrats, including a crucial one in Garrettsville against "the strongest Democrat in the county--the editor of the Portage Sentinel." Garfield was pleased to report that "the Republican papers said he was demolished and his Democratic friends did not deny it."⁵

Garfield had thoroughly enjoyed this new experience of political campaigning, and as Smith has written, "It is scarcely too much to say that in this autumn's campaigning the future Congressman, politician and leader of the Western Reserve was born."⁶ He was satisfied that he had helped to swing the vote of northern Ohio to Fremont, and on election day he recorded no misgivings concerning the involvement of Christians in political affairs.

The internal tensions at the Eclectic continued in the winter term, prompting Garfield to write to Fuller in December: "I have all the influence here I could ask, but you know I am not contented to stay here. What my course of life will be is an extremely doubtful question."⁷ But with his characteristic enthusiasm and energy, he plunged

into his work and made the most of a difficult situation. His crowded schedule included the teaching of six or seven classes a day, lectures on grammar and activities with the literary societies in the evening, and the preaching of two sermons to some Disciple church each Sunday.

Even those conservative Disciples who questioned the "soundness" of Garfield's faith, had to be impressed with the revival on the Eclectic campus that resulted from his preaching in January, 1857. In some ways it compared with the great meeting that Isaac Errett had held on the campus in December, 1852. Garfield was delighted with the results of the two-week effort, and he eagerly reported to Fuller:

I have never seen a more happy meeting . . . There were thirty-eight immersions, and three reclaimed. I spoke more or less every day, and delivered several full discourses, and this, together with my labor in the school, has worn me down considerably . . . The flower of our school was turned to the gospel, and the hands and hearts of the church were much strengthened.⁸

The issue of who was to head the school came to the fore in May, 1857, when President Hayden resigned at the end of the spring term to devote his full time to the ministry. There was much gossip and speculation about who the successor would be, and the friends of Garfield and Dunshee accelerated their lobbying with the trustees. "A storm is gathering over me," Garfield informed Lucretia on May 18. "Some of my good friends (?) are afraid that the young man is ambitious and they think it best to take down his feather

a little." The charge that he was too ambitious, which was probably accurate, was particularly distressing to Garfield. He had not wanted to manifest any outward desire for the presidency of the Eclectic. Now he feared that the charges of his critics would cost him the promotion, and he closed the letter to Lucretia by writing bitterly:

All these things put the Trustees in a quandary and they will probably feel about N. and me as a church committee once did. One of the two candidates for the ministry, they decided, had a genuine call but was not qualified. The other was qualified but had not a genuine call . . . I am sometimes so disgusted with the whole thing as to be almost resolved to throw it all away and go to the more 'liberal deeds of the Law.'⁹

This was the first time that Garfield had mentioned to anyone other than himself his desire for a career in the legal profession. Two years later he would admit that for some years he had been planning on using an educational or legal position as a stepping stone for a political career. Now that his hopes for the presidency of the Eclectic were in doubt, he thought it appropriate to reveal his alternate plan to Lucretia. Three years earlier, when he had stopped to call on a lawyer friend, he had written in his Journal:

Were it not for the religion of Christ I should long long ago have placed my mark in that direction, and though I do not regard the Legal Profession as incompatible with Christianity, still, I think it would be much more difficult to cultivate and preserve that purity of heart, and devotedness to the cause of Christ, when one partakes of those ambitious aspirations that accompany the Gentlemen of the Bar.¹⁰

But now Garfield had shaken off the religious scruples that

had controlled him earlier, and he was ready to go after the more "liberal deeds of the Law."

When the twelve members of the Board of Trustees met to determine Hayden's successor, they could not agree on a unanimous choice. The compromise arrangement they finally arrived at was indicative of their plight. It was decided that the affairs of the school would be carried on by the teachers with Garfield serving as "chairman" of the faculty. But the presidency was left vacant, clear evidence that Garfield had something less than a resounding mandate. Still, it was an important step in the direction he wanted to go, and it made him de facto the head of the school.

It was important to Garfield that his friends know the truth about his promotion. He wanted it clear that he had not sought the office. When he wrote to Fuller, he gave the following account of the struggle:

. . . when my enemies feared I might be placed in the chair, they commenced the most unholy warfare that one can well imagine, against me. All the lies of ancient and modern date were arrayed and marshaled against me, and yet I had never by word or action manifested the least desire to gain the Presidency of the Eclectic. However, the Trustees were urging me to take charge of the school, and after a long time I determined to do so, partly to hold it up and partly to stop the mouths of the barking hounds around me.¹¹

Thus, at the age of twenty-five, Garfield was thrust into a position of leadership at the Eclectic. As one historian has noted, "Such a choice could not fail to be a bitter blow to the disappointed Dunshee."¹² Garfield was aware

of some who were "looking on with vulture eyes and longing for me to fail,"¹³ but that only made him more determined to be an effective administrator. Nevertheless, his detractors subjected his slightest indiscretion to hurtful interpretation, and he let their attacks pierce his thin skin and cast him into spells of anger and depression.

Despite his sensitivity to the criticism, Garfield threw himself into his work with characteristic vigor. He immediately gave new energy to the life of the school in several directions. Among other things, he raised money for a new fence around the college grounds, abolished the primary department, published a new catalogue, and urged the trustees to endorse a policy that would enable the Eclectic to take on the full status of a college.¹⁴ It was the opinion of Burke Hinsdale that when Garfield "came to the front in 1857, the character of the school somewhat changed. Its genius was less theological or biblical, and more secular or human."¹⁵ In a speech delivered at Hiram in later years, Hinsdale remarked:

The year 1857 marked an era in Hiram history. More attention was now given to education as education, and less attention to making preachers . . . The colored glass through which men of a certain mental habit are fond of looking at the world was gently laid aside.¹⁶

According to Hinsdale, a broader and freer religious environment was introduced by Garfield "but morals, religion, and Bible study were by no means forgotten."¹⁷ Since

"Garfield belonged to the progressive wing of the Church, and tended strongly to muscular Christianity," it was to be expected that "some of his brethren, including prominent preachers, looking upon him with some distrust, sorrowfully saw the school pass into his hands."¹⁸

While Garfield was content at some points to follow his predecessor, there were other areas in which he desired to make a break with the past. The most immediate change occurred in the daily chapel assembly. These "morning lectures" included a devotional service consisting of singing, Bible reading, prayer, and a lecture. In his annual catalogues, President Hayden had always stressed that the core of the school curriculum was the morning lecture on Sacred History. Hayden's lectures were invariably on the Bible.

The first indication the Hiram constituency had of a change in this policy was in Garfield's first catalogue. Instead of announcing a series of morning lectures on the subject of Sacred History, it promised several courses of lectures on history, literature, the natural sciences, and the evidences of Christianity. One student later recalled hearing Garfield give morning lectures that year on "education, teaching, books, methods of study and reading, physical geography, geology, history, the Bible, morals, current topics and life questions."¹⁹

Garfield's contribution to the academic program of

the Eclectic was certainly one of progress. At the same time that he was introducing a change into the "morning lectures," he was widening the curriculum to include such courses as English literature, geology, and the natural sciences. In his report to the State Commissioner of Common Schools, Garfield carefully defined the role of the Bible in the Eclectic's program. "One of the peculiarities of the Eclectic," he reported, "is a clause in its charter providing for the introduction of the Bible as a text-book." "It is introduced in no sectarian attitude," he explained, "but the sacred literature, history, and morals of the Bible are regarded as legitimate theme for academic instruction."²⁰

In Garfield's scheme of things the Eclectic was not meant to be an indoctrination center for Disciple principles, and it was probably because of this that his stricter brethren were a little doubtful of his orthodoxy. In the second month of his administration he confided to Burke Hinsdale that "the croakers were as thick as the frogs in Egypt."²¹ When the changes he introduced continued to draw complaints, he poured out his frustration in his Journal and wrote:

Perhaps I am too sensitive and too desirous of the approbation of others. But it seems to me sometimes that I am here at Hiram not so much for any love they have for me as for a kind of necessity they are under of making use of my muscle and brains to do the work of the school, and then write across every act of mine 'For Ambition's Purposes,' 'Sinister motives,' 'Power more in manner than in matter,' 'General manners bad,' 'Morals doubtful.'²²

If Garfield was going to use his position of leadership at the Eclectic as the stepping stone to a political career, he knew that it would be essential to broaden the base of the school's constituency. Therefore, in his very first term he determined to make the school better known to the non-Disciples in Portage County. "My aim has been to introduce the school more fully to the community in general, especially of this county," he recorded in his Journal. "I think much has been done to that effect. We have reached some of the strongest men in the county and they are now our friends."²³ The next day he wrote to his closest friend on the Board of Trustees, Harmon Austin, and explained:

I think we have made a mark on a new class of people. Bro. Hayden's efforts were mainly directed toward getting Disciples here. It seems to me that Disciples will come here any way. Our special efforts should be directed toward the community in general, so that we shall take the lead in the educational interests of the community.²⁴

The beginning of the second term coincided with his twenty-sixth birthday, and this brought forth another long introspective Journal entry. "Many have accused me of ambition for the place," he admitted, "but I aver to my Journal my most solemn form of oath that such was not the case. I'd have been better pleased to go away and study Law than to be here as I am now."²⁵

Although the second term was very successful and the tongues of gossip and criticism were quiet, Garfield

was increasingly restless about "a permanent occupation in life." In a January, 1858, letter to Fuller he remarked:

You and I know that teaching is not the work in which a man can live and grow. I am succeeding in the school here better than I had any reason to hope, but yet my heart will never be satisfied to spend my life in teaching . . . I think there are other fields in which one can do more. I have been for some time--indeed, for years--thinking of the law, though my early prejudices were very strong against it.²⁶

In April, 1858, Garfield had a long talk with a Disciple preacher who was "abandoning the ministry and going to the law for want of sympathy and support." Garfield expressed sadness over this development, but wrote in his Journal, "Can I blame him?" The following day he revealed his own dilemma when he wrote: "The law and the ministry encompass me on either hand. Politics . . . also. I would gladly allow the past seven years to be expunged, could I try life over again."²⁷

Notwithstanding his own self-doubt, Garfield appears to have been an excellent teacher-administrator, and during the significant school year of 1857-1858 he solidified his position at the Eclectic by cultivating several enduring friendships. In the years 1851-1856, Corydon Fuller had been Garfield's closest friend, but thereafter they had little contact with one another. When Garfield returned to teach at the Eclectic in the fall of 1856, he established an intimate friendship with a fellow member of the Eclectic faculty named James Harrison Rhodes.²⁸

"Harry" Rhodes had been a student at the Eclectic before Garfield went to Williams, but it was not until 1856 that they began to room together and became close friends. "For two years after his graduation at Williams," Rhodes later recalled, "we roomed together at Hiram. The old office in "the Orchard" is more hallowed to me by that two years of companionship than any other temple made by human hands."²⁹ Rhodes was well-read and very personable, qualities which immediately endeared him to Garfield. He shared Garfield's sensitive literary feeling, and was responsive to his ambitious plans. "To Garfield he supplied what seemed to be a need of the latter's nature," wrote Theodore Smith, "an intimate, confidential friend, ready to give the fullest sympathy and to venture with him into any field of thought, feeling or aspiration."³⁰

Garfield's other intimate friend on the Eclectic faculty was, of course, Almeda Booth. She thought that Garfield deserved to be the president of the Eclectic, and she did not hesitate to speak her mind. Their friendship deepened in the years 1856-1858, and they spent many enjoyable evenings engaged in titanic chess matches.³¹ Perhaps more than all the others, Almeda Booth saw the potentiality in Garfield, and she spurred him on to greater achievement.

An association as close as that with Harry Rhodes, was Garfield's relationship with an Eclectic student named

Burke Hinsdale. Smith said of this relationship:

Hinsdale was no sympathetic responsive soul like Rhodes, but a man of downright mental strength; not flexible nor broad, but eminently direct and rational. In him Garfield found a friend unshakably faithful and devoted, but without a trace of either sentimentality or emotionality; a man whose intellectual ability was always at a friend's command.³³

Hinsdale was soon taken into Garfield's confidence, and he became a trusted confidant. Garfield's first letter to him was written on "Congress" paper, and the last word before the postscript fell on the picture of the Capital in Washington. This prompted Garfield to write at the bottom of the page: "Burke, was it prophetic that my last word to you ended on the picture of Congress Capital?"³⁴ It would appear from this reference that Garfield's political ambitions were common knowledge to his intimate friends in the little "Hiram circle."

Garfield, Rhodes, Booth, and Hinsdale, were the core members of the small intellectual club that Garfield liked to refer to as "our little circle."³⁵ In the years 1856-58 the club met frequently for evening political discussions. One of the purposes of the club was to subscribe to the Springfield Republican, and this liberal paper was doubtless the basis of many an evening's conversation. Garfield had become a reader of the Springfield Republican during his student days at Williams College and had introduced it to Hiram upon his return. In these evening discussions with

his closest friends, Garfield whetted his appetite for a greater understanding of political issues.

In the America of Garfield's day it was an accepted tradition that the office was supposed to seek the man, and to this tradition Garfield was always faithful.³⁶ He prided himself that the trustees had made him the head of the Eclectic without an application on his part, and he knew that the first requisite for a successful political career would be an influential political adviser. In a game as competitive as politics, such a friendship would enable Garfield to remain discreetly in the background until the right moment had come for an open declaration. When he returned to the Eclectic in 1856, Garfield found precisely such a friend in a Hiram trustee named Harmon Austin.³⁷

Harmon Austin was a leading Republican businessman of Warren, in the neighboring county of Trumbull. He was the director and president of the Trumbull National Bank and president of the Austin Flagstone Company. Austin was also a prominent leader in the Disciples of Christ and a very influential backer of the Eclectic. Perhaps of even greater importance to Garfield's future, he was the chairman of the Republican District Committee.

Garfield was immediately attracted to this prominent Republican who was fourteen years his senior, and Austin took a kindly interest in the young teacher who proved to

be such an effective debater for the Republican cause in the 1856 campaign. Austin was "gifted with the utmost common sense and shrewdness in all matters involving the management of men or affairs,"³⁸ and he rapidly developed into Garfield's strongest friend and adviser on the Board of Trustees. In the whole process of Garfield's bid to gain the presidency of the Eclectic, Austin was the major force who tipped the scales in the young man's favor.

One of Garfield's letters, written in 1858, reveals the sort of confidence he had in Austin's advice. He wrote:

My dear Brother . . . Just at this moment I desire nothing more than to have a visit with yourself. I feel a great need of turning away from the chilling breath of unfriendly censure and the hot sickly breath of flattery to a clear and quiet atmosphere of faithful and friendly truth. As I believe you incapable of flattering or being flattered I value your friendship and counsels as I value that of very few of my friends.³⁹

So although Garfield experienced moods of restlessness from time to time, he had good reason for remaining at his post. His work with the Eclectic kept him close to Austin, and one day Austin would make an ideal political manager.

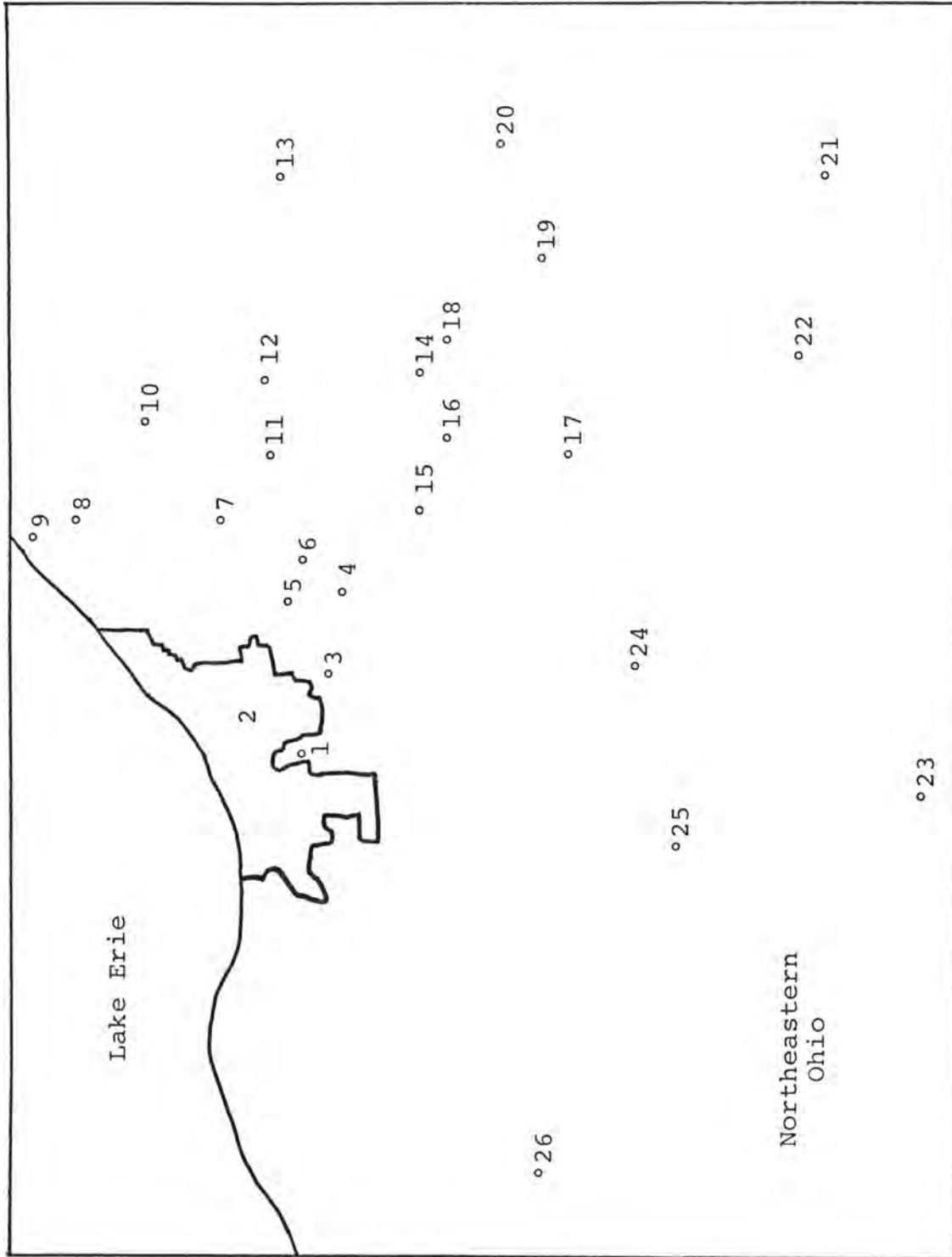
Garfield had left Williams College with an enviable record in public speaking and debate, and in the years following his return to Hiram he continued to grow in power and demand as a platform speaker. He always looked forward to giving political speeches, but as John Taylor has written: "It was through his preaching--at a time when religion was

simultaneously evangelical, educational, and a chief form of entertainment--that Garfield became well-known."⁴⁰ His close companion, Burke Hinsdale, later wrote:

For five full years, he preached somewhere nearly every Sunday . . . At the great 'yearly meetings,' where thousands gathered under the old 'Bedford tent' or under the shade, he was a favorite preacher. His sermons . . . were strong in the ethical rather than in the distinctly evangelical element. He had small interest in purely theological or ecclesiastical topics . . . His stricter brethren found much fault with him because he was not more denominational . . . but the people, wherever he went, would turn out to hear Garfield preach.⁴¹

Garfield's sermon memoranda indicate that he preached most often at Hiram, Newburgh, Chagrin Falls, Cleveland, Solon, Aurora, and Warren. He also preached occasionally in Garrettsville, Mantua, Bedford, Painesville, Alliance, Massillon, Akron, Newton Falls, Wadsworth, Mentor, Salem, and Wellington. In addition to preaching, his ministerial function often included participation in baptismal services, marriage ceremonies, and funerals. Almeda Booth provided the following description of a baptismal service:

I wish you could have been here yesterday . . . Three came forward for baptism and just as the shades of a most beautiful evening were closing around we walked down to the water . . . A large assembly were gathered around that little sheet of water and yet all were so hushed, so still and motionless that the slight murmur among the leaves as they were stirred by the gentle wind could be distinctly heard. Then James' voice rose in tones so clear and melodious, his thoughts so perfectly adapted to the occasion that it seemed as if we had been suddenly transplanted away from earth to some tranquil, beautiful region of heaven.⁴²



The Preaching of James A. Garfield 1856-1861

A Key To "The Preaching of James A. Garfield 1856-1861"

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. NEWBURGH | 14. HIRAM |
| 2. CLEVELAND | 15. AURORA |
| 3. BEDFORD | 16. MANTUA |
| 4. SOLON | 17. RAVENNA |
| 5. ORANGE | 18. GARRETTSVILLE |
| 6. CHAGRIN FALLS | 19. NEWTON FALLS |
| 7. CHESTER | 20. WARREN |
| 8. MENTOR | 21. SALEM |
| 9. PAINESVILLE | 22. ALLIANCE |
| 10. CHARDON | 23. MASSILLON |
| 11. NEWBURY | 24. AKRON |
| 12. BURTON | 25. WADSWORTH |
| 13. N. BLOOMFIELD | 26. WELLINGTON |

One of Garfield's most successful protracted meetings was at Newburgh. The congregation he preached for in Cleveland was the Franklin Circle church. For many years, the leader in the Bedford church was Dr. John P. Robison. The Solon church was well-known for its anti-slavery stand. Charles B. Lockwood was an influential leader in this church. Orange was Garfield's birthplace. It was during a protracted meeting at the Orange meetinghouse that Garfield was baptized into Christ in 1850. Chagrin Falls was the site of the Garfield-Denton debate in 1858. Chester was the home of the Geauga Seminary where Garfield was a student in 1849-1850. Garfield and Robison strengthened the church in Mentor when they each bought farms there in the 1870's. Abram Teachout was one of the leaders in the church in Painesville. Charles E. Henry was Garfield's close friend in Chardon. Garfield preached in a protracted meeting in Newbury in the fall of 1857. The church in Burton was the home congregation for the family of Wallace John Ford. Isaac Errett developed a strong church in North Bloomfield when he was living there in 1849-1851. Hiram was one of the largest Disciple churches in the Western Reserve. Aurora, Mantua, and Garrettsville were close to Hiram, and Garfield preached frequently for these three churches. Frederick Williams was a pillar in the church at Ravenna. Garfield was one of the featured speakers at the Newton Falls yearly meeting in August, 1859. Harmon Austin was the key figure in the Warren church. Garfield preached in meetings in Salem and Alliance in August, 1860. He was with the church in Massillon in March, 1858. Garfield was called to preach in Akron in September, 1857. Wadsworth was the home church of the family of Burke Hinsdale. It was while he was preaching in Wellington in November, 1860, that Garfield penned "What We Stand For."

Two large volumes of Garfield's sermons have been preserved in the Garfield Papers. Although most of them are distinctly ethical in tone, others are clearly evangelistic. For example, one concludes: "As these thoughts are now before you, let me ask you to choose the undying Jesus as your Friend and Helper. The hopes of the world are false . . . but the Christian shall never die."⁴³ On one occasion Garfield admitted that he was "getting somewhat Spurgeonic" in his preaching--a reference to the famed English Baptist preacher whose rousing sermons attracted immense crowds in London. But he defended this new development in his preaching because, as he put it, "half of all modern preaching is destitute of that power." He was persuaded that often "the people need arousing more than instructing."⁴⁴

Garfield's evangelistic efforts reached a climax in the first months of 1858 when a great revival swept through the Western Reserve. "I have had the most to do in two or three protracted meetings," he wrote Fuller in March. "One in Hiram, 34 additions; one in Newburgh, 20 additions. I have spoken every Sunday, and fulfilled my duties as teacher and manager of the school."⁴⁵ In the course of these exciting weeks he filled his letters and his Journal with references to the great meetings. In a letter to Lucretia, Garfield explained that he had been unable to leave Hiram to keep an engagement with her because "the meeting here

was in mid-swing and I felt that it would not do to leave it. This evening I spoke the 27th discourse in the series. Seven came forward."⁴⁶ The night before the Hiram meeting closed he wrote in the Journal: "My discourse this evening was the 32nd one of the series."⁴⁷

The reputation that Garfield derived from his career as a preacher was certainly not detrimental to his budding political aspirations. In the eighteen fifties there was a definite prestige attached to the role of the preacher, and Garfield probably enhanced his standing in the Western Reserve more through his preaching than through his work as an educator. The Disciples of Christ were flourishing on the Reserve, and as one of their leading spokesmen he was able to establish a wide following. In addition, the popularity of his sermons commended him to many non-Disciples. Far from being a liability, Garfield was to find that his activity as a preacher created some distinctive political advantages. Robert Caldwell has written:

At first in the same technical sense as Dwight L. Moody, and later more like Gladstone, Roosevelt, or Bryan, Garfield was to remain throughout his life a preacher of righteousness, and was to find in that conception of his mission a potent source of political strength.⁴⁸

As might be expected, there were some Disciples who took exception to the way in which Garfield used the pulpit to his own advantage. Hattie J. Benedict, the daughter of a Disciple elder and a Democrat, was not only unimpressed

with Garfield but contributed several newspaper articles over the years which were highly critical of him. In one article, written in 1877, she was particularly bitter. She recalled that in 1857-1858 Garfield was:

. . . a young man of twenty-six, fresh from college, with boundless energy and ambition large and general . . . his broad shoulders were thrown back for a full deep-chested laugh with the most obscene joker, who in the future might have a vote to cast for him . . . His meetings were always well attended and were even more popular with the sinners of the world than with the saints of the church. There was a lack of spirituality about him that grieved the latter, and it was noticeable that revivals never progressed under the spell of his preaching, but the sinners liked to hear his short, sparkling, logical discourses, which did not unpleasantly trouble them with thought of 'righteousness, temperance and judgment to come' and if he did not make converts, he at least made voters.⁴⁹

These observations were obviously biased, partially incorrect, and to a certain extent unfair. Nevertheless, they provide a picture of Garfield and his behavior which for various reasons was shared by some Disciples.

Two Disciples who would have endorsed the view of Garfield's "boundless ambition" were Norman Dunshee and Harvey Everest. Throughout the school year of 1857-1858 they continued to seethe with resentment over Garfield's position of leadership at the Eclectic. In the spring of 1857 they had openly complained that he was "plotting to get the principalship,"⁵⁰ and in the spring of 1858 they ran afoul of him again. In April, 1858, Garfield reported in his Journal: "I am entirely surprised and astonished to

hear that Bro. Dunshee and Everest think I have been working for power and position among them."⁵¹

The internal tensions at the Eclectic came to the surface during the first week in May when the trustees gathered on the campus "to make some arrangement for the coming year." "The teachers had a meeting to adjust the difficulties among them," Garfield wrote on the day of the board meeting. "Difficulties, I have said, but only those which they (Dunshee and Everest) have filed against me."

He then explained in the Journal:

After hearing them all through, it seemed to me a despicable small game they had been playing. 1st, General charge that I had plotted to get the leadership of the school, several specifications. General answer. 1. I had no motive to plot, for I did not want it. 2. I had no need to plot for it was already offered to me. I then answered each specification.

"I think my answers were full and complete to all the queries and complaints," he concluded. "It does seem to me that there was behind it all a jealousy unwarrantable and absurd. I am greatly at a loss to know what to do about staying here another year."⁵²

However, the Board of Trustees gave him a vote of confidence that made his decision easier. They had been pleased with the progress of the school during his year as "chairman" of the faculty, and they formally offered him the presidency of the Eclectic. His vindication was complete. He set aside any thoughts of leaving the Eclectic and gratefully accepted his new title.

As the school year came to a close, Garfield was encouraged about the prospects of the Eclectic. In May he was an "official delegate" to the annual convention of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society, where he spent most of his time raising money among the Disciples to cancel the debts of the school. He called it "lobbying for Hiram," and he seemed to be enjoying his new status.⁵³

On June 10 the commencement exercises in Hiram were witnessed by an "audience of nearly 7,000 people." It was the largest crowd ever assembled on the campus, and the new president proudly reported that it was "a good performance and a good mark made for the school."⁵⁴ But it was also a sentimental occasion for Garfield. Harry Rhodes had decided to follow Garfield's example and complete his education at Williams College, and he was preparing to leave immediately. Even though it would only take him one year to complete the course, there was some question as to whether there would be a position on the faculty for him on his return.

Garfield spent part of the summer of 1858 traveling through Indiana and Illinois. His primary purpose in going was to become better acquainted with the academic programs of several Disciple schools, and "to glean lessons of wisdom from their management." But he was also curious to see how they would compare to the Eclectic. Upon his return to Ohio he eagerly gave the results to Hinsdale. "No doubt I

am prejudiced," he wrote, "but . . . I can very justly say that nowhere have I seen the answering flash of intellect, and that bold independence of thought which characterizes the Eclectic students."⁵⁵

There was also some unexpected political excitement in Garfield's visit to Illinois. The historic Senate contest between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas had begun in Chicago on July 9. When Garfield arrived in Chicago two days later, he ran into Douglas and "had the favor of an hour's conversation with him."⁵⁶ For the twenty-six year old Garfield, with his increasing political awareness, the conversation with Stephen Douglas was exhilarating, and he was favorably impressed with the "great statesman." "I saw Douglas in Chicago on Monday," he boasted to Rhodes, "and he talked with me an hour and gave me the secret history of his feud with Buchanan."⁵⁷

Garfield's visit to the southern part of Illinois also proved to be a political education. He accidentally got a glimpse of how a successful politician like Douglas used his patronage to build and maintain a local political organization. This occurred while Garfield was staying at the Maddox House hotel in Vandalia, where the proprietor, S. Washburn, was also the postmaster of the town. Having heard that a movement was under way to secure his removal as postmaster, Washburn quickly wrote a letter to Douglas.

He assured the senator of his adherence to the Douglas wing of the Democratic party. "The other wing," he wrote, "will stand no chance--and Egypt will go heavily in your favor, and one of the biggest guns will be from Fayette Co." He added in a postscript: "If you can send me a cask or two of good Santa Cruz rum, it will go far toward carrying our end in this region." A copy of this letter accidentally fell into Garfield's hands, and he couldn't resist making copies for Hinsdale and Rhodes. The young Republican was dismayed by this abuse of patronage, but naively concluded that it was solely a weapon of the Democratic Party.⁵⁸

Under Garfield's leadership the Eclectic flourished in the school year of 1858-1859. The term that began on August 10 was "unusually prosperous," and financially the school managed to keep its head above water. "There were 302 students," reported the new president, "the largest number we ever had. The school gained new power, and I may say of this power, 'pars fui' (I was a part)."⁵⁹ The fact was that Garfield was developing a greater liking for the Eclectic now that he was its president. So marked was the success of his presidency, that it later became known as "The Golden Age" of the Eclectic.⁶⁰

In the fall of 1858, Garfield deepened his ties to the Eclectic and the Hiram community with his marriage to Lucretia Rudolph. Her father, Zeb Rudolph, a devoted Hiram

Disciple who had helped build the Eclectic with his own hands, was one of the school's most influential trustees. The wedding was a quiet affair scheduled between the fall and winter terms. It took place in the Rudolph home on November 11 and was attended by a few close friends like Harmon Austin. The Rudolph family was strongly committed to the Disciple reformation, but surprisingly, by request of the groom, a Presbyterian performed the ceremony. Garfield asked President Henry Hitchcock of Western Reserve College to officiate.

The wedding ended a long and troubled engagement which survived Garfield's doubts and fears about marriage and "its necessitous and hateful finalities."⁶¹ Garfield was determined that he would not be bound or limited by his marriage to Lucretia. "I have felt very keenly over the isolating effects of marriage on my friends," he confided to Rhodes shortly after the wedding. "There may be something of it unavoidable--but I am very sure it will not be a manifestation of my life."⁶² Yet when he wrote Hinsdale two weeks later, he was fearful that "the narrow exclusiveness of marriage" might affect the intimacy of his Hiram circle of friends.⁶³ But, as Smith has written: "His marriage made no real difference, for he continued to live in close association with Rhodes, Miss Booth and the others, taking them all in as members of one family."⁶⁴

Almost immediately after his marriage, Garfield was given what he regarded at once as a remarkable opportunity to display his ability as a debater. The give and take of the public debate was a popular form of entertainment in the west. Many of these debates were political, as witness the immense crowds that listened hour after hour that same fall to the contest between Lincoln and Douglas. But religion was only second to politics, and given two clever and well matched antagonists, debates on exciting subjects were followed day after day by the attention of large crowds.⁶⁵

In late November, 1858, Garfield began preparation for a public debate with William Denton, a well-educated Englishman who was a seasoned debater. The debate was to be held in Chagrin Falls, a small town located three miles from Garfield's birthplace. Denton had given several lectures there attacking the Bible and stirred up many of the people by his militant manner. He believed that life and matter had originated through "spontaneous generation and progressive development" without the assistance of God, and he was eager to debate this proposition with any champion of religious orthodoxy. This was too much for the Disciples, who were seldom on the defensive when it came to a public debate. They appealed to Garfield to uphold the Christian viewpoint, and he accepted the challenge.⁶⁶

The intensity with which Garfield prepared for this

debate indicates that he did not underestimate the ability of Denton or the importance of the event. He knew that he had been given a difficult task. Denton was an accomplished debater who had argued this same subject forty times before, "a rapid, elegant, fiery speaker, quick as a lightning flash to seize a thought . . . a bold, dare-devil kind of man."⁶⁷

Determined to meet the challenge, Garfield crammed for weeks on the subjects of astronomy, geology, physiology, ethnology, etymology, phrenology, and related sciences.⁶⁸ "For the last ten days," he told Rhodes on December 4, "I have spent every vacant hour and used every evening till midnight in reading on the subjects connected with it."⁶⁹ Almeda Booth was indispensable, reading numerous volumes and making copious notes for Garfield's use. Hinsdale and Rhodes contributed to the overall team effort by reading widely and offering valuable suggestions.⁷⁰ In the midst of this frenzied preparation, Garfield revealed his inner enthusiasm for the project when he said to Rhodes:

I feel, Harry, so far as my standing before the people and my intellectual strength are concerned, that this debate will be the greatest occasion of my life thus far and I must give myself all the book advantages I can . . . I have never so fully resolved to try anything as this.⁷¹

The debate, which was well advertised throughout the region, began on Monday, December 27, and continued through Friday, December 31. There were two sessions each day, and both contestants made a total of twenty half-hour speeches

during the course of the debate. A hall was rented which held a thousand people, and it was filled to capacity for almost every session. For five days and nights Garfield wrestled with the man who sought "to invalidate the claims of the Bible and remove God from immediate control of the universe."⁷² "For the last two days and evenings it was a fierce hand to hand fight," he reported to Rhodes. "I felt my whole soul rise up when he came out in his strength and I may say to you that in almost every encounter I felt the iron of his strength bend in my grasp."⁷³

From all the accounts that reached Garfield, it was the consensus of opinion that Denton had been routed. "In his last speech he acknowledged that I was the strongest opponent he had ever met," Garfield wrote triumphantly to Rhodes. "On the whole it was by far the most momentous occasion of my life. For none was I ever better prepared and on none did I ever succeed better."⁷⁴ The atheistic element in the community was disconsolate, and one Disciple informed Garfield: "Bro. Hamlin says he has not seen them so down in the mouth for years."⁷⁵ A week after the debate, "Brother Collins" of Chagrin Falls wrote Garfield to say:

Since the smoke of the battle has partially cleared away, we begin to see more clearly the victory we have gained. I have yet to see the first man who claims that Denton sustained his positions.⁷⁶

William Hayden, the noted Disciple preacher, was delighted with the powerful defense that Garfield had made. "If we

at Chagrin Falls Church had paid \$100 each towards James' education," he said to a friend, "we should be more than paid by this debate."⁷⁷

The Denton debate was one of the most significant landmarks in Garfield's adult life, and it also proved to be a powerful stimulus to his political aspirations. "It may be doubted if any single event in his career had a more important effect," wrote Theodore Smith. "He had held his own for five days against a practiced antagonist and had learned his own powers." Reflecting on Garfield's subsequent career as a congressional debater, Smith was of the opinion that he "took his first steps toward this end in the hall at Chagrin Falls."⁷⁸

As the outstanding defender of religion against infidelity, Garfield had gained a host of new friends and enhanced his reputation as a public speaker. He followed up his success with a series of lectures on "Geology and Religion," determined to "carry the war . . . and pursue that miserable atheism to its hole."⁷⁹ In the first five months of 1859, Garfield delivered forty lectures on this theme in such places as Chagrin Falls, Auburn, Newburgh, and Newton Falls. "The battle of the evidences must now be fought on the field of the natural sciences," he said, "and those who would be the leaders of their time must be armed with the weapons which the sciences afford."⁸⁰

The praise that came Garfield's way as a result of the Denton debate was all the more welcome because of the continuing criticism he experienced at the Eclectic. His passion for chess was the next item to provoke opposition. "The community, headed by Father Ryder, have been raising bloody murder about it," he informed Rhodes a month after the Denton debate. "Norman and Harvey go in with them and are as unreasonable and incorrigible as bulls."⁸¹

But Rhodes wasn't finding his relationship with the Disciples around Williamstown any more encouraging. Having heard some sermons that disgusted him, he wrote to Garfield in the confidence that he was addressing one in full sympathy with his frustrations. "I sicken at the thought of the wretched imbecility there is in the church," he complained. "I hope you realize this and that your liberality is making fogies shake and shiver. A new crop of men is coming up in these latter days and you do well to inaugurate Beecherism." However, Garfield's "liberality" was not always appreciated in the Disciple community, and he was finding that a growing number of his brethren were suspicious of his orthodoxy.⁸²

Garfield thought again of becoming a lawyer but was reluctant to leave the Eclectic. "When I ask who are the intellectual leaders of our people," he wrote to Rhodes, "I find not the lawyers but the teachers, preachers, educators and authors--Hopkins, Hildreth, Silliman, Agassiz,

Beecher, Chapman, King, Greeley, Holmes, Emerson, etc. These are our men."⁸³ Nevertheless, in the spring of 1859 he entered his name as a student-at-law in the law office of Williamson and Riddle of Cleveland.⁸⁴ "I have been reading law a little from time to time," he had informed Fuller a year earlier, "and should I conclude to practice I could begin without a great deal of delay."⁸⁵ There were some Disciples who still held out hope that Garfield would give his life to preaching, but to the Hiram circle he had already announced that he would not be a preacher. "His action was in harmony with this announcement," wrote Hinsdale. "While preaching week by week, he was taking an active part in politics, and was carrying on a course of reading in the law."⁸⁶

Surprisingly, one of the Disciples who urged him to devote his life to the ministry and Christian education was Harmon Austin. When Garfield, early in 1859, apprised Austin that he was "available" for a debut in Republican politics, the Hiram trustee responded:

I cannot but feel that it is a burning shame for one possessing such rare abilities to bless our race, both for this life and the next, that you should for one moment indulge the idea of leaving a field of labor for which you are so admirably fitted.⁸⁷

Garfield had hoped for an immediate endorsement from the chairman of the Republican District Committee, but it was only natural that Austin would think of the Eclectic first.

From his perspective, there was a plethora of available political candidates but only one man capable of building the Eclectic into a full-fledged college. Austin had been largely responsible for Garfield's promotion at the school, and he was not eager to see his protege add the demands of political office to an already crowded schedule.

But Garfield was undaunted. Austin was an intimate and trusted friend, and he would not withhold his approval for long. Confident of Austin's eventual support, Garfield concentrated on increasing his visibility in the district. Between April 1 and May 16 he gave twenty-five lectures on "Geology and Religion" at various towns in the region, and he accepted several invitations to speak at "Teacher Institutes" around the Western Reserve. The aspiring politician even joined the Masons, in spite of the fact that Disciples were generally opposed to "secret societies."⁸⁸

In his letters to Rhodes, Garfield began to plot his future. "One thought has grown upon me for several years," he reported in mid-April, "and has become one of the fixed wishes of my life--that you and I might be associated in our life work." He then sketched a plan for becoming a political leader with the Eclectic as a base and with his beloved Hiram circle and a few others as supporters and associates. "If I do not take the law," he reasoned, "the next best course seems to be an Educational and Political one--the

latter (Polit.) to be reached through the former (Educ.)."

He explained further:

Should this be the chosen plan I know of no place where, every thing counted, we could do better than here. We have a reputation and influence of no inconsiderable power as a capital to start on and I think that judicious management would go very far toward giving us the lead of the chief movements in our immediate territory and ultimately of a larger area.⁸⁹

When he wrote again a week later, Garfield continued to encourage Rhodes to return to the Eclectic after his graduation from Williams. "In this school we shall be independent of the interference and control of Boards of Education," he reminded him, "and can direct the pursuits and energies of the school into whatever channels we may choose." To illustrate his sincerity, Garfield revealed that he had just turned down an offer to teach at Cleveland University at a salary of \$1,500 per year, observing that "when I balance my freedom here against the few hundreds of dollars & the restraints of these positions, I find I love freedom and friends best."⁹⁰

The only difficulty in Garfield's plan was that the Eclectic did not have a place for Rhodes. This was a matter of some concern to Rhodes, but Garfield insisted that he should let the trustees know he was available. "If you should do this," he reassured him, "I think the trustees would dispense with N. soon and your salary would be a fair one."⁹¹ He was referring, of course, to Norman Dunshee.

Rhodes replied, in a letter dated May 2, by expressing his unwillingness to be a party to putting anyone out of a job to make a place for himself. He indicated his desire to be associated with Garfield and the Hiram faculty again, but he did not see how he could be added without reducing salaries. However, if the trustees could offer him a place of the rank that "Norman fills," he admitted that he would "quite likely accept."⁹² Garfield passed the letter along to Harmon Austin.

When the Board of Trustees met on May 11, there was less than a quorum in attendance. According to the minutes of the board, only six of the twelve members were present. Nevertheless, by a vote of five to one, they abruptly fired Norman Dunshee and offered his job to J. Harrison Rhodes.⁹³ Before the board meeting Garfield had huddled privately with Harmon Austin, but nonetheless he professed surprise at the board's action. "The move was made by the Trustees without plotting or connivance," he assured Rhodes. "I not only did not directly counsel it but did not expect it."⁹⁴

The ruthlessness of the action produced an immediate outcry from Dunshee's friends, and the Hiram community was split again into warring factions. Dunshee charged Garfield and the board with plotting behind his back, and a petition circulated asking for Dunshee's reinstatement. But, as Garfield happily informed Rhodes, the Board of Trustees were

unmoved by the outcry and remained "wonderfully firm."⁹⁵ Harmon Austin had introduced the resolution that resulted in Dunshee's dismissal, and he assumed full responsibility for the action. On May 28 he wrote to Garfield:

Things have come to a strange pass if the trustees of a public school have not the right to select such teachers as in their opinion the interests of the school demand. And I can assure him that these considerations and not 'James A. Garfield' moved me to the action I took in the matter . . . Hold a steady hand and stand firmly to your post . . . & you will come out of the muss with more and better friends than you ever had before . . . We will free you from all imputations.⁹⁶

In spite of all the storm over the Dunshee incident, the school year ended triumphantly for Garfield. "There is a strong feeling of patriotic enthusiasm among the students in regard to the school," he informed Rhodes. "The outside pressure and abuse brought it out. I love it better than I ever did before and the students love us more."⁹⁷ With the removal of Norman Dunshee, Garfield's authority at the Eclectic was finally secure. Harry Rhodes would soon rejoin Garfield and Booth on the Hiram faculty, and there was talk of adding Hinsdale in a part-time capacity. The political base was beginning to take shape.

Three days after the June 9 commencement exercises, Harmon Austin informed Garfield that he would support him if he chose to seek political office.⁹⁸ The carefully laid plans were falling into place, but Garfield wondered about the effect on the school. He put the question to Rhodes:

Shall I run for State senator or representative, either or neither this fall? If elected it would take me from the school the last half of the winter term. I am in a quandary. I could probably go if I try. I know there would be a theological storm but I don't care for that. The school is what gives me pause.⁹⁹

Garfield proved to be right in his prediction that a "theological storm" would arise if he entered politics. He knew that some Disciples would be strongly opposed to a Christian entering the arena of "worldly" politics. As early as the first week in July, the rumors of a possible Garfield candidacy were being received with dismay by some conservative Disciples. Several Disciple preachers wrote to Garfield urging him not to sacrifice the higher calling of the ministry for the world of politics. Wallace John Ford, one of his closest friends on the Board of Trustees, also wrote to express his concern. "Your best friends in Christ all shake their heads," he warned Garfield, "when you are named in connection with law or politics."¹⁰⁰

As it turned out, conservative Disciples were not the only ones opposed to a Garfield candidacy. From former state senator Oliver P. Brown, a prominent Republican of Ravenna, came an objection of a more practical nature. He informed Garfield that most of the leading local Republicans had already committed their support for the state senatorship in the fall election to Cyrus Prentiss. Since the Prentiss nomination seemed assured, he advised Garfield

to keep his ambitions in check for two years. At the end of that time, Brown reasoned, Garfield would be in a far stronger position with the party organization.¹⁰¹

In late July, with his future still very uncertain, Garfield journeyed back to Williams College to receive an honorary Master's degree and to watch Rhodes graduate.¹⁰² When he returned home on August 8 still uncertain about running for political office, he found that an unforeseen event helped him make up his mind. He was met at the train station by Dr. Andrew J. Squire, prominent Republican and leading Disciple from Mantua, who informed him that Cyrus Prentiss had unexpectedly died during the past week. With the Republican nominating convention only two weeks away, the senatorial nomination was now wide open. Furthermore, Squire had been sent by "the leading citizens of Ravenna" to secure Garfield's permission to allow his name to be put in nomination.¹⁰³ According to Wasson, Squire was sent by "a group of Disciples in Ravenna."¹⁰⁴

Garfield was interested in the nomination, but he wanted to make sure his friends understood his position. He solemnly pledged that he would make no effort on his own behalf; rather, he would rely upon his friends to present his case.¹⁰⁵ "I came to Hiram and during the week conversed with the teachers and some of the trustees," he reported in his Journal, "and found it compatible with my duties to be

absent the required time." On August 13 Garfield went to Ravenna "and after examining into the state of affairs, allowed my name to be used."¹⁰⁶

On the eve of the convention, the senatorial issue was still in doubt. Garfield was conceded to have the edge, yet there were three other active candidates in the field. But that night he was cautiously optimistic, and he wrote candidly in his Journal:

I will now say to you, my much neglected journal, that I have for some years had it in contemplation to enter the field of statesmanship, either at the legal or educational portal, and if this plan succeeds I shall have gained a step in the direction of my purpose . . . But James, keep your balance.¹⁰⁷

The following day he gained the nomination on the fourth ballot but was solemn in the aftermath of his triumph.

"I am aware that I launch out upon a fickle current," he wrote, "and am about to undertake a work as precarious as men follow and of which a writer has said 'it is the most seductive and dangerous which a young man can follow.'"¹⁰⁸

A week later, Garfield faced his brethren at the yearly meeting in Solon and was persuaded to explain his decision. He responded: "I believe that I can enter political life and retain my integrity, manhood, and religion. I believe that there is vastly more need of manly men in politics than of preachers."¹⁰⁹ Not all of the Disciples were in agreement with that assessment, but Garfield found considerable support for his nomination.¹¹⁰

When Garfield wrote to Fuller to describe the circumstances of his nomination, he was anxious to avoid any suggestion that he had sought the office. He explained:

Long ago, you know, I had thoughts of a public career, but I fully resolved to forego it all, unless it could be obtained without wading through the mire into which politicians usually plunge. The nomination was tendered me, and that by acclamation, though there were five candidates. I never solicited the place, nor did I make any bargain to secure it.¹¹¹

But he had more difficulty explaining his motives to Isaac Errett. When they met in Cleveland, Errett took his friend aside and beseeched him to consider the consequences of his decision. "Is political honor the highest honor?" he asked, reminding Garfield that "the truth, which he so well understood, and the Lord, whom he so devotedly loved, had superior claims upon him, which no earthly temptation must lead him to compromise."¹¹² Garfield listened respectfully, but his mind was made up. Allan Peskin writes of this decision:

He seemed scarcely to realize that his life had reached a turning point. Ever since his conversion, less than ten years before, his soul had maintained an uneasy balance between personal ambition and Christian humility, but . . . the allure of worldly success could no longer be contained.¹¹³

Once the die was cast, the Republicans could not have asked for a more vigorous campaigner. By his own count he "delivered some thirty political speeches, averaging about two hours each."¹¹⁴ In the October 11 election, which saw the Republicans win the governorship and both houses of the

legislature, Garfield ran ahead of his party and defeated his Democratic opponent by a vote of 5,176 to 3,746. The step in the direction of his purpose had been successfully executed, and it proved to be a big one.

Garfield was elated with his victory, but not everyone shared his joy. His mother, whose ambition for her son was no doubt that of becoming an outstanding preacher, wept when he parted for Columbus. "I left her crying," Garfield reported to his wife, "and thinking I would get into some calamitous condition before the winter is over."¹¹⁵ However, Corydon Fuller spoke for most of Garfield's closest friends when he wrote optimistically in his Journal after the victorious election: "He is bound to rise; he will be in Congress before five years."¹¹⁶

After Garfield took his seat in the legislature in January, 1860, he proudly wrote the words "Senate Chamber" at the top of his letters. Almeda Booth teased him about this practice and said she had noticed that the words were "written with such evident tokens of secret satisfaction . . . The S has a vain little quirk, and the C thrusts its head admiringly forward, saying 'see me go it.'"¹¹⁷ The twenty-eight year old teacher and preacher, the youngest member in the state senate, was indeed ready to "go it."

CHAPTER FOUR

"I STAND BETWEEN TWO FIRES"

I stand between two fires and am nearly as unwilling to be warmed or burnt by one as the other. One party of my friends blame me as being too cool on the slavery question; another for being too hot.

-- Garfield to Austin, March 30, 1859

Prior to the Civil War, the entrenched institution of black slavery was "America's most profound and vexatious social problem."¹ In Ohio, as elsewhere, the series of crises during the hectic decade of the 1850's that included the Compromise of 1850, Uncle Tom's Cabin, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott Decision, and John Brown's Harper's Ferry raid, stirred the slavery issue to increasingly fervent heights. The impact of this mounting controversy on the political aspirations of James A. Garfield was considerable, and the way he responded to the issue largely determined his success as a political candidate.

Garfield's conversion to the Disciples of Christ in March of 1850 had thrust him into the middle of the slavery controversy.² By 1850 belligerent abolitionism was emerging from two centers of Disciples radicalism--central Indiana and the Western Reserve in northern Ohio.³ But Garfield's initial response to the issue was that of a moderate. After hearing a sermon on the subject of slavery in September of 1850, he "came home and read 8 essays on the same subject as

connected with Christianity." These were most likely the eight essays that Alexander Campbell had written in 1845, when he attempted to define the moderate position on the slavery issue.⁴ Garfield considered them "ably written, and conclusive arguments, that the simple relation of master and slave is NOT UNCHRISTIAN."⁵ The next day he agreed to debate that very proposition.

Henry Shaw estimates that "for the most part" the Disciples in the Western Reserve "leaned toward the abolitionist view," while those in other sections of Ohio "were at least anti-slavery in their sentiments."⁶ Garfield knew that his moderate views would invite some harsh criticism, but he admitted in his Journal: "I love agitation and investigation, and glory in defending unpopular truth against popular error."⁷ When Joshua R. Giddings, the Western Reserve's fiery abolitionist, gave a speech at Geauga Seminary denouncing the recently adopted Fugitive Slave Law, Garfield was not persuaded. But he confided to his Journal that he was "not fully settled" on the question.⁸

During his first term at the Eclectic, Garfield heard two significant abolitionist speakers who impressed him with their eloquence, but he showed little interest in pursuing the issue further.⁹ In the summer of 1852 he noted in his Journal that he had "read nearly 100 pages of Uncle Tom's Cabin," and later in the spring of 1853 he indicated in two

entries that he was once again reading the controversial novel.¹⁰ But he made no comment about the book and gave no evidence that he ever finished it.

When Garfield attended the Bethany College commencement in the summer of 1853, he manifested a sectional bias for the first time in his life. After witnessing the exercises, he reported in his Journal:

There was a vein of flattery running through almost every speech, i.e., flattering the ladies, and a kind of noisy patriotism which ill comports with the feelings of our Ohio people . . . I can not endure that southern dandyism so interwoven with the manners of many of the students there . . .¹¹

"There are three society rooms," he wrote to Fuller, "done off like the parlors of our hotels as to magnificence, and furnished in a very elegant and imposing manner." This led him to conclude that "the South do the adorning physically, while the North fill the casket with intellectual jewels." Garfield was convinced that "a good, thorough, determined Northern boy . . . can go there and lead them through the course."¹²

When it came time for Garfield to decide on a school for the completion of his college course, Fuller urged him to forego Bethany. "I had always had a strong prejudice against Bethany College," Fuller wrote years later, "as I believed it impossible for an earnest Northern man to go there unless at the sacrifice of his manliness." "I felt that it was not possible," he wrote further, "for James A.

Garfield to spend a year at Bethany, and surrender the right of free speech at the command of the insolent sons of slaveholders."¹³ When Garfield finally decided in favor of attending Williams College, he admitted that it was partially because Bethany was "too Pro-Slavery in its views."¹⁴

Although the subject of slavery was one of the most talked about and debated subjects in Massachusetts in the 1850's, Garfield was not caught up in the issue until the fall term of his Senior year. After hearing two fiery abolitionist speeches in November, 1855, Garfield wrote:

I feel as though a great, a united effort should be made, and that effort should have but one aim and that should be the suppression of Slavery in every newly acquired territory. "No more Slave Extension" should be the motto bound to every freeman's breast.

"At such hours as this," he declared, "I feel like throwing the whole current of my life into the work of opposing this giant evil. I don't know but the religion of Christ demands some such action."¹⁵

In the same month that Garfield penned these words, an incident occurred at Bethany College which had serious repercussions in the Disciple brotherhood. Led by three of Garfield's former Hiram classmates, Philip Burns, Harvey W. Everest, and A. B. Way, a number of abolitionists students precipitated a near riot at the college by preaching in the Bethany church on the sinfulness of slavery. The ultimate result of this heated affair was the expulsion of five of

the students and the resignation of five others. These students were immediately hailed as martyrs to the cause of antislavery in the North and were dramatically dubbed the "immortal ten."¹⁷ When Alexander Campbell learned that some of the expelled students had been accepted at North-Western Christian University in Indianapolis, he was incensed that another Disciple school would enroll those "dismissed for immoral and unchristian conduct here."¹⁸ The faculties of the two schools exchanged bitter notes, and the Disciple press gave wide coverage to the ominous sectional reactions from throughout the brotherhood.¹⁹

Garfield first learned of the "Bethany riot" in a letter from Norman Dunshee. Dunshee made reference to the covert and open opposition of Bethany College to "everything that has aspired to be a college in the North," but he was now eager to report that "events have just transpired there that will startle our Northern brethren from their inaction and doughface servility. They have stripped Bethany of all its disguise." He then described the details of the unhappy affair to Garfield and urged him to write and "give us your thoughts."²⁰ What Garfield wrote in reply we do not know, but we do know that he, too, was becoming increasingly hostile toward the institution of slavery.

When Garfield and Everest were added to the Eclectic faculty in August of 1856, Dunshee naturally assumed that

he was being joined by two men who shared his hostility to slavery.²¹ Garfield had become an ardent Republican, converted by tales of "bleeding Kansas," and upon his return to Hiram he enthusiastically campaigned for Fremont's election. In the hotbed that was the Western Reserve, Garfield was a keen observer of the growth of the abolitionist spirit within the Disciple churches. This spirit had reached a new level of organization with the origin of the North-Western Christian Magazine, the first major abolitionist periodical published within the Disciple brotherhood, and Dunshee and Everest were avidly supporting this journal in the community around Hiram.²² But Garfield knew that a number of leading Disciples were alarmed by the rising abolitionist spirit. As a result, he discreetly adopted a moderate position on the issue, much to the chagrin of Dunshee and Everest.²³

In March of 1857, the United States Supreme Court handed down its famous decision in the case of Dred Scott.²⁴ Speaking through Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, the majority of the court held that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and that Congress could not bar slavery from the territories. In effect, they concurred in the view that the Republican platform, demanding the exclusion of slavery from the territories, was contrary to the fundamental guarantees protecting property rights. The court ruled that no Negro could be a citizen of the United States; therefore, Dred

Scott could not bring suit in the federal courts. Among other expressions, the court said that the Negro "had no rights that the white man was bound to respect." The anti-slavery forces in the North were stunned, for the court's ruling seemed to open the entire country to the spread of slavery. The heavens roared with violent discussion.

The Dred Scott decision shocked the Hiram community just as the internal troubles within the faculty were coming to a head. President Hayden's resignation in May, 1857, came at a time when the trustees, faculty, and students were greatly aroused by the slavery issue. Garfield's promotion to "chairman" of the faculty was probably the result of his discretion on the controversial issue. There were a number of conservatives on the Board of Trustees who regarded the incessant agitation of the slavery question with disfavor, and they worried that a Dunshee-led administration might embroil the school in the divisive public debate. Although Dunshee was the logical successor to Hayden, Garfield had skillfully placed himself in a more favorable position with the trustees.

In the aftermath of the disputed Dred Scott decision, the abolitionist spirit in many of the Disciple churches on the Western Reserve became more pronounced. The church in Solon, where Garfield occasionally preached, responded to the controversy by issuing a significant resolution. This

resolution was issued as the "unanimous feeling and sentiment" of the congregation, and it was sent to abolitionist editor John Boggs for publication in his North-Western Christian Magazine. The Disciples in Solon believed that compromise on the slavery issue was keeping "thousands" of antislavery people from uniting with the church and that it was "sinking the church greatly below its high and exalted station." They therefore resolved:

1. That the time has come when every Christian should use his influence to rid it (slavery) from the church, that she may be holy and without sin at the coming of Christ.

2. That we lament the condition of many of our brethren at the South, and pray that they may see the sinfulness in holding as property, souls that Christ died to redeem.

3. That we cannot, with the understanding we have of the gospel of Jesus Christ as taught by the apostles, regard any persons as Christians who do not at all suitable times and places, raise their voices and use their influence against the great sin of American Slavery in all its forms.²⁵

It would be interesting to know Garfield's reaction to this resolution. Although not in the radical abolitionist camp, he was certainly an antislavery man. When in July, 1857, he confronted a fugitive, an intelligent Negress who was twenty-two years old, he remarked to Lucretia that he "could not but feel the enormity of a system which should enslave such as she."²⁶ Three months later he sheltered a fugitive slave who was on his way to Canada.²⁷ In the fall elections of 1857, Garfield rejoiced over the Republican victories, hailing them as blows for the cause of liberty.

"Slavery," he ventured, "has had its day, or at any rate is fast having it."²⁸

In the winter of 1857-1858, Garfield was the victim of an elaborate "hoax" perpetrated by some fun-loving students. Two boys with faces blackened with charcoal, and apparently fleeing from pursuing masters, were brought to a room in Tiffany Hall and given food and protection. They were preparing to leave for Canada when "two officers of the government and their posse" appeared on the scene and arrested them. When word of the capture reached Garfield, he quickly assembled a group of vigilantes and started for "the center of the disturbance with a grim determination that no slave shall ever be returned to slavery from Hiram Hill." It very soon became evident that the whole thing was the work of student pranksters, and the abashed Garfield had to march his troops down the hill empty-handed.²⁹

When Corydon Fuller moved to Arkansas in the spring of 1857, he was appalled by the slavery conditions, and his letters back to Garfield reflected his horror. In a March, 1858, reply to Fuller, Garfield wrote:

I am pleased with the views of slavery you give in your letters. I mean, I am pleased with the way you handle the subject. Many of our white-hearted Northerners go South, and see a little of Southern hospitality, and then suppose that slavery is all right, because all the masters are not cut-throats. I recognize in you the Northern backbone which you carried when you were here. Who can read the doings of the present Administration and Congress, and not feel his whole soul aroused at the enormities and the cursedness of slavery?³⁰

In 1858 the abolitionist movement within the Disciple brotherhood reached a climax over "bleeding Kansas." It was in April of that year that Pardee Butler³¹ appealed to the American Christian Missionary Society (the only national organization among Disciples) for financial support in his work in Kansas. The controversy which followed ended in the institutional separation of the abolitionists from the main body of Disciples of Christ. The reply from the corresponding secretary, Isaac Errett, to Butler was optimistic but contained a qualifying provision that proved to be explosive. Errett wrote:

It must, therefore be distinctly understood, that if we embark in a missionary enterprise in Kansas, this question of slavery and anti-slavery must be ignored; and our missionaries must not be ensnared into such utterances as the 'Northwestern Christian Magazine' can publish to the world, to add fuel to the flame already burning in our churches on this question.³²

Butler responded immediately by arguing that slavery was a "Bible question" and that Errett was dictatorially trying to frustrate his "freedom of thought and speech."³³ John Boggs felt that Errett had betrayed the cause. "We can stand anything from avowed enemies," he wrote angrily, "but we confess it grieves us to be stabbed in the house of a friend."³⁴ Boggs charged that Errett had become "the pliant tool of slave-holding aristocracy" and was now "ready to explain away his former position and cringingly deny that he ever considered slave-holding of sufficient importance to

disturb church fellowship."³⁵ To the abolitionists in the church, Errett "had fallen from anti-slavery grace . . . He was denounced from the pulpit, and the press waged bitter, relentless war against him."³⁶

The Butler-Errett episode forced the abolitionists "to take steps to create an organizational structure which they could dominate."³⁷ During the early months of 1859, while the abolitionists were moving rapidly in the direction of an independent convention and missionary society, the controversy was heating up in Hiram. "I stand between two fires," Garfield informed Harmon Austin, "and am nearly as unwilling to be warmed or burnt by one as the other. One party of my friends blame me as being too cool in the slavery question; another for being too hot."³⁸ When two of Dunshee's friends wanted to hold an abolitionist rally at Hiram, Garfield refused permission.³⁹ The following month he wrote to the embattled Errett:

There has been an attempt to throw the abolition stench around us, and I have resisted successfully, though not without bringing down upon me the small thunder of a few rampant ones. While I stay here, the school shall never be given up to an overheated and brainless faction. I know you can sympathize with me.⁴⁰

What inflamed Dunshee and his friends was the realization that Hiram was not doing its just share in the holy war against slavery and that Oberlin was "stealing all the glory." Oberlin, sixty miles to the west of Hiram, was a

notorious rendezvous for abolitionists. In September, 1858, an incensed abolitionist mob from Oberlin and Wellington had rescued a fugitive slave from the hands of federal marshals in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law. On April 15, 1859, the United States marshal arrested Charles Langston and Simeon Bushnell, the ringleaders of the two hundred "Oberlin-Wellington rescuers," and turned them over to the custody of the sheriff of Cuyahoga County. Langston and Simeon were prominent and respected citizens, and the spectacle of these men being jailed like common criminals for conscience's sake aroused abolitionists throughout the state.

The case was taken to the Supreme Court of Ohio in an attempt to free Langston and Simeon on the basis that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional. But Chief Justice Joseph R. Swan, the only Republican on the five-man court, sided with two of his Democratic colleagues to sustain the controversial verdict. Judge Swan's ruling caused a public outcry in the state at large, and he became the special object of Republican wrath. The Republican State Convention adopted a platform calling for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the convention refused to renominate Judge Swan.⁴¹

It was in the midst of this public agitation that the Hiram trustees met on May 11, 1859, and abruptly fired Professor Norman Dunshee. The conservatives on the board were

not ready to see the Eclectic become another Oberlin College, and they sensed that the Garfield-Dunshee schism was now irreparable. The harsh action of the board shocked the Dunshee forces. They accused Garfield and the board of all manner of underhanded dealings. In the storm that followed, Garfield reported to Harmon Austin:

As soon as the Trustees were gone he made no scruple of telling his friends that it was all a plot of mine. He has now taken a new position which is likely to afford him more comfort than any view hitherto taken and he is finding quite a number of sympathizers . . . It is that he is a martyr to the cause of Anti-Slavery!!! . . . The hot element in town catch at this theory eagerly and consider me the prince of slaveholders and plotters.⁴²

For the time being, Garfield writhed in his defenseless position. "The rumors and slanders are innumerable," he complained to Austin, "and mainly directed against me. There have been more falsehoods told than several good men could carry to heaven."⁴³ But he weathered the disturbance and afterwards informed Hinsdale that "Madame Rumor and her whole family have been exceedingly quiet on the hill since the term closed."⁴⁴

When the magnetism of politics finally drew Garfield into active campaigning in the summer of 1859, the controversy over slavery was the paramount issue to be dealt with. Garfield was a firm antislavery man, but he discreetly maintained an independent position apart from the fanaticism of the abolitionist movement. Aware that his home county of

Portage was normally Democratic, he deliberately adopted the middle ground "between two fires."⁴⁵ Although there were many urgent problems facing the citizens of depression-ridden Ohio, the slavery issue dominated the fall campaign to the exclusion of other topics. All of Garfield's thirty campaign speeches were devoted to the slavery question. In the beginning of the campaign, the Democrats started rumors that Garfield "was a stronger Democrat than any they had in their party." He was told by friends that the opposition was saying "you have come out in favor of slavery and state that it is a divine institution according to the Bible."⁴⁶

The extreme wing of the Republican party echoed this accusation, objecting to the fact that "all of our radical Abolition friends are compelled to vote for a man whose prejudices are as much against the negro as Alexander Campbell."⁴⁷ They sought to test Garfield's orthodoxy by pressing him to commit himself on the action of Judge Swan in the "Oberlin-Wellington rescuers" case. He was sent a questionnaire that demanded to know: "Was the decision of the Supreme Court as held by Judge Swan . . . Republican or anti-Republican?" The question was artfully contrived to place him in a dilemma. As Allan Peskin has explained: "No matter how repugnant it might be, Judge Swan's decision was clearly legal. If Garfield repudiated it, he would seem a "higher law" fanatic; if he supported it, a luke-warm Republican."⁴⁸

Garfield met this test by declaring that he "was not pledged . . . to any men or measures" but "shall, if elected to the Senate, hold myself free to adopt any course of State Legislation which my own judgment, aided by the advice of my constituents, may dictate." He then dealt with the question at hand. "If Judge Swan was to follow the precedents of the Federal and State courts," he said, "he could not have decided differently. But his decision was in conflict with the Republican doctrine of States Rights."⁴⁹

The ambiguity of this reply further angered the fiery abolitionists, and they stepped up their attacks on Garfield. The Portage County Democrat noted that "Mr. Garfield seems to have been singled out for more especial, bitter, malignant attacks than anyone else."⁵⁰ But Garfield, campaigning hard, "returned the fire with interest." His exceptional platform ability drew praise from seasoned political observers, leading one newspaper to speculate that he might one day "be greater than a State Senator."⁵¹ The abolitionist attacks had little affect on the final outcome. Carrying both Portage and Summit counties, Garfield won the election with surprising ease. His position between the "two fires" had proved to be politically sound.⁵²

Meanwhile, the abolitionist wing of the Disciples of Christ was continuing to mobilize. During the early summer of 1859, John Boggs and Ovid Butler had mailed out circulars

calling for the meeting of an antislavery convention in the city of Indianapolis. Over 800 Northern church leaders had responded favorably to the proposal, and in the September issue of the Christian Luminary it was announced that the convention would be held on November 1, 1859.⁵³ The moderates were shocked by this turn of events. Isaac Errett charged that it was now evident that the abolitionists were intent on dividing the church over a "difference of opinion" and that they were willing to use every "shameful" means at their disposal to accomplish that end.⁵⁴

Two weeks before the antislavery convention met in Indianapolis, the country was stunned by the news of John Brown's raid. On the night of October 16, 1859, Brown and 21 companions attacked and captured a United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He hoped by this bold act to incite the slaves to insurrection. But two days later the raiders were themselves overpowered by a company of marines commanded by Robert E. Lee. John Brown's sensational trial began on October 27; on the 31st he was convicted of "treason, and conspiring and advising with slaves and other rebels, and murder in the first degree" and was sentenced to be hanged.

On the following day, amid the widespread excitement generated by the John Brown affair, the antislavery convention held its opening session. The militant abolitionists

quickly chartered a new missionary organization to be known as the Christian Missionary Society. The new society was organized on a strong antislavery platform, and one of its first actions was to support the preaching of an "ungagged" Pardee Butler in Kansas. With the creation of this rival to the American Christian Missionary Society, the abolitionist wing of the Disciples of Christ had become too sizable to be ignored. Abolitionist Disciples were rapidly uniting around separate institutional loyalties, and many of them were now prepared to make the slavery issue a "test of fellowship."⁵⁵

On the second day of December, 1859, John Brown was hanged at Charlestown, Virginia. He had become a martyr to the cause of antislavery; before long, Northerners would be singing: "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on." For James A. Garfield, the trial and execution of John Brown had been very distressing. Brown had been one of Garfield's constituents, and several other citizens of the 26th District had participated in the ill-fated raid. Garfield called the day of Brown's execution "a dark day for our country," and he gave vent to his feelings in a lengthy Journal entry. "I have no language to express the conflict of emotion in my heart," he wrote. "I do not justify his acts. By no means. But I do accord to him, and I think every man must, honesty of purpose and sincerity of heart."

Reflecting on Brown's "devoted Christian character" and "his love of freedom drawn from God's Word," Garfield found much to admire in the "bold and daring" raider. He approved of "the humane purpose of his heart in going to Virginia," and he was moved by the example of one who was willing to die "because his heart beat for the oppressed." Garfield closed his memoir by declaring: "Brave man, Old Hero, Farewell. Your death shall be the dawn of a better day." That same day, he wrote angrily in his little pocket diary: "John Brown's Execution. Servitium esto damnatum (Slavery be damned)." ⁵⁶

In the waning hours of 1859, Garfield arrived in the state capital at Columbus on the threshold of a new career. When the Ohio senate convened on January 2, 1860, he had already established good relations with two fellow Republican senators from the Western Reserve, James Monroe and Jacob Cox. Monroe and Cox had ties with Oberlin College, and both had married daughters of President Charles Finney. Together with Garfield, they formed "a radical triumvirate" that came to represent a strong antislavery bloc in the upper chamber of the state legislature. ⁵⁷

The senate session was scarcely a week old before the freshman senator from the 26th District found an opportunity to demonstrate his antislavery fiber to the voters back home. Conservative Ohio Republicans, embarrassed by the John Brown

affair, authored a bill designed to quiet the fears of Virginia by promising that no further raids would be launched from Ohio. Garfield immediately attacked the bill as an affront to Brown's memory and an insult to the people of Ohio. His fiery speech forced the bill to be sent back to committee.⁵⁸

The abolitionists who had attacked Garfield for being too weak on the slavery issue must have been surprised and pleased with his initial effort, but before the month was out he had disappointed them again. When the legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee announced that they planned to visit Cincinnati to promote the newly-opened Louisville and Nashville Railroad, some enterprising Ohioans saw an opportunity to demonstrate Ohio's goodwill towards her Southern neighbors. A resolution, authorizing the Governor to invite the Southern legislators to visit Columbus and appropriating five thousand dollars to cover expenses, was introduced on the Senate floor. In the heated debate that followed, Garfield suddenly rose and delivered an impassioned speech in favor of the proposal. His powerful appeal not only carried the resolution, but he was made chairman of the committee to escort the visitors. That night he wrote to Rhodes:

I have taken a position which will do me either a good deal of good or a good deal of harm . . . The meeting of three legislatures will be an event which never before happened. How the country will regard it, I cannot tell . . .⁵⁹

The following day the Garfield committee set out for Louisville to extend a personal invitation to the assembled legislatures of Tennessee and Kentucky. Upon their arrival, Garfield wrote home to Rhodes: "They are astonished that Black Republicans should invite them to Ohio. But they are going." Garfield had been assigned the task of presenting the official invitation at a grand banquet. "I was never before in so critical a position," he explained to Rhodes. "The fire-eaters of Tennessee will be there, and yet every word I say will be read in Ohio."⁶⁰ He decided to confine his remarks to a brief speech extolling the Union.

When Garfield escorted his Southern colleagues to Columbus, he received widespread publicity for his role in the public show of unity. But he was soon to discover that in his effort to maintain political fellowship with the South, he was to lose the religious fellowship of some Disciples in the North. One such, Eliza Carman, wrote from Alliance, Ohio, to express her disillusionment over his recent behavior. The letter evidently affected Garfield, for he wrote in the upper corner of the first page, "Read & preserve."

Carman said she had once heard Garfield speak "great words of truth and beauty--words of thrilling, electrifying eloquence on the dignity, destiny, and power of human nature," but while his voice still echoed she had read of his

participation in the reception of the two Southern legislatures. "I was sorrowfully disappointed," she wrote, "in seeing you thus uncrown yourself and blast the hopes of hundreds of your personal friends."

Carman had looked upon Garfield as a "David coming into the public army of freemen," one that "would never turn away from life's highest purpose," which was pleading the cause of the enslaved. Now the mighty were fallen, and "the polished arrow become soiled." The voice which might have thrown "great bomb shells" into "the strong fortress of oppression," had rather muttered "sickly sentiment" about "the 'federal union.'"

It particularly disturbed Carman that Garfield had played host to the Southern politicians during the very week in which John Fee⁶¹ was driven from Kentucky. While the legislators had enjoyed an extravagant banquet, within hearing of their "noisy bravado, and union speeches," more than thirty "sad and care worn exiles from their homes" prayed for divine assistance.

Carman closed by expressing her profound regret for Garfield's "failure." "I sorrow to see talents such as you possess, withheld from the cause of human freedom," she wrote sadly, "and that your eloquent voice is heard in the revels of those who fawn on tyrants, and do their will." She hoped that Garfield's future course would be such as to remove the

disgrace which "the faithful and true friends of men" had been compelled to couple with his name.⁶² In this unusually candid letter, Garfield learned that there were some Disciples who were now prepared to separate from anyone who was associated with slavery in any fashion.

However, there were other antislavery Disciples who still had strong confidence in Garfield. This confidence was openly expressed to Garfield in a letter from Theobald Miller of Salem, Ohio. Miller was planning a tent meeting for August, 1860, and he wanted Garfield to do the preaching. He informed Garfield that because the congregation was new they would not be able to compensate him, but they would pay his expenses. Miller said, "I want to have Able men to hold forth on our leading and capital positions." Moreover, it was only "men of the right 'stripe'" who could be effective in Salem, for the community was solidly "Anti-slavery."⁶³ Garfield responded favorably to this forthright invitation, and he preached in the meeting.⁶⁴ In addition, he still preached frequently for the Disciples in Solon who were well known for their strong antislavery stand.⁶⁵

Garfield continued to maintain strong ties with the Disciples in 1860, and his weekly preaching was relinquished only for the few weeks of the legislative session.⁶⁶ The Eclectic still occupied much of his time, and his attendance at Disciple meetings often meant much to the school in terms

of contributions and applications. "We must use the Summer weeks to the best possible advantage," he wrote to Wallace John Ford. "Students are coming in and the work of a big term is upon me."⁶⁷ In August, 1860, Garfield was reunited with Alexander Campbell at a yearly meeting in Alliance that drew thousands of Disciples. Campbell and Garfield were the two featured preachers on this occasion. In the following month, Garfield was one of the featured preachers at the yearly meeting of Disciples in Bedford.⁶⁸

On the first Sunday in November, 1860, Garfield was in Wellington, Ohio, to speak at the dedication of a new Disciple church building. He was sought out that day by a woman who wanted a clear definition of what the Disciples stood for. In response to her request, Garfield penned the following statement:

1. We call ourselves Christians, or Disciples of Christ.
2. We believe in God the Father.
3. We believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God, and our Saviour. We regard the divinity of Christ as the fundamental truth of the Christian system.
4. We believe in the Holy Spirit, both as to his agency in conversion and as indwelling in the heart of the Christian.
5. We accept both the Old and the New Testament Scriptures as the inspired Word of God.
6. We believe in the future punishment of the wicked and the future reward of the righteous.
7. We believe that the Deity is a prayer hearing and a prayer answering God.
8. We observe the institution of the Lord's Supper on the Lord's Day. To this table we neither invite nor debar; we say it is the Lord's Supper for all the

Lord's children.

9. We plead for the union of God's people on the Bible and the Bible alone.

10. The Christ is our only creed.

11. We maintain that all the ordinances should be observed as they were in the days of the Apostles.

This classic little statement, called "What We Stand For" or "Our Position," was well received in the Disciple movement. It was reprinted on a number of occasions.⁶⁹

In the fall of 1860, Garfield was approached by the leaders of one of the largest and most influential Disciple churches in the country--the Eighth and Walnut congregation in Cincinnati. They invited him to succeed the celebrated David S. Burnet in the pulpit of the Cincinnati church. It was a flattering proposal and Garfield did not immediately decline, but his political ambitions were still paramount.⁷⁰ His political influence was increasing faster than expected, and there was already talk of his going on to Congress.

Ever since the Republican State Convention in June, 1860, Garfield's political star had been rising. At that gathering he had delivered a roaring stump speech which, said the Ohio State Journal, "enchained the audience" until the "outbursts of eloquence" finally brought the house down "with Republican thunder."⁷¹ The Cincinnati Commercial reported in an editorial:

The young Senator from Portage . . . stepped at once from comparative obscurity into genuine popularity as a political speaker, on that occasion, and from this time to the end of the campaign his party will demand his services on the stump.⁷²

"Your praise is on every one's mouth," remarked one prominent Republican after the convention. "I don't deal in flattery," he assured Garfield, "but really that speech, short and unpremeditated as it was, has appeared to me as one of the happiest and best delivered efforts I have heard for years."⁷³

One month earlier, the Republican National Convention had nominated a ticket of Lincoln and Hamlin for the presidential campaign, and now Garfield was besieged with calls to speak. The campaign of 1860 was the most exciting that Northern Ohio had seen in years, and Garfield was completely engrossed in it. At the height of the campaign, he sent off a note to Fuller which revealed his intense joy. He wrote:

You can hardly imagine in what a whirlpool of excitement and work my life is passing. I had the good--or bad--fortune to make a speech in the State Convention in Columbus . . . which was somewhat applauded throughout the State, so much so, at least, as to overwhelm me with calls for speeches. I have made more than forty within the last two months, and have refused more than that number of calls.⁷⁴

The Republican papers were liberal in their praise of Garfield's ability on the stump. "Mr. Garfield needs only the experience of Carl Schurz," boasted the Portage County Democrat, "to be in Ohio what that champion is in Wisconsin--the leading orator of freedom."⁷⁵ Both the Ohio State Journal and the Western Reserve Chronicle concluded that Garfield was "A rising man."⁷⁶ "You have made a first rate start," wrote one knowledgeable Republican. "No man in my

recollection has sprung so suddenly into favor as an orator as yourself."⁷⁷ Before the campaign was over, Republicans were touting Garfield as a potential Congressman.⁷⁸

The highlight of the campaign in the 26th District was the tremendous rally held at Ravenna on September 11. By mid-afternoon a crowd estimated at between fifteen and twenty thousand had gathered to hear Cassius Marcellus Clay, the famed Kentucky abolitionist, and Garfield. Following Garfield's address in the evening, a spectacular torchlight parade surged through the streets.⁷⁹ Altogether, Garfield gave fifty speeches in some forty communities during the final three months of the campaign.⁸⁰ His efforts were not in vain, for Ohio went Republican once more. On election day he wrote: "Voted for Lincoln and Hamlin. Went to Ravenna in evening; at midnight knew that L. and H. were elected. God be praised!"⁸¹ Garfield was particularly pleased that the Republican ticket had swept the 26th District by the comfortable margin of 6,672 to 3,998.

Along with a majority of Republican leaders, Garfield truly believed that Lincoln's victory would save the Union. He had welcomed the debate on the slavery issue, and after the election he thanked God that "the question had at last been met squarely and that the country had not been frightened into another compromise."⁸² But within a week, his elation disappeared when South Carolina called a convention

for the purpose of seceding from the Union. This special convention passed an "Ordinance of Secession" on December 20. During the next two months, ten other states followed the lead of South Carolina, and the Confederate States of America were formed on February 8, 1861.

By the time Garfield returned to Columbus on January 7, 1861, for the beginning of his second session in the Ohio Legislature, the Union was in turmoil.⁸³ "There is a strong warlike sentiment here," he wrote to Crete. "I expect in a few days, Cox and I will be seen on the East portico of the State House learning the use of the light infantry musket."⁸⁴ "My heart and thoughts are full almost every moment with the terrible reality of our country's condition," he reported to Hinsdale. "I do not now see any way this side a miracle of God, which can avoid war, civil war, with all its attendant horrors."⁸⁵ It was a frightening turn of events.

Nevertheless, Garfield was prepared to fight. With almost religious fervor he welcomed the possibility of war, for he viewed it as a moral crusade to save the Union and eradicate slavery. He now declared:

Peaceable dissolution is utterly impossible. Indeed, I cannot say as I would wish it possible. To make the concessions demanded by the South would be hypocritical and sinful. They would neither be obeyed nor respected. I am inclined to believe that the sin of slavery is one of which it may be said that 'without the shedding of blood there is no remission' . . . I believe the doom of slavery is drawing near--let war come--and the slaves will get a vague notion that it is waged for them and a

magazine will be lighted whose explosion must shake the whole fabric of slavery.⁸⁶

This was startling language for one who had tried to maintain a moderate position "between two fires." Garfield had always dismissed Southern threats of secession as empty talk, but the action of South Carolina had shocked him into reevaluating the situation. Resolutely opposed to appeasement and compromise, he now urged the Legislature to arm the state for war. On January 24, Garfield introduced a bill to raise and equip 6,000 state militia, but the coalition of Democrats and "emasculated Republicans" voted it down. "I am resolved to fight these fellows to the bitter end," he promised Rhodes. "I fear some of our decisive, bold measures will be lost in the House by the nervousness of our timid men."⁸⁷ In the continuing debate on the militia bill, Garfield argued with his timid colleagues:

It is said that it will irritate our Southern brethren and precipitate revolution and disunion. If the Senator will look at the policy of other states, he will find that military preparation is not so unheard of a thing as to be a source of irritation. Other states may be arming to the teeth, but if Ohio cleans her rusty muskets it will offend our brethren of the South . . . I am weary of this nervous weakness.⁸⁸

As the secession crisis approached climax, Garfield wondered how the national upheaval would affect his own future. "This is really a great time to live," he assured Hinsdale, "if any of us can only catch the cue of it."⁸⁹ Although absorbed in the nation's crisis, Garfield still found time to advance his own career. In January, after a

"thorough and searching examination" in the law, he was admitted to the bar.⁹⁰ He had now carefully pulled together several career options, but he was still unclear as to which offered the brightest future.

On February 16, the new president-elect stopped off in Columbus on his way to Washington. "His tour is having a very fine effect in strengthening the hopes of the Union men and the back-bones of the 'Emasculates,'" Garfield wrote to Hinsdale. "After the long dreary period of Buchanan's weakness and cowardly imbecility, the people will hail a strong and vigorous leader."⁹¹ But the conciliatory tone of the inaugural address bitterly disappointed Garfield, and he feared that Lincoln would not be equal to the heroic demands of the hour. A mood of depression and uncertainty descended upon the young Senator as he pondered his own future course of action.⁹²

In the last few years Garfield had trained himself in four professions--the pulpit, teaching, politics, and law--but had yet to find his true vocation. He considered each of the career options again, but was plagued by indecision. "If hesitation to make a decision is a mark of an inferior mind," he confessed, "then I am indeed inferior." "Do you suppose that real strong men have such waverings?" he asked his wife.⁹³

At the beginning of April the Lincoln Administration

was still marking time, and Garfield thought seriously of resigning his office. "The news from Washington is very gloomy and humiliating," he wrote dejectedly. "I hope the Administration will take some course before long that will give the people a chance of admiring pluck once more."⁹⁴

Garfield reviewed his alternatives again. Perhaps he should return to the Eclectic permanently. There was a growing feeling in Hiram that he had lost interest in the future of the school. Maybe he should concentrate on making the Eclectic into a full-fledged college. He wondered about the pulpit. The invitation of the Cincinnati church was still open. Perhaps, he thought, the time had come to break away from both the Eclectic and the pulpit. He could launch a new career in the law or remain in politics. The prospect of running for Congress had some appeal, but even that career had its drawbacks.⁹⁵

There was something distasteful about each of the options that Garfield was considering. "I can see no one course," he finally wrote on April 7, "which does not have valid objections to it, and none which, when taken, will not cause me deep and poignant regrets."⁹⁶ This was his dilemma on the eve of the Civil War.

CHAPTER FIVE

"ALL THINGS TO POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT"

We are to be ruled by military men for the next twenty years--and perhaps always . . . The way is before you clearly. The object and aim of your life is to subordinate all things to political advancement.

-- Rhodes to Garfield, November 26, 1861

As the national crisis ripened in the early months of 1861, James A. Garfield was eagerly preparing for war.¹ When Corydon Fuller visited Columbus on March 28, he found that the table in Garfield's room was "covered with books on military science" and that Garfield was spending all of his leisure time "in studying the art of war."² Garfield informed his wife that he was engrossed in a study of the military campaigns of Napoleon and Wellington.³

On the eve of the Civil War, two momentous questions confronted the leaders of the Disciples: what should Christians do if war came and what would be the impact of a great civil struggle on the church? Since the Disciples were well represented in both slave and free states, they had good reason to be concerned. One estimate of the strength of the Disciples at this time is seen in the following account by C. H. Hamlin:

In 1860 the Disciples had 2,068 churches distributed as follows: Alabama 22, Arkansas 33, Connecticut 4, Georgia 15, Illinois 148, Indiana 347, Iowa 51, Kansas 6, Kentucky 304, Louisiana 3, Maine 26, Maryland 2, Massachusetts 28, Michigan 13, Minnesota 3, Mississippi 24, Missouri 150, Nebraska 2, New Hampshire 33, New Jersey 10, New York 142, North Carolina

32, Ohio 365, Oregon 6, Tennessee 106, Texas 53, Vermont 11, Virginia 73, Wisconsin 8. Of these 2,068 churches, 827 were in slave states and 1,241 were in free states. The total membership was about 300,000.⁴

A firm majority of the church's leaders and editors urged a position of neutrality in the pending crisis⁵, but there were others like Garfield who were ready to take up sides. William T. Moore took advantage of his strategically located pulpit in Frankfort, Kentucky, to persuade wavering Disciple legislators to support the Union⁶, and Thomas W. Caskey, a leading Disciple preacher in Mississippi, toured his state with the Attorney-General "to talk the people out of the Union."⁷

When the war came, Garfield was ready. "I am glad we are defeated at Sumter" he thundered. "It will rouse the people. I can see no possible end to the war till the South is subjugated. I hope we will never stop short of complete subjugation." The agonizing decision about his future career was temporarily postponed as he envisioned his role in the great national contest. "There is nothing now left but war" he wrote to Rhodes, "and I do not hesitate to say that our duty to God and the country requires us to accept the issue."⁸

Governor Dennison had already assured Garfield that military heroes would rule the nation for at least twenty years after the war.⁹ Now the young senator rushed home to rally his constituents to the war effort. His fiery oratory

was heard in patriotic gatherings throughout the Western Reserve. "Garfield goes forth," wrote the Portage County Democrat, "like an apostle of Liberty, a preacher of righteousness, proclaiming the Gospel which demands equal obedience to God and resistance to tyrants."¹⁰ He made no secret of his strong desire for a military commission, but he refused to consider anything less than a colonelcy.

"The importance of rank was not lost on Garfield," writes Frederick Williams. "In a conflict of the magnitude he expected the Civil War to assume, individuals, except perhaps for a handful, would be obscured by events."¹¹ To Garfield the relationship between heroism on the battlefield and political advancement was obvious. By early May he was an active candidate for the colonelcy of one of the Ohio regiments, but he lost this command in a bitter contest to Erastus Tyler of Ravenna. Garfield's political enemies rejoiced in his failure, and the Portage Sentinel reported:

When a man, without military education, experience or training refuses to join the ranks, but endeavors to leap from the walks of a private citizen to the position of a military chieftain, it is transparent that self, and not country, prompts his actions. In our opinion, Hon. James A. Garfield is of this class. Ever since the commencement of the present troubles, he has been hovering around military encampments, (always cautious, however, to keep clear of the ranks) literally begging for a commission, but failing to get it, his patriotism has oozed out and for the last two weeks, he appears to have subsided.¹²

Meanwhile, in the June number of the Millennial Harbinger, Alexander Campbell issued an impassioned appeal for

the North and South to submit to "arbitration." Garfield undoubtedly read this emotional appeal for neutrality, and he reverted for the moment to old-time habits and made a pilgrimage to Bethany in June to consult with the aged Disciple leader. On this visit he found that many of the students had gone to fight for the Confederacy. There was very little Union sentiment in this Disciple stronghold, and Garfield's disappointment was reflected in a letter to Austin, when he wrote:

Professor Pendleton has had a severe trial. His friends and family are in the heart of old Virginia and are strong secessionists. He voted for secession, but I believe his heart is inclined to be right. We had a long conversation which I believe will result in good. I love him very much. Brother Campbell is for the Union, but his son, wife, and daughter sympathize with the South. It is sad to see a family so divided. Brother Campbell is getting very much broken. He cannot last long, I fear.¹³

When Garfield returned from Bethany his hunger for the war had in no way abated, and he remained despondent over his failure to win a colonelcy. "I hardly knew myself till the trial came how much of a struggle it would cost me to give up going into the army" he admitted to Hinsdale. "I found I had so fully interested myself in the war that I hardly felt it possible for me now to be a part of the movement."¹⁴ Even a mid-July journey to Michigan to meet with Isaac Errett failed to placate him.¹⁵

Upon his return to Hiram, Garfield found a letter from Governor Dennison offering him the post of lieutenant

colonel of one of the new Ohio regiments. Despite his disappointment with the lesser rank, he immediately wired back his acceptance. Three days later he was sworn in as lieutenant colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and before the month was out the governor promoted him to the rank of colonel.¹⁶

The realization that he was going off to war had a profound impact on Garfield. In a letter to Rhodes he explained how the fabric of his life was being demolished and reconstructed to meet the new conditions of war. One by one his old plans and aims, modes of thought and feeling, were found to be inconsistent with present duty and were set aside to give place to the new structure of military life. "It is not without a regret almost tearful at times," he remarked, "that I look upon the ruins." But three weeks later, when he wrote to another friend, there was no more expression of regret. "I am busy and cheerful in the work of tearing down the old fabric of my proposed life," he announced, "and removing its rubbish for the erection of a new structure."¹⁷

As was the custom of the time, Garfield had to raise his entire regiment from the ground up. It was natural, therefore, that in his search for soldiers he would turn to those he knew best--his Disciple students at Hiram. His recruiting campaign was launched in the familiar pulpit of

the Disciple meetinghouse in Hiram, where he "spoke with an earnest eloquence that stirred every heart." So persuasive was Garfield's appeal that fifty young men, instead of "coming forward" to be baptized as was the case three years earlier in one of his protracted meetings, now responded by signing the enlistment roll.¹⁸ Two weeks later, Garfield issued another appeal from the Hiram pulpit, and "not less than sixty names were signed to the enlistment roll within an hour."¹⁹

The young Hiram Disciples were sent to Camp Chase, on the outskirts of Columbus, where they were mustered in as Company A. This assured them of the traditionally honorable position on the right side of the regimental line. One of the soldiers in Company A, Charles E. Henry, later explained Garfield's success in recruiting. It was because "Christian fathers and mothers wanted their boys to enlist under the young professor of Hiram--they knew him to be manly, brave and honest."²⁰ But Garfield's initial success in recruiting soon ran into opposition, and his regiment did not reach its required number of ten companies until the end of November.

Typical of the opposition that Garfield encountered was his experience in Ashland County. There he confronted "a style of over-pious men and churches . . . who are too godly to be human." "They all refused me their churches

for last evening" he informed his wife, "except the heretic J. N. Carman, who has been ostracized by the Disciples of this place." In a fiery speech at the Town Hall, Garfield lashed out at "the Christianity of Ashland and all people who are afraid to 'do good on the Sabbath Day.'"²¹ This appeal failed to move the pacifistic Disciples of Ashland, but it did lead a Methodist preacher and seven others to come forward and enlist.

In spite of these confrontations with pacifistic Disciples, Garfield made significant recruiting inroads into the Disciple churches of the Western Reserve. He threw himself into the role of recruiting soldiers with characteristic enthusiasm, and as Bundy affirms: "It was mainly by his efforts that the regiment was filled up; to a good degree, by 'Disciples,' whose patriotism was consecrated by religious zeal."²² Garfield was also responsible for bringing J. Harrison Jones, a popular Disciple preacher, to Camp Chase to preach to the new recruits on Sundays. By late November, Garfield had persuaded Jones to accept the chaplaincy of the Forty-second Ohio.²³

The bond of friendship between Garfield and his chaplain was unusually close, and it even led to the formation of a special club. Prior to leaving for war, Garfield and Jones met one evening with Isaac Errett at the home of Dr. and Mrs. John P. Robison in Bedford, Ohio. Errett described

the mood of the evening like this:

It was a little gathering of choice friends, and the occasion was marked by solemnity and sadness, at the thought of the speedy departure of two of our number on a service full of peril, to fields of bloody conflict from which they might never return. To lend what cheer they could to the parting hour, those who were present formed a society, pledging themselves to go at call to each other's aid in distress, and to perform all the duties specified in this covenant of friendship.²⁴

The five Disciples decided to call their little society the "Quintinkle Club." Although the club expanded its membership after the war, it remained one of Garfield's dearest associations throughout his lifetime.

The four male members of the Quintinkle Club had already played a significant role in the wartime course of the American Christian Missionary Society. In 1861 the society was the only semblance of national organization among Disciples of Christ, and it was under considerable pressure to remain neutral in the national conflict. When the thirteenth annual convention opened in Cincinnati on October 22, 1861, the stage was set for a showdown between the powerful neutralist element in the church and the pro-Union war sympathizers.²⁵ Despite the noticeable absence of church leaders from the Deep South, the 1861 convention prompted the largest meeting in the history of the society. Over eight hundred prominent Disciples from the North and border-states crowded into the meetinghouse of the Eighth and Walnut Street congregation for the opening session.

Although extremely busy with his recruitment forays and exhaustive training at Camp Chase, Garfield understood the importance of the Cincinnati convention and determined that he and Jones should join Errett and Robison at the meeting. When Alexander Campbell, the society president, opened the convention with his annual address, Garfield and Jones were conspicuously present in their recently tailored Union uniforms. The critical moment in the convention arrived when Robison offered the following loyalty resolution:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the loyal and patriotic in our country, in the present efforts to sustain the Government of the United States. And we feel it our duty as Christians, to ask our brethren everywhere to do all in their power to sustain the proper and constitutional authorities of the Union.

The resolution was seconded by Lewis L. Pinkerton of Kentucky. David S. Burnet immediately raised the question of whether such a resolution was germane to the stated purpose of the society. Isaac Errett, who was presiding for the aged Alexander Campbell, declared that it was in order. However, after an appeal by Richard M. Bishop, the controversial resolution was voted "not germane" to the purposes of the society. But the war sympathizers were not through. Evidently acting on a prearranged strategy, Pinkerton then requested a ten-minute recess. During the recess a "mass meeting" was called for the purpose of re-introducing Robison's resolution. In the confusion that

followed, Garfield came to the front and delivered a short speech in favor of loyalty to the Union. This time the resolution was passed with only one dissenting vote.²⁶

In essence, the stormy convention of 1861 closed on a note of uneasy compromise. "The neutralists had mustered sufficient strength to keep the resolution out of the convention proceedings," notes Harrell, "but they remained in the auditorium and did not vote against the resolution during the rump session."²⁷ The war faction was angered that the society had escaped with its neutrality technically intact, and the moderates were irritated by the pressure tactics that had led to the "mass meeting" vote. However, in the months that followed both sides claimed that they had won a great victory at Cincinnati.²⁸

Satisfied with his own role in the convention, Garfield returned to Camp Chase to continue the training of his men for war. He informed Rhodes:

I was at Cincinnati a day and a half during the convention of the American Missionary Society. I made a little speech there under peculiar circumstances which created as much sensation as anything I ever did. Brother Jones or Robison can tell you about it if you happen to see them. I have not the time to tell the details of the affair.²⁹

If Garfield was without a national reputation among the Disciples of Christ prior to the Cincinnati convention, he was certainly well known by the time the delegates reported back to their churches. The repercussions of his "little

speech" would prove to be enduring, and the "sensation" was just beginning.

When Tolbert Fanning, the most powerful Disciple voice in the South, received word of the Cincinnati action he was heartbroken and angered. In the November issue of his Gospel Advocate (shortly before it was forced to suspend publication due to the war) he informed his readers that the American Christian Missionary Society had "passed strong resolutions, approving most heartily of the wholesale murder of the people South who do not choose to be governed by a sectional party North." Fanning charged the society with encouraging "thousands of professed servants of the Prince of Peace" to enlist in the Union armies "to cut the throats of their Southern brethren." He wondered how such men could ever again associate with the southern Christians "for whose blood they are now thirsting."

As Fanning pondered the future from the viewpoint of the southern Christians, he asked:

Should we ever meet them in the flesh, can we fraternize with them as brethren? How can the servants of the Lord of this section ever strike hands with the men who now seek their life's blood? We do not know how this matter appears to others, but without thorough repentance, and abundant works demonstrating it, we cannot see how we can ever regard preachers who enforce political opinions with the sword, in any other light than monsters in intention, if not in very deed. How can Christian men of the South do otherwise?³⁰

Coming from the most influential and respected preacher in the South, this was strong and ominous language. Nor was

Fanning alone in his bitter denunciation of the resolution introduced at the missionary convention. The editors of the Missouri-based Christian Pioneer urged their readers to consider "the urgent necessity of guarding against the introduction of political issues into the church or our other Christian organizations, gotten up for the spread of the Gospel," and reminded them that "in both . . . the unity of the brethren is paramount to every earthly consideration."³¹

Garfield, of course, had little sympathy with these editorial positions. His advancing career was tied to the political and military movements of the times, and he was eager to prove himself on the battlefield. Shortly before Garfield and his troops left for the war, Rhodes reminded him of the importance of good newspaper publicity during the military campaign. He then asked Garfield to help him in securing a position on the editorial staff of the Cleveland Herald, "for my sake and for your sake." He further admonished Garfield:

We are to be ruled by military men for the next twenty years -- and perhaps always . . . The way is before you clearly. The object and aim of your life is to subordinate all things to political advancement.

But Rhodes cautioned his friend about the foolishness of taking chances. He begged Garfield not to expose himself needlessly to danger.³²

On December 14th, after four months of training and

drill at Camp Chase, the Forty-second Ohio was ordered to proceed at once to General Buell's headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky. The following morning they joyfully broke camp and headed for the action. "When we marched out on that cold December morning to the step of martial music," one of the soldiers wrote later, "every heart was buoyant and hopeful and fully resolved to battle manfully for the old Flag."³³ Passing through Columbus, the regiment, now nine hundred and ninety strong, was reviewed by Governor Dennison and presented with a stand of battle flags. When the Governor appealed to the men to never let these colors trail in the dust, Garfield responded gallantly with the promise that they would be carried "through many a sanguine field to victory."³⁴

Garfield and his men were assigned the difficult task of driving General Humphrey Marshall out of eastern Kentucky. Humphrey's Confederate brigade had invaded from Virginia and was advancing down the Sandy Valley. General Buell told Garfield that he would much prefer to have him in the "grand column" that was marching into Tennessee, but that Garfield would have "a much greater chance for distinction" in commanding the eastern Kentucky mission.³⁵ The ambitious Garfield was eager to seize on that chance.

While en route to engage the enemy, Garfield passed through a region where the Disciples were well represented.

"I saw several prominent Disciples at Paris, he informed Lucretia, "and received valuable assistance from them." He also mentioned that one of his columns had "passed through Mt. Sterling where Brother Munnell lives."³⁶ But Garfield was acutely aware of the divided feelings in these Kentucky churches, and he knew that many of his brothers were adamantly opposed to his involvement in the war. Two weeks after Garfield and his men rode through the area, Thomas Munnell wrote a letter to a Canadian preacher describing the tension that existed in the Disciple churches of that region. In the course of the letter he said:

In the border states . . . we are not unanimous in either view of our national troubles. We all meet, however, in the same house of worship, sing the same songs, and eat and drink of the same bread and wine. We all say "Amen" to the same prayers, love the same Lord, and try to love one another . . . Were we to become loud, outspoken partisans, and denounce either party in our pulpits, we would destroy half the churches in Kentucky in a month. For the sake of the Kingdom of God we therefore take no more part in these discussions while in the pulpit, than if we were totally ignorant of all governmental matters.³⁷

Garfield's former teacher also pleaded that "brother should not go to war with brother," and he hoped that by "such a course of mutual forbearance" the Disciples could "stand a united people" when the war was over. But his hopes were seriously dampened by the knowledge that, even as he wrote, Garfield and his company of Hiram Disciples were stalking their Confederate brothers in eastern Kentucky.

Garfield engaged the enemy in battle on January 10,

1862, at Middle Creek, Kentucky. The "Battle of Middle Creek," the only one in which Garfield was destined to command, was essentially a day-long skirmish in which neither side demonstrated any convincing superiority. However, Garfield's command accomplished its mission, and Marshall's forces were sent streaming out of Kentucky and back to Virginia. Although the campaign had little or no bearing on the outcome of the war, the victory-starved North hailed it as a smashing triumph. Garfield's leadership was lauded by newspapers across the North, and detailed accounts of the campaign were given generous space in the Ohio press.³⁸

After the battle, Garfield had warm praise for his chaplain, Harry Jones, "who stood beside me on the rock and acted as my aide-de-camp during the battle. He is brave as a lion." He also expressed a special affection for those in Company A--the Hiram Disciples who were his first recruits. "I can never tell you how full of love and pride my heart is toward our Hiram boys," he wrote to Lucretia. "Men of other regiments and other states do not hesitate to say they were bravest among the brave. Many of them shot even when they were faint from the loss of blood."³⁹

Back in Ohio, Garfield's friends were saying that his triumph entitled him to promotion. "The feeling of the public for you has deepened remarkably," Rhodes reported. "I cannot begin to tell you how strongly you are fixed in

their affections . . . I have heard the most extravagant expectations of your future."⁴⁰ A movement was soon afoot to promote Garfield to general. The effort was led by an old friend, Dr. John P. Robison, who was now in the state senate. The lobbying proved successful, and Garfield was promoted to brigadier general on March 19, with the new rank dating from January 10. The promotion attracted considerable attention, and almost overnight General Garfield became a familiar name to citizens in the North. For the rest of his life, in both public and private circles, he was best known as General Garfield. "Probably no other event in his life shaped his political future as much as did his success in the Sandy Valley," concluded one of Garfield's biographers.⁴¹

When the news of Garfield's victory at Middle Creek reached Hiram, Burke Hinsdale responded with a letter of congratulations. He made reference to Garfield's early estimate of 85 confederate dead and reminded him that John Brown "always made a little notch in the blade of his sword for each man he killed." He then asked Garfield: "Have you knocked your 'halbred' yet 85 times?"⁴² But Garfield was not glorying in the confederate dead. In the aftermath of Middle Creek he had experienced his first sight of dead soldiers, and it had been a great shock to him. "It was a terrible sight next morning," he told his mother, "to walk

over the battle field and see the horrible faces of the dead rebels stretched on the hill in all shapes and positions."⁴³ Years later, William Dean Howells described a conversation in which Garfield had relived the horror of this scene. "At the sight of these dead men whom other men had killed," Howells recalled, "something went out of him, the habit of his lifetime, that never came back again: the sense of the sacredness of life, and the impossibility of destroying it."⁴⁴

After experiencing some of the grim realities of war, Garfield began to "draw the hope that thus God has willed it, that He is the commander-in-chief of our armies . . ." His faithful attention to personal religious habits earned him the title of the "praying Colonel," and his letters reflected his conviction that God was working out His "Divine purpose" in the Union cause. When describing the intensity of the fighting at Middle Creek, Garfield wrote home: "In my agony of anxiety I prayed to God for the reinforcement to appear." To Mark Hopkins he wrote: "I try to see God's hand through this darkness and believe that the issue will redound to His glory." In a letter to Rhodes he declared: "If McClellan will discipline and mobilize our people into armies, and let them meet the enemy, God will take care of the grand consequences." In correspondence with his wife he remarked that "there have been a great many instances in

this campaign which are either special providence or very wonderful coincidences. I am inclined to believe the former." He told Rhodes: "I have come to requite such interferences as a part of God's plan in the management of my life and my work."⁴⁵

In the months following the "Battle of Middle Creek" the severe winter weather of eastern Kentucky proved to be more disastrous to Garfield's regiment than combat. Extensive flooding plagued the region, and many of the men under Garfield's command were afflicted with the dreaded disease of "camp fever." "There are over 400 sick in the hospital at Ashland," Garfield revealed to his wife, "and I am this morning sending nearly sixty more. I hope you will not mention this outside the family . . . fifty have died within the last four weeks." Then remembering the parents back in Ohio, he confided:

I declare to you there are fathers and mothers in Ohio that I hardly know how I can ever endure to meet. A noble young man from Medina County died a few days ago. I enlisted him, but not till I had spent two hours in answering the objection of his father, who urged that he was too young to stand the exposure. He was the only child. I cannot feel myself to blame in the matter, but I assure you I would rather fight a battle than to meet his father."⁴⁶

One night two young Hiram Disciples, Cyrus Mead and Elam Chapman, came to Garfield in tears and begged him to send them home to recover from their serious illness. "I told the boys I had been wrestling with sickness myself as

with a giant enemy," he wrote home, "and they must do the same. I talked to them till they felt brave." Reflecting on the horrible suffering of his young recruits, Garfield sadly acknowledged: "This is the great price of saving the Union. My God, what a costly sacrifice!" Less than three weeks later, Mead and Chapman died within twenty-four hours of each other. Garfield had steadfastly refused to allow them to return home. When a third Hiram Disciple, Frank Cowles, died at the same time, Garfield was led to conclude that "when a man gets sick there seems to come over him a conviction that he is going to die, and that hastens his death."⁴⁷

As a result of his promotion to brigadier general, Garfield was soon separated from his beloved Forty-second Ohio. His new assignment placed him at the head of a brigade in General Buell's Army of the Ohio that was marching towards Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, to rendezvous with General Grant's Army of the Tennessee. Garfield caught up with his new brigade near Columbia, Tennessee, just prior to the Confederate attack on Shiloh. When news of the surprise attack reached Garfield, he drove his soldiers at an exhausting pace for over twenty-four hours in an effort to reach the battlefield. But by the time the weary brigade arrived at the front, the defeated rebels were already retreating to Corinth, Mississippi. The greatest battle that

had ever been fought on the American continent was over, and Garfield had missed out on the fight.⁴⁸

Garfield was appalled by what he saw of the Shiloh battlefield. "Such a scene as this 30 square miles presents beggars all attempt at description," he informed his wife. "If I live to meet you again, I will attempt to tell something of its horrors. God has been good to me and I am yet spared." Two weeks later, while still stationed at the "Field of Shiloh," he wrote:

The horrible sights I have witnessed on this field I can never describe. No blaze of glory that flashes around the magnificent triumphs of war can ever atone for the unwritten and unutterable horrors of the scene of carnage.⁴⁹

During the next four months Garfield rode at the head of his brigade in the advance through Corinth, Mississippi, and eastward across northern Alabama. Much of this time he suffered terribly with diarrhea and hemorrhoids, and he became increasingly frustrated with the inability of his superior officers to force the rebels into battle.⁵⁰

Garfield was often homesick during these months of personal depression. "Give my love to all our dear friends and brethren," he wrote to Lucretia one Sunday. "I hope you and they are enjoying a sweet and peaceful Lord's day in the church. I have never longed so much as now for a quiet day in church and a good religious sermon from some good man." To Harmon Austin he wrote: "I assure you, the

blessings of peace, home, friends, Christianity and Christian worship never seemed so dear and inestimable to me as they do now . . ." But Garfield was not without Disciple companions. In his new brigade he discovered several Disciples and even a few Hiram alumni. He selected Benjamin Lake, one of his former classmates at the Eclectic, to be his aide-de-camp.⁵¹

There was also one preaching invitation during this period. This occurred while Garfield's troops were camped outside Mooresville, Alabama. "Several Disciples of the vicinity have been here to visit me," he wrote to Lucretia. "There is a church in the village of Mooresville near by and they have sent up wanting me to speak to them on Sunday next. If I am not too unwell I have a notion to speak to them." If there is any truth in tradition, his health must have improved, for today the Disciples in Mooresville speak with pride that Garfield once preached in their church.⁵²

While the weeks of inactivity droned on, Garfield became increasingly fearful that as just another brigadier general in a large army he might drift into obscurity. "I cannot accomplish much for the country or myself as I am now situated," he complained to Rhodes. He was exasperated by "the dull monotony of camp life" and worried that the fickle public might soon forget the hero of the "Battle of Middle Creek." "I have been so dead militarily since I came

to the Tennessee," he wrote to Lucretia, "that I hardly see how I can be sufficiently remembered to make my return a matter of much comment." "I believe I can dispose of my life to more advantage," he declared, "than to confine it to the inglorious quiet of a brigade camp."⁵³

Garfield's one hope for escaping the situation was through an election to Congress. He had been thinking of that possibility for some time when Rhodes wrote to inform him that the race for the Republican congressional nomination was wide open. This was partly due to redistricting. The political strength of the incumbent, John Hutchins, had been seriously weakened by the addition of two new counties to the newly created Nineteenth Congressional District.⁵⁴ Rhodes was convinced that Garfield could have the nomination if he wanted it, and he urged his friend to consent to a Garfield-for-Congress movement.

In his guarded reply, Garfield was concerned not to appear as a man seeking office. "I dare not think of Congress now," he wrote, "though I should be pleased to take part in the legislation of the next few years. If the people should of their own motion see fit to call me to that place, of course I should be greatly pleased." Rhodes was not put off by Garfield's caution. He assured his friend that if he resigned his commission and returned to campaign personally, his nomination "would almost be a spontaneity."

To offer further assurance, Rhodes mentioned that Harmon Austin had been "feeling about quietly" and had uncovered considerable support for a Garfield nomination.⁵⁵

This time Garfield responded openly. "I cannot but feel an interest in what you say in reference to Congress," he admitted, "and I am free to confess that I would like to be a member of the next one. Please write to me more about it." But he was opposed to the idea of working for himself to get the nomination. "I remember to have promised Almeda not to use the military as a stepping stone to political preferment," he wrote, "and I shall make no effort." Yet at the same time he appealed to Austin for advice. "I want to hear from you to know how the movements of the day seem to you," he implored. "I have been so long accustomed to compare views with you that I need to hear your thoughts again." Garfield had let it be known that he was willing and available, but he was leaving the responsibility for promoting his candidacy to the discretion of his friends. It was the same strategy he had used so effectively in his bid for nomination to the state senate.⁵⁶

Characteristically, Garfield sought to rationalize his personal ambitions in terms of what was best for the country. "While a battle was imminent, I felt my duty to meet the issue was paramount to every other consideration," he explained to Rhodes. "If now the war in the west is

substantially ended . . . then I shall feel that I can much better serve the country in some other capacity." But he was worried that leaving the army might "be misconstrued into a purpose to make political capital for myself," and he winced at the prospect of being "hauled over the coals of political persecution again." Garfield insisted that "patriotic motives" had led him into the army. "I cannot for a moment think of taking any course," he told Rhodes, "which may even by inference throw a shadow of suspicion upon those motives as being for political and demagogical purposes."⁵⁷

In his next correspondence with Austin, Garfield spoke candidly of his ambitions and fears. He wrote:

I entered the service in good faith, at some considerable sacrifice of my own plans and purposes, and I am wholly unwilling to do anything which will throw a doubt upon the motives which have governed me and make me appear to have done this only to serve myself to something else . . . Should the people of their own motion, without any suggestion from me, choose to nominate me for Congress, I should esteem it a mark of high favor. But I should be unwilling that my name should go before a convention and be rejected. I must therefore commit the decision of this matter wholly to my friends and I particularly desire you to help me in determining whether I shall allow my name to be presented or not.

Garfield believed there would come from the war "a score of new questions and new dangers," and that the "settlement of these will be of even more vital importance than the ending of the war." I do not hesitate to tell you," he informed Austin, "that I believe I could do some service in Congress

in that work, and I should prefer that to continuing in the army."⁵⁸

This was all that Austin needed to hear. He gladly assumed the responsibility, with the help of Rhodes, of a Garfield-for-Congress campaign. These two Disciples were effective in mobilizing support for Garfield throughout the Nineteenth District, and before long there were letters and editorials in praise of Garfield appearing in local papers. But there were some Disciples who were still suspicious of Garfield's "worldly" interest in political prominence. One of his political opponents, Oliver P. Brown, attempted to take advantage of this prevailing suspicion by proclaiming that "Garfield has an interest everywhere . . . but in the Kingdom of Heaven."⁵⁹ Despite such opposition, Rhodes was increasingly confident of victory. "From all I can see" he wrote in July, "it seems to me now that your nomination and election are a dead certainty." Garfield tried to restrain his anticipation. "Be assured I am not anxious in the matter," he replied, "and shall lose no sleep nor have one diarrhea less or more if O. P. Brown or any other man is chosen."⁶⁰

By the end of July, Garfield's health had deteriorated to the point where he felt justified in applying for a furlough. During four months of intermittent dysentery he had lost over forty pounds, and his skin had yellowed

from jaundice. After a slow and painful journey, the hero of the "Battle of Middle Creek" arrived home on August 6. Garfield had little to show for his year in the army beyond the rank of brigadier general, but that achievement alone had greatly enhanced his chances of becoming a member of the United States Congress. On his first Sunday back at the Disciple meetinghouse he was asked to address the congregation during the communion service. It was almost a year to the day since he had launched his recruiting campaign from the Hiram pulpit. Although too weak to stand, Garfield sat beside the communion table and told his brothers and sisters how often he had "hungered" to eat this feast with them during his year in the army.⁶¹

While Garfield convalesced at a secluded farmhouse, the Nineteenth District Republican nominating convention met at Garrettsville on September 2. The young general was the only one of the five announced candidates who was not present at the convention, but he was well represented in the person of Harmon Austin. Although his political future was being decided on that day, Garfield feigned disinterest. "I have not lifted a finger, nor made a move in my own behalf," he boasted to a friend. "I don't know how the convention will act and I care but very little." He wrote to his mother: "If the people of the District want me, I take it that it is their business to tell me so, and not mine to

coax them to have me."⁶² But all the while, Garfield was reassured by his friends that the nomination was his.

As it turned out, there was a much closer race for the nomination than Garfield's supporters had anticipated. Nevertheless, on the eighth ballot, Garfield triumphed over incumbent Congressman John Hutchins by a vote of 78 to 71. "It was the spontaneous act of the people," exclaimed the victorious candidate, overlooking the contributions of the devoted Austin and Rhodes who had labored sedulously in his behalf. The Garfield nomination received good coverage in the Ohio newspapers, and the prospective Congressman was showered with congratulations from around the state. The Portage County Democrat, one of Garfield's loyal boosters, commended him to the people as a man "of pure and spotless private reputation, presenting in all the adornments of a high-toned morality, one of the most attractive samples of a Christian gentleman."⁶³

The solid Republicanism of the Nineteenth District made Garfield's election a certainty, and he did not bother to campaign. With his health now restored, the successful candidate was eager for a new command in the army. Since the Thirty-eighth Congress would not convene until December of 1863, Garfield still had fifteen months in which to further advance his military career.⁶⁴ He was delighted when he received a telegram from the War Department calling him

to Washington for an assignment to duty. The prospect of circulating among Washington officialdom was dazzling, and the ambitious Garfield left immediately.⁶⁵

The sojourn in Washington got off to an auspicious start. Garfield spent his first day in town closeted with the Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase. There was even time for a visit with President Lincoln. But it was the association with Chase that proved the most rewarding. Chase noted in his diary a conversation with Garfield which suggests that the younger man was not wasting much time:

Returning from Gen. Hooker's, as well as going, Gen. Garfield gave me some interesting portions of his own experience. This fine officer was a laborer on a canal in his younger days. Inspired by a noble ambition, he had availed himself of all means to acquire knowledge; became a preacher . . . was made the president of a flourishing literary institution on the Reserve; was elected to the Ohio Senate, and took a conspicuous part as a Republican leader. On the breaking out of war he became a colonel . . . and gained promotion rapidly.⁶⁶

The Secretary was so taken with the young general that he insisted he leave his lonely hotel room and move into the Chase home. Garfield accepted the invitation with gratitude. "They have a fine residence," he wrote home, "and live in splendid style." As a member of the Chase household, Garfield found to his liking that he was daily brushing elbows with the leading political and military figures of the day. His letters were filled with details

of his fraternizing with the nation's mighty. Nor was he confined to the social whirl of Washington. Following a journey to New York, Garfield informed Rhodes that he had enjoyed fellowship with Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, and "a number of the leading lights of New York."⁶⁷

While Garfield was caught up in this vortex of the national crisis, he was nevertheless careful to maintain his position of influence at the Eclectic. He approved of the continued use of his name in the Eclectic catalog, and he always kept his options open about a possible return to the school some day. When he learned that Harvey Everest had resigned from the faculty over differences with Almeda Booth, he voiced his pleasure. "I hope the trustees will be firm about it," he wrote to Rhodes, "and not allow themselves to be bullied into any concessions they don't see best to make." Garfield let it be known that he favored Hinsdale as the replacement for Everest. "I need not say that the success and power of the school will depend upon the harmony and hearty cooperation of yourself and Almeda," he admonished Rhodes, "and I hope you may keep up the most perfect understanding and good feeling in every thing."⁶⁸

Over a month later, Garfield was still lobbying for the appointment of Hinsdale. "I wrote to Hiram soon after Everest's resignation recommending the Masters to get you there as soon as spring," he explained to Hinsdale, "and

yesterday I wrote again more at length. I am exceedingly anxious that you should be with the school." Garfield was really thinking of the future. "If I should not return to the school they will need you," he exhorted Hinsdale. "If I should return I shall need you, for if I go back again I must have a circle of social and intellectual friends that can mutually aid each other in growth and living."⁶⁹ Garfield's prodding was successful, and the trustees brought Hinsdale back to Hiram in the spring of 1863.

Much to Garfield's dismay, his stay in Washington stretched into four months. His initial enjoyment of the social scene was dampened by his frustration in trying to secure a new command. Unfortunately for Garfield, wartime Washington was flooded with unemployed brigadier generals looking for commands. The War Department considered him for three different assignments, but for various reasons they all fell through. As the weeks slipped by, Garfield's anxiety increased. "I am thoroughly ashamed to be seen on the streets in uniform," he admitted. Rhodes lamented the fate of his friend, and expressed his sorrow that Garfield was "not destined to be the Napoleon of this war."⁷⁰

At the same time that Garfield was sitting idle in Washington, itching to get back into the fight, the elders and evangelists of several Disciple churches in Tennessee gathered for a crucial meeting at Beech Grove, Tennessee.

On November 13, led by Tolbert Fanning and David Lipscomb, these church leaders drafted a letter to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, requesting that the members of their churches be exempt from military service. They appealed as follows:

A large number of the members of the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout this and adjoining counties of the State of Tennessee . . . are firm in the conviction of the truth, that no man, who regards the authority of God . . . can in any manner engage in, aid, foment, or countenance the strifes, animosities, and bloody conflicts in which civil governments are frequently engaged . . .

With these considerations of what our duty to God requires at our hands, the enforcement of the "Conscript Act" for the purpose of raising and maintaining the army, for the carrying on of this unhappy war, in which our country is involved, cannot fail to work indescribable distress to those members of our churches holding these convictions.

This letter was courteously received and several Disciples who had been drafted were released from service. Later, when Tennessee came under Federal control, a similar appeal was approved by Governor Andrew Johnson.⁷¹

Garfield had little association with the Disciples in Washington during his frustrating months of delay there. He only met with his brethren infrequently, and he was not always edified by the fellowship. "Today I went to Brother Campbell's on Massachusetts Avenue where the Disciples hold their meeting," he wrote to Rhodes one Sunday. "There is a small body of them here who keep up their organization and hold social meetings and break the loaf at private houses."

Garfield's reputation as a preacher had again preceded him, and he was asked to speak. "I spoke a short time," he informed Rhodes, "but was annoyed by their constant reference to 'their distinguished brother,' etc., etc."⁷²

When Hinsdale wrote to say that he was thinking of entering the ministry, Garfield replied that he would be sorry to see him "become a preacher" as his "exclusive or even chief work of life." Garfield had considered the same possibility for his own life, but he now wrote candidly:

Such is the state of Disciple organization and doctrine that I cannot be a preacher and that only. It is too narrow a field for the growth and development that one feels he must have. No doubt this opinion will appear conceited and egotistical in the man who holds it, but I cannot help it and don't think you should. There are many who feel as though they could live the best and most worthy lives by devoting their whole time to the ministry. Such ought to do it and they will do great good. But each human soul must live a life of its own and be responsible to God and man for it.

But Garfield wasn't prepared to completely waive his option on the possibility of the ministry. "I contemplated such a work for myself," he reminded Hinsdale, "but the intervention of the war postponed and possibly entirely removed the necessity of such a declaration, though should I again get back into social life I may do it yet."⁷³

In the final month of his weary stay in Washington, Garfield became absorbed in a study of Frederick the Great. As his admiration for this archetype of Prussian militarism increased, he conceived of editing a volume of the works of

Frederick for publication. Garfield was now convinced that the pacifism he had once espoused had lulled Americans into a false sense of security. "In our present war," he argued, "the Republic is paying a fearful price for its neglect of military organization and its failure to preserve the military spirit among its people." Garfield hoped his study of Frederick would contribute to "the awakening of this spirit in our army," but the ambitious project was never completed. It was almost ready for the printer when he received orders to report to General William S. Rosecrans, commander of the Army of the Cumberland. On January 25, 1863, the eager Garfield reported for duty to General Rosecrans' headquarters in Murfreesboro, Tennessee.⁷⁴

Rosecrans and Garfield took to each other at once. "He is a Jesuit of the highest style of Roman piety," Garfield noted with admiration. Rosecrans expressed an equal interest in Garfield's Disciple background, and the two men were soon launched on a stimulating discussion of religion. To allow more opportunity for such midnight sessions, Rosecrans insisted that Garfield move in with him. It was the first time Garfield had participated in discussions with a Catholic protagonist, and he fully enjoyed the exchange of theological ideas. These vigorous sessions continued night after night for a number of weeks. "I have been engaged in the most fearful dissipation in regard to sleep," Garfield

confided to Rhodes. "For ten nights I have not gone to bed once before two o'clock in the morning, frequently not till four and sometimes not till five."⁷⁵

Garfield had been brought up to regard Catholicism with horror, but his encounter with Rosecrans went a long way toward disarming his prejudice. "He is the intensest religionist I ever saw," Garfield marveled. "I have known few men in my life," he wrote to Chase, "whose whole being seemed so fully pervaded with the spirit of muscular religion as his." In a letter to Austin, Garfield commented: "He is one of the most devotedly religious men I ever knew, and makes all his acts in the army a matter of religion." "He is one of the few men in this war," Garfield declared to Hinsdale, "who enters upon all his duties with a deeply devout religious feeling--and looks to God as the disposer of the victory."⁷⁶

After a few weeks with Rosecrans, Garfield began the practice of occasionally attending mass with his commander. Some of his Disciple friends expressed their concern over this news and worried that he might be unduly influenced by his Catholic colleague. "I don't know but he thought he could proselyte me," Garfield admitted to Rhodes. When he received word that his mother was quite disturbed about the reports of his dalliance in the Catholic religion, Garfield quickly sought to reassure her by writing:

We know no difference in our work from one day to another. General Rosecrans, however, has Catholic service in his room or mine every few days. I sometimes attend and as I can understand the Latin service it is not altogether unmeaning to me. I hope you are not alarmed about my becoming a Catholic. You ought to be glad that I take time to think and talk about religion at all. I have no doubt the Catholics have been greatly slandered.⁷⁷

Following several weeks of such close association, Rosecrans finally offered Garfield a choice between leading a division and serving as chief of staff. It was a crucial decision for Garfield, and he requested time to think it through. He described the options in a series of letters to his closest advisors. Garfield's heart had been set on achieving martial glory in battle, and there was some question as to whether much glory was to be had in a staff post. Some of his friends warned him that he might forfeit all chance for distinction by hiding behind a desk. But Garfield's study of Frederick had led him to respect the chief of staff. "Were the staff organization here what it is in Europe." he reminded Rhodes, "that would be the most important and desirable position next to the Commanding General himself." Once again he was torn by indecision.⁷⁸

Although Garfield was sorely tempted by the staff offer, he had some misgivings about hitching his military future to Rosecrans' star. The relations between the War Department and Rosecrans were not the best, and too close an association with "Old Rosy" could be a liability. "By

taking that position," Garfield wrote to Rhodes, "I should make a large investment in General Rosecrans, and will it be wise to risk so much stock in that market?" But in the end he overcame his doubts and accepted the responsibility for chief of staff. "Though I may not make as much reputation as I could in another place," he reasoned, "yet I can exercise more influence on the army and more fully impress my views and policy on its administration."⁷⁹

Garfield had definite ideas about how the war should be fought, and he saw his new position as an opportunity to put these ideas into practice. Since he planned to remain in uniform only until Congress convened, he was eager to see Rosecrans' army participating in bold strikes against the enemy. Garfield was an advocate of total war, and he urged his strategic concepts on Rosecrans. "It may be a philosophical question whether 11,000,000 of people can be subdued," he conceded, but he insisted, "this is the thing to be done before there can be union and peace." Garfield summed up his strategy in a letter to Fuller:

One thing is settled in my mind: direct blows at the rebel army--bloody fighting--is all that can end the rebellion. In European wars, if you capture the chief city of a nation, you have substantially captured the nation. The army that holds London, Paris, Vienna, or Berlin, holds England, France, Austria, or Prussia. Not so in this war. The rebels have no city, the capture of which will overthrow their power. If we take Richmond, the rebel government can be put on wheels and trundled away into the interior, with all its archives, in two days. Hence our real objective point is not any place or district, but the rebel

army wherever we find it. We must crush and pulverize them, and then all places and territories fall into our hands as a consequence.

It was Garfield's hope that "before many days we shall join in a death-grapple with Bragg and Johnston." "Nothing but hard blows that will break their armies and pulverize them can destroy the Confederacy," he wrote to Chase. "I am, therefore, for striking, striking, and striking again till we do break them."⁸⁰

It is ironic that these letters were written from Murfreesboro, the heart of Middle Tennessee, and the center of Disciples pacifism. Beech Grove, the village where Fanning and Lipscomb penned their plea for conscientious objector status for Tennessee Disciples, was in the next county less than twenty miles away. During this stay in Murfreesboro, Garfield wrote to his mother:

The principal church in this place is owned by the Disciples. It is a very large, fine building, and there was before the war a flourishing congregation; but the minister was a rebel and is now a chaplain in the rebel army and the church is scattered. . . . There were a great many Disciples in this country but you would hardly know that there was any such thing as religion on Sunday.⁸¹

Although Garfield was probably not aware of it, there was a solid core of Disciple pacifists all around him. Even as Garfield dreamed of crushing and pulverizing the rebel army, Fanning and Lipscomb were nearby preaching that Christians should stay aloof from the worldly struggle.

With such aggressive views on how the war should be

fought, Garfield could not help but be disappointed over the army's prolonged idleness at Murfreesboro. Rosecrans would not move against the enemy without reinforcements, and he besieged the War Department with requests for more soldiers, food, medicine, revolvers, and horses. Garfield became increasingly frustrated with the long delay. His exasperation over the situation coincided with the rise of Copperhead sentiment in the North, particularly in his own state of Ohio. The rumblings in Ohio came to the fore in May with the arrest of former Congressman, Clement Vallandigham, a constant critic of Lincoln and the war. A military commission sentenced him to imprisonment, but Lincoln commuted the sentence and banished him to the Confederacy. Garfield took pleasure in personally escorting Vallandigham across the Union lines at Murfreesboro.⁸²

Therefore, when Garfield learned from Hinsdale that there was increasing peace sentiment among the students at Hiram, he responded bitterly:

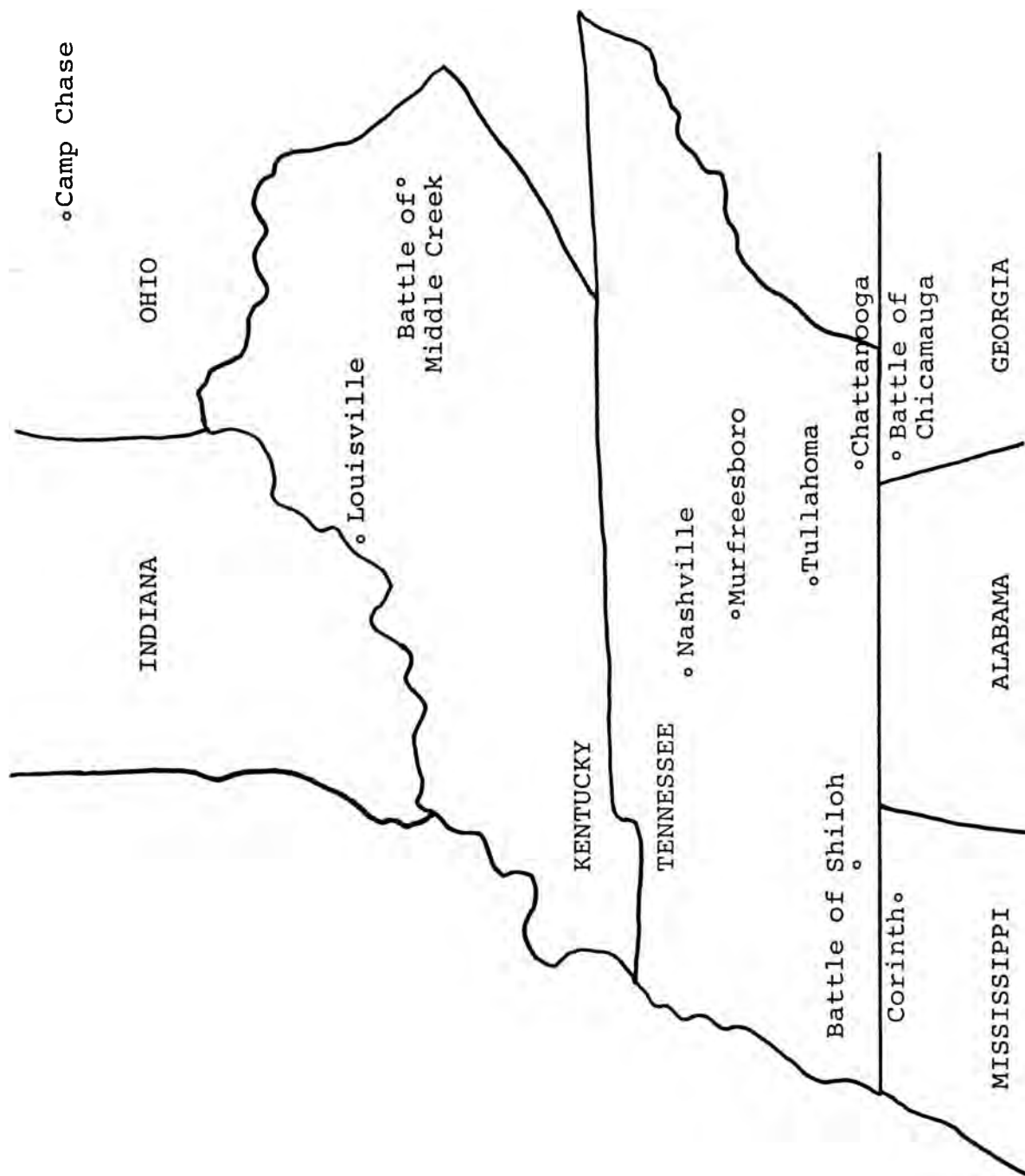
Tell all those Copperhead students for me that were I there in charge of the school I would not only dishonorably dismiss them from the school, but if they remained in the place and persisted in their cowardly treason, I would apply to General Bernside to enforce General Order No. 38 in their cases. . . . It is a grievous and shameful wrong to the memory of all our brave boys who are dying . . . to have these misguided ones at home permitted to spew out their silly treason at Hiram . . .

Garfield's angry letter had its desired effect. Two weeks later he wrote to Rhodes: "I am glad you have struck the

Copperhead students from the rolls."⁸³

During the month of June, Garfield drafted plans for an immediate advance on the Confederate base at Tullahoma. When Rosecrans asked for the written opinion of fourteen of his generals on the advisability of such an offensive, they all expressed opposition to the plan. However, Garfield's arguments were so convincing that Rosecrans opted in favor of the advance, and the Tullahoma campaign turned out to be a complete success. General Braxton Bragg's Confederate troops were forced to retreat to Chattanooga. On the same July 4 that saw the defeat of Lee's army at Gettysburg and the surrender of Vicksburg to Grant, Rosecrans was able to report that the Union army was now in control of the entire region north of the Tennessee River.⁸⁴

Garfield was satisfied with his behind-the-scenes role in the well-conceived and brilliantly executed campaign. "I believe my army life has been as free from self-seeking and pride as any part of my whole life," he wrote home. "I am doing a work here for which I shall never get a tithe of the credit that others will. Let it pass. I am glad to help save the republic."⁸⁵ But Garfield looked upon the Tullahoma campaign as only a partial victory. He could not be content until the main object of his strategy --Bragg's army--had been crushed. He urged Rosecrans to follow up his success with a bold advance on Chattanooga.



James A. Garfield's Civil War Activities 1862-1863

After a delay of six weeks, Rosecrans finally renewed his offensive. On September 10 his army occupied Chattanooga, as Bragg pulled back to await reinforcements. By daybreak of September 19, the two armies were face to face across a creek in Georgia called Chicamauga.⁸⁶

The battle for which Garfield longed was imminent, and he was confident of victory. "Thank God that the forces concentrating on both sides are being concentrated for a final struggle," he wrote. "It will, I believe, be the finishing great blow."⁸⁷ The "Battle of Chicamauga" raged for two terrible days. The first day's fighting, although fierce and relentless, was a contest in which neither side gained any decisive advantage. On the second day, however, the Confederates broke through and routed the Union right and center. In the chaos that followed, Rosecrans and Garfield were swept off the battlefield in a torrent of horses, soldiers, and wagons.

As Rosecrans and Garfield retreated northward, they could still hear the sounds of battle coming from General George Thomas' position on the left wing. Convinced that the battle was not yet lost, Garfield begged permission to go to Thomas and ascertain the true situation. Rosecrans gave his consent, and Garfield made a dashing ride across Missionary Ridge to reach the beleaguered Thomas. In later years the ride was embellished into a heroic tale by some

imaginative biographers. But, as Allan Peskin writes:

Whatever did happen on that famous ride, its practical results were negligible. Thomas was perfectly capable of holding firm without Garfield's assistance. Garfield had really undertaken the ride for his own private satisfaction. By leaving Rosecrans, he had disassociated himself from the taint of defeat.⁸⁸

In the following days, the various remnants of the Army of the Cumberland were reunited in Chattanooga. For Garfield, it was an exceedingly painful time. His plans for pulverizing the rebel army had failed, and he was no longer comfortable in his close association with Rosecrans. It was clear that Rosecrans would be the scapegoat for the tragic rout at Chickamauga, and Garfield had no stomach for sharing the blame with him. Now desirous of returning to Washington to take his seat in Congress, Garfield asked to be relieved from his duties as chief of staff. Rosecrans graciously complied with these wishes and sent Garfield off with a glowing commendation. Four days after Garfield left for Washington, Rosecrans was relieved of command.⁸⁹

Garfield's hasty departure from Chattanooga marked the end of his military career. He was soon promoted to the rank of major general of volunteers in recognition of "gallant and meritorious services" rendered at Chickamauga. It was generally believed that this reward was due largely to his heroic ride across Missionary Ridge. On December 7, 1863, Garfield took his seat in the Thirty-eighth Congress. He was assigned a place on the Military Affairs Committee,

then the most important in Congress. In his first week as a Congressman, he wrote to Mark Hopkins:

I have resigned my place in the army and have taken my seat in Congress. I did this with regret, for I had hoped not to leave the field till every insurgent state had returned to its allegiance. But the President told me he dared not risk a single vote in the House and he needed men in Congress who were practically acquainted with the wants of the army. I did not feel it right to consult my own preference in such a case.⁹⁰

The war had treated Garfield well. He referred to it as "this wonderful chapter of American history," and he regarded it as the great adventure of his life. "We have all frequently heard of the horrors of war," he said after entering Congress, "but we have not so often thought of the horrors of peace. Bad as war may be, greater evils sometimes emerge from a long peace. The nation's life becomes stagnant . . ." He acknowledged that war had its tragedy. "But there is one advantage of this war that is evident," he insisted. "The young men of the present day never saw or read of a time as grand as this. They never had such opportunities of doing great and noble actions."⁹¹

Garfield had done an effective job of subordinating "all things to political advancement." His military record enhanced his political career, and, as Peskin noted, "when he ran for President in 1880, his supporters would devote more attention to his ride at Chicamauga than to his less spectacular congressional service."⁹²

CHAPTER SIX

"THE FAILURE OF THE STANDARD"

The failure of the Standard to meet the expectations of its founders and friends is most humiliating. It seems to be utterly lacking in courage, in freshness and force.

-- Garfield to Pinkerton, December 28, 1868

One of the best ways to trace the course of Disciples history is to study the editors and periodicals of the movement. A familiar saying among the Disciples from the time of William T. Moore, preacher and historian, has been: "The Disciples of Christ do not have bishops, they have editors." At the turn of the century, Moore wrote:

. . . there can be no doubt about the fact that, from the beginning of the movement to the present time, the chief authority in regard to all important questions has been the Disciples press.

Another historian of the movement, Winfred Ernest Garrison, explained: "In the absence of any general organization . . . the publication of periodicals was the chief means of developing and directing the common mind." More recently, Alfred T. DeGroot characterized the Disciples as ". . . a people who had always been guided more by its editors than by its ecclesiastics or its scholars."¹

In the first generation of the movement, Alexander Campbell was quick to see the value of the press for the dissemination of his views. Although individual Disciples produced over one hundred periodicals between 1823 and 1860,

it was Campbell's Millennial Harbinger that dominated the church.² The Harbinger became, by the force of Campbell's personality and the range of its circulation, the normative paper among Disciples. When Garfield was converted in 1850, the Harbinger was still in its prime. Soon after his conversion Garfield paid for a subscription to this paper, and it helped to shape his thinking on the Disciples reformation. Garfield revered Campbell as the prince of religious reformers, and he frequently relied on Campbell's writings in the Harbinger to buttress religious discussions.³

Although historians have generally maintained that the Harbinger retained its leadership and dominance until the death of Campbell in 1866, it is nevertheless true that beginning in the decade of the 1850's some new periodicals occasionally challenged its authority. Among the Disciples papers launched in the 1850's were: North-Western Christian Magazine (1854-1858); the Christian Luminary (1858-1863); the Gospel Advocate (1855-1861); and the American Christian Review (1856-1887). A fifth journal, the Christian Record (1843-1866), had its origin in the 1840's but didn't reach a position of significant influence until the late 1850's. The editor of the first two periodicals, John Boggs, was an ardent abolitionist, and his journals became the only major abolitionist papers published among Disciples. Tolbert Fanning was the strong personality behind the Nashville-based

Gospel Advocate, and his periodical quickly became a leading voice for southern Disciples. Benjamin Franklin and Elijah Goodwin were the editors respectively of the Review and the Record.

On January 1, 1856, the first issue of the Review came off the press. For two years Franklin published this paper as a monthly, but on January 5, 1858, the first issue of the new weekly Review was sent out to the church. This newspaper-size journal was the first weekly in the history of the Disciples movement, and it met with an enthusiastic reception. Within three years, on the eve of the Civil War, it had become the most influential periodical in the church. Although Franklin was thoroughly conservative in temperament and rustic in style, his powerful Cincinnati weekly appealed to the majority of Disciples who resided in the Ohio River heartland of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky. Franklin was known to be a pacifist, and his readers appreciated his outspoken neutrality and his firm commitment to peace.

Prior to the war, tremendous abolitionist pressure built up against Franklin from many of his old friends and associates.⁴ Although Franklin admitted that the whole war question was a "difficult one,"⁵ he steadfastly refused to publish any articles in the Review that were even remotely partisan. This policy enraged the Northern war advocates within the church, but Franklin vigorously maintained this

ensorship throughout the war years. He was convinced that the issues of slavery and secession were matters of opinion, and, as such, had no place in the pages of a church paper.

The neutralist forces in the church were strengthened in 1861 when two Missouri preachers, John R. Howard and David T. Wright, began publication of a new paper called the Christian Pioneer. This journal followed the lead of the Harbinger and Review in urging Disciples to remain neutral on the great political question of the day. In September, 1861, the Pioneer reported that "every paper published and recognized by our brethren, both North and South, have come out, and are now coming out, in even stronger terms than we have, against Christians going to war." Howard and Wright believed that "almost every preacher we have of any note" was with them "as a unit on this question." They listed the names of twenty-three outstanding Disciples preachers whom they thought to be firm neutrals.⁶

The stubborn neutrality of the Harbinger, Review, and Pioneer, increased the influence of Elijah Goodwin's Christian Record. By the fall of 1861 the Record, published in the hotbed of Disciples abolitionism and prowar sentiment, Indianapolis, had given tacit approval to the war.⁷ When the Disciples gathered in Cincinnati in October, 1861, for the thirteenth annual convention of the American Christian Missionary Society, the specter of periodical affiliation

was apparent. The statement in the Pioneer that every Disciples preacher "of note" was taking a neutral position had been reprinted by the Cincinnati daily press on the eve of the convention. The publicity had infuriated Garfield and the war advocates. One of Garfield's colleagues later wrote that it was "such unwarranted statements" as the one in the Pioneer, which led to the Disciples "being assailed in the press," that had prompted a loyalty resolution to be introduced at the 1861 convention.⁸

As described earlier, it was Garfield's speech at the convention that insured passage of the controversial measure and further polarized the Disciples. Soon after the convention closed, the Pioneer received a letter from one of the preachers whom it had listed as opposed to the war. It was signed "One of the Men" and was apparently written by Isaac Errett or Silas Shepherd. The writer attacked the Pioneer's statement that every Disciples preacher "of note" had taken an antiwar position, and he cited himself and Garfield as specific exceptions. He went on to claim that "several of those whom you mention are positively misrepresented."⁹

By 1862 Elijah Goodwin's Christian Record had become a weekly. This was intended to counteract the influence of Franklin's Review, and to give the Unionists in the church an equal voice. The new Weekly Christian Record bristled with militant articles from war sympathizers. Garfield's

chaplain, J. Harrison Jones, became the Record's regular "Army Correspondent," and he contributed frequent reports on the war activities of Garfield and the Forty-second Ohio Regiment.¹⁰ The Record soon began to wage war on Franklin's outspoken neutrality. In one issue, Goodwin wrote:

Now, who can be neutral on this awful subject, while this tremendous struggle is in progress? . . . The man who will not define his position and let his contemporaries know where he stands, is justly suspected by every true patriot, and should be watched; for he that is not for us is against us. It is impossible for any man, in these trying times, to be neutral in fact. He may talk neutrality, but in his heart, he sympathizes with the rebellion.¹¹

Despite such assaults, the strong neutralist element in the church remained in control of the American Christian Missionary Society through 1862. The annual convention in October, 1862, managed to avoid public hostilities on the sensitive and controversial question of loyalty resolutions. Franklin was elated with this achievement, and he wrote:

It is a grand triumph for Christianity at such a time as this, for the people of God to meet . . . and attend to the things of the kingdom of God . . . in such kindness, love, and harmony, and at the same time keeping the terrible issues of the world out.¹²

But support for the loyalty resolutions had not diminished. According to Elijah Goodwin, the war sympathizers were just exercising Christian patience. Goodwin's post-convention report revealed that many of the preachers at the meeting felt that such resolutions ought to be passed, but "for the sake of peace the matter was not pressed."¹³

However, as the year of 1863 progressed it became increasingly apparent that the war advocates were losing their patience. While Garfield was engaged in organizing the Tullahoma campaign in the summer of 1863, his friends back home were pushing through a series of strongly-worded loyalty resolutions at the annual convention of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society. This significant action was taken in spite of the presence of Alexander Campbell and Benjamin Franklin at the meeting.¹⁴ By the time the annual meeting of the American Christian Missionary Society opened in October, 1863, the prowar Disciples were determined that they would have their way.

Stringent loyalty resolutions were quickly introduced at the national convention, and the neutralists responded with cries of protest. Isaac Errett, who was presiding at the session, insisted that the resolutions were in order and refused to dismiss them. When the resolutions were finally voted on by the convention, they were resoundingly passed.¹⁵ The neutralists had been routed, and the war advocates were in complete control of the missionary society. Immediately after the convention, Franklin informed the readers of the Review: "We do not feel as full of hope for the Society as we have done on some former occasions."¹⁶ J. W. McGarvey, the influential Kentucky preacher, was far more caustic in his criticism of the action of the convention. He wrote:

"I have judged the American Christian Missionary Society, and have decided for myself, that it should now cease to exist."¹⁷ But to Garfield, returning home from his heroics at Chicamauga, the news from Cincinnati was a sweet vindication of his speech two years earlier.

By the close of 1863 the Northern war sympathizers had won control of the missionary society, but they had yet to establish a paper that could effectively compete with the broad circulation and powerful appeal of the American Christian Review. The Weekly Christian Record had simply been unable to make inroads into the Review's constituency. In the Unionist camp there was a growing determination to launch a new prestige weekly to challenge the neutrality of the Review. For over two years several Unionist preachers, including Isaac Errett, D. Pat Henderson, Silas Shepherd, and William Baxter, had been exploring the possibilities of "the publication of a weekly sheet for the advocacy of Truth."¹⁸ In December, 1863, Baxter wrote to Errett:

Is it not, my dear Brother, a most mournful reflection, that we have not a paper which reflects either, the mind, or the heart of our people, and that were any one 20 years hence, to examine files of our publications, he would not be able to determine from them that a war was in progress, a war too, affecting nearly every family in the land. Look, at Lard's Review for instance, the table of contents would indicate a time of profoundest quiet. He excludes all "political articles" but political now, includes all that was formerly meant, by loyal, sympathetic, humane. Brother Shepard, Loos, Graham, and many others feel deeply, the necessity of a paper suited to the times.¹⁹

In 1864 a wealthy Disciple in Corry, Pennsylvania, G. W. N. Yost, entered the picture. Two Disciple preachers, John F. Rowe and J. Harrison Jones (Garfield's chaplain), persuaded Yost of the need for a new prestige weekly among Disciples, and suggested Isaac Errett as the ideal man to edit such a journal. Yost agreed to help finance the venture, and Rowe and Jones wrote to Errett to encourage him to accept the editorship. Errett was not ready to commit himself to the project, but a correspondence ensued which kept the idea alive.²⁰

In May of 1865 the idea of establishing a new paper gained momentum at the annual convention of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society which met in Ashland. During the convention Garfield was involved in a private conference of selected individuals who were brought together to discuss the project. Garfield was placed on a committee that was appointed to investigate the feasibility of such an enterprise.²¹ Throughout the summer and fall of 1865, Garfield took the lead in seeking financial backing for the project, and in this connection he made the valuable acquaintance of the wealthy Phillips brothers of New Castle, Pennsylvania. These four brothers, all devoted Disciples, had recently "struck oil," and they were receptive to financing a new quality periodical for Disciples.²² On December 11, 1865, Garfield wrote to Hinsdale: "I have made arrangements to

have a meeting of the Phillips and Errett and some others about Xmas at Cleveland to see if we can organize a company and establish the paper we talked of."²³

Just prior to Garfield's Cleveland meeting, fourteen men assembled at the palatial home of Thomas W. Phillips in New Castle, Pennsylvania, to lay the groundwork for the new publishing venture. This meeting, which was later called "an event of importance to . . . the whole brotherhood" by Disciples historian Henry Shaw, took place on December 22, 1865.²⁴ The meeting was organized by electing Dr. John P. Robison as chairman and W. J. Ford as secretary. Thomas W. Phillips then offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, First, that the present aspect of affairs, in connection with the religious interests of the "current Reformation," requires the aid of a new religious weekly newspaper.

Resolved, Second, that in order the more securely and successfully to effect the establishment and support of such a weekly, a joint stock company should be formed to raise the means necessary, and to direct the conduct of the same.²⁵

The resolutions were discussed separately and passed by a unanimous vote. But when the question of the location of the paper came up, there was divided opinion. New York, Cincinnati, and Cleveland were all suggested and vigorously supported. Garfield wanted the publication based in his own back yard, and he encouraged the suggestion of Cleveland. When the matter finally came to a vote, Cleveland was the choice of the majority. Garfield was appointed to

a committee to obtain a charter and necessary papers for the organization of the company, and the meeting was adjourned to meet in Cleveland four days later.²⁶

On December 26 the meeting was held in Cleveland, and this time a joint stock company was formed and given the name of "The Christian Publishing Association." The capital stock was placed at one hundred thousand dollars, and each share was to sell for ten dollars. Garfield and J. H. Rhodes were made a committee on stock subscriptions, and W. J. Ford was elected solicitor. In response to a motion by J. Harrison Jones, Isaac Errett was unanimously elected editor. Garfield enthusiastically invested six hundred dollars in the stock of the new company, and on January 2, 1866, a charter was granted with Garfield and six others named as directors.²⁷

The first meeting of the directors was on February 14, 1866, at which time it was decided to name the paper the Christian Standard. An offer was made to purchase the subscription list of Elijah Goodwin's Weekly Christian Record with its two thousand subscribers, and Goodwin, tired of trying to compete with the American Christian Review, willingly sold out. Garfield secured the appointment of Burke Hinsdale as assistant editor, with responsibility for the political and economic content of the Standard and for the review of books.²⁸

One of the often debated questions in Disciples history has been the one centered on the true motive for the origin of the Christian Standard. One of the founders of the paper, W. J. Ford, revealed that "some of the leaders of the Reformation" felt "that a religious journal should be published . . . with good literary taste."²⁹ Confirming this motive, one historian has written that Garfield wanted to establish a paper which would try to "strike back to the intellectual level of the Campbells and keep the Disciples abreast of the changes taking place in social conditions and in religious and secular thought."³⁰ But this worthy desire to establish a journal of great literary and intellectual strength was certainly not the only factor, and it might not have even been the major factor. Unquestionably the sectional motive was very fundamental in the founding of the Standard, as was the intense desire to "counteract the influence" of Benjamin Franklin.³¹

One historian declares that Franklin was "the most popular preacher in the church" during these years,³² and a contemporary of Franklin confirms that immediately after the war years it was the editor of the Review who "spoke the oracles for the movement."³³ A fellow editor who had no reason to exaggerate the influence of the Review, wrote after Franklin's death: "The Review, in those days, was regarded as the paper among us, by most brethren, and no doubt

its patronage far exceeded all the rest."³⁴ A bastion of conservatism, the Review was christened "The Old Reliable" by those who agreed with its editorial stand. But to the opponents of the paper, Franklin was the "Editorial Pope" who shackled the Disciples with an "earth-born spirit" and set himself against everything that was progressive. "The great truth for whose defense the Disciples are set," wrote the biographer of Isaac Errett, "demanded a wiser, sweeter, better advocacy--an advocacy that should exhibit the apostolic spirit as well as the apostolic letter."³⁵ Thus, the birth of the Christian Standard.

Late in the nineteenth century, when the origin of the Standard was again a topic of interest, David Lipscomb gave additional evidence to support the view that the paper was started to support sectional interests. He reported a conversation he had with Errett shortly after the founding of the Standard:

He told me that the Standard was started because Franklin refused to let the loyal brethren express themselves in the Review on the duty of Christians to support the government in its war upon the rebellion, its duty to punish traitors, and to express themselves on the infamy of slavery. Franklin had opposed the action of the convention, refused to let them discuss what they believed right on these subjects, and they were determined to have a paper in which they could express themselves freely in favor of sustaining the government, on the infamy of slavery.³⁶

Although Lipscomb was not an admirer of Errett, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his report.

Early in February, 1866, the Weekly Christian Record published its valedictory and warmly commended the forthcoming Christian Standard and its talented editor. In this last issue the "prospectus" for the Standard was published. Because it reflects much of the thinking and influence of Garfield, it is repeated here in full:

The Standard proposes--

1. A bold and vigorous advocacy of Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament, without respect to party, creed or an established theological system.

2. A plea for the union of all who acknowledge the supreme authority of the Lord Jesus, on the apostolic basis of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism."

3. Particular regard to practical religion in all the broad interests of piety and humanity. Missionary and educational enterprises, and every worthy form of active benevolence, will receive attention. While the Standard is designed to be pre-eminently a religious paper, it will freely discuss the moral and religious aspects of the leading questions of the day, in literature, education, moral and political science, commerce--in short, all that bears seriously on duty and destiny.

4. A Christian literature, involving a review of books and such discussions of literature, science and art as may serve to excite inquiry and promote the intelligence and taste of its readers.

5. A faithful record of important religious movements in the old world and the new. While it is intended to make the Standard an organ of the interests and movements of the brotherhood of Disciples, it will not fail to present such a view of the teachings and proceedings of all denominations and benevolent societies as will keep its readers posted in all the important affairs of the religious world.

6. Such a summary of political, commercial, and general intelligence as is suitable for a family paper.

Scriptural in aim, catholic in spirit, bold and uncompromising, but courteous in tone, the Standard will seek to rally the hosts of spiritual Israel around the Bible for the defense of truly Christian interests against the assumption of popery, the mischiefs of sectarianism, the sophistries of infidelity, and the pride and corruptions of the world.³⁷

In January, 1866, the Gospel Advocate, which had been issued as a monthly before the war, resumed publication as a weekly under the editorship of the aging Tolbert Fanning and young David Lipscomb. The editors wasted no time in denouncing the wartime activities of the Disciples in the North: "Those brethren who believe that political resolutions are the Gospel can do so; and those who desire to contribute to such an object can do so; we cannot do it."³⁸ Lipscomb did not deny the sectional appeal of the new Nashville weekly, and he wrote candidly:

The fact that we had not a single paper known to us that Southern people could read without having their feelings wounded by political insinuations and slurs, had more to do with calling the Advocate into existence than all other circumstances combined.³⁹

The Tennessee editors took issue with those northern Disciples who had been "full of the bitterness of the war" and had "hardly thought of religion for years, save as they could use it to promote the war feeling."⁴⁰

When Lipscomb refused to publish the "prospectus" of the Christian Standard in the pages of the Advocate, it was an ominous sign of what the Standard would be up against in the South. Lipscomb had two reasons for not encouraging a wide circulation for the Standard. In the first place, the new journal would be a supporter of the missionary society, and secondly, it would be too favorable to Christians participating in political affairs. Garfield was aware of the

sectional overtones in the Disciples brotherhood, and he was a strong defender of the intended direction and purpose of the Standard. Shortly before the first issue appeared, he wrote to Hinsdale:

I am greatly rejoiced that Bro. Errett has seen the essential wickedness of rebellion as manifested in Kentucky. We must have no soft side for it in the Standard. Bro. E. has asked me to write an editorial for the first number and I shall, if I can possibly get the time, write one on the moral and religious aspect of our great national contest.⁴¹

When the first issue of the Christian Standard came off the press on April 7, 1866, it bore the motto "Set Up a Standard--Publish and Conceal Not," and the masthead had a sketch of scales in which the Bible outweighed "creeds," "councils," "fathers," and "isms." Alexander Campbell's death had occurred in the previous month, and the front page of the Standard was appropriately devoted to a memorial of "The Sage of Bethany." The death of Campbell closed the chapter on the first generation of Disciples history and removed the last unifying factor in the national body of Disciples. In the vacuum created by Campbell's death, a new generation of editors competed for the loyalty of the Disciples brotherhood. Henry Shaw was of the opinion that from the beginning of the Standard "it was apparent that the mantle of brotherhood leadership had fallen on another editor, Isaac Errett." In commenting on the significance of the origin of the Standard, Shaw wrote: "The year 1866

witnessed the actual transfer of the center of the Disciples movement to Ohio."⁴²

Garfield's schedule did not permit him to write the requested editorial for the first issue, but he read this issue carefully and expressed satisfaction with its content. However, Garfield was concerned that the periodical not be limited to the literalistic nuances of the Disciples tradition, and he was worried that the editors might limit their audience by the use of Disciples phraseology. In a letter to Hinsdale he expressed this concern candidly:

Yours of the 7th is received--also the first number of the Standard which is gotten up in very good shape. I have read your book notices carefully and they do you credit and add materially to the value of the paper. Your review of Renan is strong and manly. . . . I hope you will not adopt the habit of calling everybody brother in the Standard. It does no good and is rather repulsive to the general reader.⁴³

Hinsdale shared this concern with Errett and then reported back to Garfield: "Neither have I 'Brothered' anybody, nor do I intend to. Errett thinks as you and I do about the custom."⁴⁴

But the custom of calling everyone "brother" was not the only thing that concerned Garfield. When Hinsdale gave warm notices to other Disciple periodicals in his column, Garfield complained: "Did all those small and sickly papers deserve quite so good notices as you gave them?" And when he saw the sketch of the scales on the masthead, he was dismayed and asked Hinsdale: "Doesn't the woodcut at the head

of the paper have rather an apothecary look? I should think a more elegant design could be found. But why have any?"⁴⁵ Despite these initial disappointments, six weeks after the first issue had appeared Garfield wrote enthusiastically to Hinsdale: "I am glad to see it is constantly improving both in appearance and power. I am surprized that it is not more quoted and noticed in the secular journals."⁴⁶

At this period the enterprise looked very promising. Garfield had brought together a unique coalition of liberal and moderate Disciples who were deeply dissatisfied with the policy of the American Christian Review and who had the capital and the enthusiasm to support a progressive publishing house. The Christian Publishing Association was not only issuing the Christian Standard, but was prepared to publish books, tracts, and a variety of other printed materials for the Disciples brotherhood. The original stockholders were so optimistic about their venture, they passed a resolution that "when thirty-five thousand dollars shall have been subscribed, the balance may be divided among the paid-up stockholders."⁴⁷

The founders of the Standard were confident that the editor they had selected would be perfectly fitted to lead a progressive journal. Garfield was certainly pleased with Errett in the beginning, and the fact that he had secured the assistant editorship for Hinsdale more than doubled his

confidence in the leadership of the Standard. When Hinsdale proposed moving to Cleveland in April, 1866, in order to accept the pastorate of the Franklin Circle congregation, Garfield wrote encouragingly that if "by going to Cleveland you can give more brain and time to the Standard and become a chief, perhaps the chief power in it, it would be best to go."⁴⁸ Hinsdale followed this advice, and for the next two years he immersed himself in work at the upstairs office of the Standard at 99 Bank Street.

From its beginning, the Standard tried to cultivate a broader culture among the Disciples by exhibiting a wide range of subjects and departments. In addition to regular columns on church news and Biblical discussions, there were columns devoted to scientific, literary, educational, and political articles. Hinsdale's biographer emphasizes the intellectual strength of the first years of the Standard, and then gives the credit to the assistant editor:

The Hinsdale articles clearly surpassed those of any other contributor (including the editor's) for downright intellectual force. They were compact, terse, factual, and discriminating in the massing and interpreting of facts. His style was rough in places and his writing had an abrupt quality, carried over perhaps from his speech. But it was vigorous and muscular prose. In fact, Hinsdale's contributions are the only part of the pages of the early Standard that one can read today with interest little less than that of a century ago.⁴⁹

For the Disciples movement 1866 was a pivotal year. In addition to the death of Campbell, the founding of the

Christian Standard, and the renewal of the Gospel Advocate, it was also the year that Benjamin Franklin announced in the American Christian Review that he could no longer support the missionary society. This dealt a staggering blow to the society and precipitated a bitter debate among the Disciples in the North. For denouncing the society as an unscriptural organization, Franklin was welcomed into the opposition camp by the Gospel Advocate. This development placed the Standard in the unique and lonely position of being the only weekly paper supporting the society in the years just after the war. The founders of the Standard expected Errett to take up the gauntlet and wage war on the "old fogyism" and "anti-progressionism" of the Review and Advocate, and he did not disappoint them.

During the first two years of the Standard-Advocate debate it looked for awhile as though the Disciples might renew the Civil War after the rest of the nation had ceased fighting. In its inaugural issue the Standard rejoiced in the emancipation of four million slaves and the overthrow of a sinful system.⁵⁰ In the same month the Advocate compared the action of the Standard and the supporters of the society to that of Pontius Pilate.⁵¹ When a Disciple from Georgia inquired of the Standard how a Christian man could engage in war, Errett responded angrily:

Our brethren in the North who stood by the Government in the dark and bloody years of rebellion are but

little indebted to our journals for vindication. Our soldiers were engaged in a war of necessity. The nation was assailed and the red hand of rebellion uplifted. . . . War is among the ordinations of Jehovah. It has not only been permitted, but commanded by him.⁵²

In an editorial entitled "The Church of Christ and World Powers," Lipscomb argued that the two institutions, the Christian and the worldly, were necessarily separate and distinct and could form no alliances. Therefore, when the society had backed political government, it too has become political.⁵³ Errett admitted that the slavery issue was "a political question," but he insisted that Christians could not avoid involvement in such issues. "To our mind, there is no more pernicious idea prevailing in religious society," declared the editor of the Standard, "than this of isolating religion from the affairs of every-day life, and imprisoning it in the sanctuary as a thing of doctrine, and rite, and sentiment."⁵⁴

In addition to the Standard-Advocate debate, there was an equally vigorous and often bitter Standard-Review debate. The real clash of ideas in the Disciples movement in the North was to be found in the pages of these two journals which stood opposed on a wide variety of issues. In his study of the Standard-Review debate, Wendell Willis has written: "Sociologically, the Review represented the older, sectarian spirit among Northern Disciples and the Standard represented the emerging denominational outlook."⁵⁵ In a

survey of this period of Disciples history, historian Bill Humble says of the Standard-Review debate:

The first serious clash was over the missionary society, and later the issue was instrumental music. But these were only symptomatic of problems that lay deeper. The Review was conservative in spirit, more Biblical in its approach, and committed to preserving the faith of the past. The Standard was more liberal in tone, admitted many new practices as expedients, and was less hostile to departures from traditional ways.⁵⁶

With conservative and liberal forces rallying around their respective weeklies, the post-war Disciples movement was launched on a period of divisive infighting. Since the organization of missionary societies and the use of instrumental music in Christian worship had no Biblical precedent, the Review and the Advocate waged an energetic campaign to keep these "innovations" out of the church. The Standard not only defended the actions of the society, but when the instrumental music issue escalated after 1866, the Standard threw its support to the trend.

By the time the first issue of the Standard came off the press in April, 1866, its founders boasted of more than three thousand subscribers, but during the remainder of the first year of operation the list failed to increase. As the disappointed editors prepared for the second year, they were keenly aware that the paper was in financial trouble. "The second volume of the Standard begins the first of the year," Hinsdale reminded Garfield. "I am sorry to say that

the prospects--financial--are not encouraging. . . . The list is not increasing for the new year as we had hoped; what is more it is not going to." Then, giving vent to his frustration, Hinsdale explained why the Standard could not succeed:

The paper is too good for the fraternity. They do not, and cannot, appreciate it. Letters come in complaining of the very things that are its excellence. The Disciples, most of them, are far down in intelligence and appreciation. The consequence is that there is no public for the Standard large enough to support it; and it will never be on a firm self-supporting basis until it has in a large measure created its own public. This is, of course, upon the supposition that it continue to be as creditable as it is now.⁵⁷

Hinsdale's last line left open the possibility that Errett might choose to take the Standard in another direction--one less "creditabile" in Hinsdale's estimation--but one more favorable to the intellectual level of the majority of Disciples. Garfield was in reluctant agreement with Hinsdale's appraisal of the situation, and he replied: "I am a careful reader of the Standard, and am ready to say that if our people don't want it it is because they are unworthy of a good paper."⁵⁸

Although the Standard lost money in its first year, the stockholders voted to continue the publication for a second year. The journal experienced some mild growth in circulation during the second year, but it was still unable to pay its bills. When W. J. Ford reported to Garfield in August, 1867, it was to say that unless both stockholders

and subscribers increased "the Standard will be embalmed and buried."⁵⁹ Several of the stockholders met together in Cleveland two weeks later. "The prospect is gloomy in the extreme," Hinsdale informed Garfield. "The Phillips Bros. agreed to pay the rest of their stock as called for, and it was decided to make a vigorous effort to raise subscribers."⁶⁰ A few days later, Hinsdale briefed Garfield on a disturbing new direction in fund-raising. He wrote: "Errett is going to the Ky. meeting to see if anything can be done in the way of getting any support financially."⁶¹

In response to these developments, Garfield made the recommendation to Hinsdale that the Christian Standard and Hiram College should unite "to make a fight for a liberal Christianity." By this time Garfield was an influential member of the Board of Trustees of Hiram College, and his confidence in the progress of the Disciples movement was vested equally in the Standard and the college. His suggestion that Errett and Hinsdale move the paper to Hiram and join with the college in leading the Disciples toward "a liberal Christianity" seemed altogether logical. But Hinsdale dashed those hopes when he replied:

You speak of the Standard and Hiram joining for us to make a fight for a liberal Christianity. Errett has no very warm side for Hiram. . . . In addition to this, he is as fearful of the liberal tendencies of the time as he is of the conservative. He has, too, an affection for things that sound. Bethany, Lexington, . . . are more sounding names than any we have. This may be unjust, but I fear it is not.⁶²

Hinsdale's sketch of Errett was deft, and it proved to be prophetic. It is clear that Hinsdale, who was much closer to the situation than Garfield, was far more aware of Errett's emerging moderation. Garfield was optimistic that a Standard-Hiram union could lead the Disciples away from the Bethany-Lexington axis that had dominated the movement since its inception. But Errett knew that Bethany and Lexington were still centers of power in the church, and he was determined to keep the Standard in this mainstream. Garfield was no doubt stunned by Hinsdale's candid opinion that Errett was fearful of the "liberal tendencies" in the church, and the realization that Errett would not be willing to be a catalyst for a Standard-Hiram merger must have been an extreme disappointment. But Garfield and Hinsdale continued to hold out hope for the Standard. In December, 1867, an optimistic Hinsdale reported to Garfield:

The Standard men met on Saturday to deliberate on the interests of that journal. The feeling of the meeting was good. The Standard is to live another year, and the place of publication is to remain unchanged. There is reason to hope that by that time a self-sustaining point will be reached.⁶³

But in this same letter, Hinsdale told his trusted advisor that "after a pointed sermon yesterday I handed in my resignation." Hinsdale was fearful that his failure at the Disciples church in Cleveland might even endanger his position on the Standard. His anxiety over the future was evident when he concluded: "This is not the place for me to

preach, not the kind of mind for me to rub against. And, pray, where in the Disciple Brotherhood is that kind of mind to be found?" Two weeks later he was still worried about his position with the Standard, and he pleaded with Garfield, "If you come to Cleveland, talk over my status with Errett."⁶⁴

When Garfield wrote to Hinsdale on New Year's Eve, it was to offer a new suggestion. "I have thought of a larger place for you on the Standard," he wrote encouragingly. "If you were a good penman and could do some office drudgery on the books and give the rest of your time to the paper editorially it might make you a pleasant field--and dispense with Sloan."⁶⁵ R. R. Sloan, a prominent Disciple preacher and Corresponding Secretary of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society, had been an employee of the Standard since its beginning, but Garfield was willing to sacrifice him if it meant keeping Hinsdale's position on the Standard secure.

Garfield's recommendation was pleasing to Hinsdale. If his work on the paper could have been a full-time job, it would have satisfied him well, for at that point in his life it was his chief interest. But Garfield's plan was never presented to Errett. In a sudden decision in January, 1868, due to the continuing deficit, the stockholders voted to discontinue publication of the Christian Standard. They

willingly gave the paper, with its assets and liabilities, to Isaac Errett. Errett decided to continue the paper on his own. In his next correspondence with Garfield, Hinsdale wrote: "You have heard, I presume, of the proposition to make the Standard over to Errett. What do you think of it? My own opinion is that he will make it go."⁶⁶

In this same letter, Hinsdale spoke candidly of his future. He had concluded that he was "not well adapted to the pastoral field," and he had decided to give his life to teaching. He was influenced in this decision by a project that began to take shape in January, 1868. A former member of the Hiram Board of Trustees, A. B. Way, was organizing a new college in Alliance, Ohio, and he had persuaded Errett to accept the presidency. There was a place on the faculty for Hinsdale if he wanted it, and it would mean a continued association with the Standard. Errett confided to Hinsdale that the Alliance board was composed of "men of enterprise, influence and money," who were "making it go," and Hinsdale accepted the invitation to join the faculty.⁶⁷

Garfield was disappointed in the whole scheme right from the beginning. Alliance was a scant thirty miles from Hiram, and there was considerable doubt about whether the Disciples in the area could support two colleges. "I was surprized to know of the new movement which takes you and Errett and the Standard to Alliance," Garfield admitted to

Hinsdale, "and I should not be entirely frank if I did not say I regard it an unwise move all around."⁶⁸ But despite Garfield's protestations, the Christian Standard and its editors moved to Alliance in the summer of 1868.

Now that Isaac Errett had independent control over the Standard, and was no longer answerable to stockholders, he began to show signs of the moderation that Hinsdale had predicted. In late 1867 Errett had written: "We have no desire to see the old issues re-opened, and still less to see them discussed with the old rancor and bitterness."⁶⁹ By the summer of 1868, he was openly trying to conciliate David Lipscomb and to dispel charges that he was using the Standard to preach "partisan politics." As 1868 came to a close, Errett was even advising preachers to shun entanglements in political affairs. It was clear that the Standard was becoming the voice of moderation within the Disciples movement. But in the process, Errett was alienating many of the original supporters of the paper.

In the fall of 1868, Dr. Lewis L. Pinkerton and John Shackelford issued the prospectus for a new periodical to be called the Independent Monthly. It was scheduled to begin in January, 1869, and according to its prospectus, one of the purposes was to launch a protest "against a fierce sectarianism and intolerant dogmatism" which had developed among the Disciples.⁷⁰ Garfield was well acquainted with

Pinkerton. They had first met at the stormy convention of the American Christian Missionary Society in October, 1861, when they had worked together in pushing through a loyalty resolution. Pinkerton was well known for his avid Unionism and theological liberalism--qualities which endeared him to Garfield. But these same qualities had caused him trouble among the Disciples in his home state of Kentucky, and had prompted him to establish the Independent Monthly.

In late November, 1868, Garfield received a copy of the prospectus and the following note from Pinkerton:

I send you a prospectus which will explain itself. We have hesitated for two years, and now weigh anchor and give our sails to the breeze. Can you write us a short article for No. 1? . . . You could, if you chose, put it in the form of a letter to the "Editors," and in a free and easy way give your views on any subject within the scope and intent of our prospectus. You see, dear General, how unbounded my confidence in you is by the presumptuous way in which I write to you.

We shall have hard work to get out into the open sea--the headlands jut in very close together--moral cowardice on the right, and partisan bigotry on the left, leaving for us a very narrow strait.⁷¹

Garfield was thoroughly satisfied with the prospectus. It came to him at a time when he had nearly lost all hope that the Standard would be the kind of journal he had envisioned three years earlier. He now looked with renewed optimism to Pinkerton and the forthcoming Independent Monthly.

In the next month, Garfield sent a rousing letter of encouragement to the embattled Pinkerton. It was in this letter that he revealed his true feelings about the journal

he had labored so hard to establish. He sadly confided: "The failure of the Standard to meet the expectations of its founders and friends is most humiliating. It seems to be utterly lacking in courage, in freshness and force."⁷² Pinkerton was in total agreement, and in the months ahead he became a severe critic of the Standard. The Independent Monthly would never have been started, declared Pinkerton, "had the Christian Standard met the warranted and reasonable expectations of its founders and first patrons."⁷³

Meanwhile, in Alliance it was becoming evident that Garfield was right in his pessimism concerning the college. Errett soon lost heart and announced that he would leave at the end of the school year to take the pastorate of a church in Cincinnati. The Standard, of course, would move to Cincinnati with him. Hinsdale decided to leave Alliance when Errett did, and this time he looked to Garfield for advice. Through Garfield's influence, the Hiram Board of Trustees offered Hinsdale a Professorship of History, English Literature, and Political Science, and he accepted at once. As Errett and the Standard were leaving for their new home in Cincinnati, Hinsdale was returning to Hiram.

On July 31, 1869, without a break in the day of publication, the first issue of the Standard to be published in Cincinnati came off the press. Within three weeks there was a change announced in the position of assistant editor.

Hinsdale's new responsibilities at Hiram College made his resignation a necessity, and Errett chose a preacher from Georgia to replace him. James S. Lamar, a Bethany graduate, was Errett's choice for the job. This significant change officially marked the end of the close Garfield-Hinsdale involvement with the fortunes of the Christian Standard. Like Hinsdale, Garfield retained his friendship with both the paper and the editor, but it was a friendship colored with regret and disappointment.

In his very first article in the Standard, the new assistant editor (and future biographer of Isaac Errett) praised the "eminently sound, moderate and wise" way in which the periodical had been dealing with issues in the church. Lamar made it clear that he was in agreement with Errett's moderate course when he wrote:

The Standard is set for the defense of the gospel. It has ever been sound in the faith--an earnest pleader for apostolic doctrine, ordinances and order . . . In my opinion, the church has never needed its wise counsels, its calm and discriminative judgment, and its clear and masterly statements of doctrine and of differences more than now.⁷⁴

With a southerner in the assistant editor's chair, the new direction of the Standard was assured. But a disenchanted Garfield had already transferred his allegiance to the outspoken Independent Monthly. He now looked to the militant Dr. Lewis L. Pinkerton to provide the necessary leadership for the liberals in the church.⁷⁵

CHAPTER SEVEN

"THIS NEW AND BETTER MOVEMENT"

I told the Doctor (Pinkerton) that the whole North and North West were ready to receive him and be led by him in this new and better movement, and it seemed to me an unutterable shame for him to stay in Kentucky with the narrow minded Campbellism around him.

-- Garfield to Hinsdale, December 19, 1871

When thirty-two year old James A. Garfield returned to Washington in December, 1863, he was a man on the move. Within the space of five years he had been successively a college president, state senator of Ohio, major general in the army, and representative-elect to the United States Congress. Garfield's new congressional career continued uninterrupted until the autumn of 1880 when he was elected twentieth President of the United States. By all accounts, Garfield was one of the hardest working and most effective legislators of his day, and one who was widely admired for his intellectual strength. A recent article in American Heritage characterized him as "probably the best-read man in Congress."¹ A biographer noted: "More than most men of his day, he was a lover of books, with an eager curiosity and wide sympathy for many different types of ideas."²

Although Garfield possessed a greater grasp of men and affairs than did most of his fellow Disciples, he was careful to maintain a close association with the Disciples movement throughout his lifetime. "Had James A. Garfield

chosen a religious rather than a political career," wrote Henry Shaw, "he would have probably ranked next to Campbell as a leader in the movement."³ But despite his political career, or maybe because of it, Garfield still exercised a significant leadership among the Disciples. He was always eager to use his intelligence and skill to help shape the course of the rapidly expanding movement.

Almost exclusively a rural church before the Civil War, the Disciples were rapidly urbanized in the post-war years. During the seventeen years that Garfield served in the Congress, the Disciples enjoyed a continuing expansion which thrust them into a place of numerical respectability. The number of Disciples in Ohio increased from less than 25,000 in 1863 to more than 45,000 by 1880.⁴ Their growth in numbers in the cities threw them into contact with the economic and intellectual forces of the day, and made them receptive to a freer and more progressive Christianity.

As Garfield wrestled with the larger issues of current thought, he constantly sought to broaden the outlook of his brethren. His desire for a prestige weekly of high literary quality led to the establishment of the Christian Standard, and he gave generously of his time and money in an effort to increase its circulation among Disciples. In an attempt to enlarge the intellectual horizons of his people, Garfield accepted a position on the Board of Trustees

of both Hiram College and Bethany College. In this capacity, he worked diligently to improve the academic standards of these institutions.

Although a number of explanations could be given for Garfield's continuing commitment to the Disciples movement, it is not unfair to suggest that he clearly perceived that his political future was integrally tied to the Disciples. In the years after the war there was an obvious reciprocal nature to the Garfield-Disciples kinship. In this mutually satisfying relationship, Garfield was aided by his Disciple friends on the Western Reserve in the building of a strong political base (he won eleven consecutive elections there), and they in turn shared in the prestige and influence of his expanding career.

From the time Garfield first set foot in Congress, many of his fellow Disciples were eagerly anticipating his political climb. As early as 1865, on a train coming out of Chicago, Thomas W. Phillips was persuading Garfield to believe that he could one day be elected President of the United States. A skeptical Garfield replied: "There are forty million people in the United States. Therefore the chances would be greatly against any one man." But the undaunted Phillips countered by insisting: "You are not to be reckoned with millions. There are less than a hundred possibilities."⁵ Surrounded by such optimistic supporters

as Austin, Robison, Rhodes, Hinsdale, Ford and Phillips, Garfield had no intention of dissolving his political base in the Disciples of Christ.

However, this did not mean that Garfield appreciated everything about the Disciples movement. He was distressed over the conservative element in the church who were only interested in contending "for the faith once delivered to the saints." The conservatives saw the New Testament as a blueprint, providing detailed instructions for matters of "faith, practice and discipline." They were oriented to an emphasis on a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, and they required a "thus saith the Lord" for the work and worship of the church. Garfield, with his growing openness to the new scientific outlook of the times, advocated a more progressive religion for Disciples. He longed for a fluid religious movement of free inquiry and bold experimentation in the Christian life.⁶

For some time, Garfield had felt a need for better ministerial education among Disciples. The preparation for ministry in the Disciples of Christ was often informal and erratic, and preachers were not stimulated to keep abreast of the advanced thinkers of the time. Garfield insisted that preachers, like doctors and lawyers, ought to have an opportunity for professional preparation. His views were presented before the Hiram Board of Trustees at a meeting

on June 20, 1865. As a result, the board proposed to add to the institution "a Theological Department, distinct from the Literary, in which regular classes would be formed and direct instruction given to those who designed to enter the ministry." The board appointed a committee consisting of Garfield, Austin and Robison, to work out the details for the establishment of the new department.⁷

By the end of the year, the committee announced that it had organized a course of lectures to be provided "free to preachers and students of the Bible desiring to perfect themselves in the ministry of the Word." The course would begin on June 4, 1866, and continue for a period of fifteen weeks at the Hiram campus. Isaac Errett had agreed to head the new department, and Robert Milligan, Henry T. Anderson, David S. Burnet, and Burke A. Hinsdale, had been chosen as his associates.⁸ The Phillips brothers had offered to bear the expenses of the course.

The announcement was well received in the Disciples brotherhood, and the summer course was a success in every way. The class of fifty-five preachers who enrolled in the course were enthusiastic in their praise of the instruction. Lectures were given on the inspiration and interpretation of the Scriptures, historical and critical study of the Old Testament, critical and exegetical analysis of the New Testament, the principles of interpretation as applied to the

Greek New Testament, sacred rhetoric, the preparation and delivery of sermons, and the history of Christianity. The Hinsdale lectures on church history brought so much praise, that Garfield was moved to write: "I hear from all quarters the best accounts of your lectures at Hiram. You have conquered a place among the Theologues."⁹

The summer course of theological lectures created so much favorable comment that at a meeting of the Hiram Board of Trustees on August 14, 1866, the following resolution by Garfield was adopted:

Resolved, That the experiment of a Course of Biblical Lectures, inaugurated by the Board of Trustees, and now in progress, has proved eminently successful, and should be maintained as a permanent means of fitting young men for the Ministry of the Gospel.¹⁰

It was agreed that the theological course should be offered again the following summer, and plans were immediately set in motion for an expanded program the next year.

The Hiram theological department added Dr. Lewis L. Pinkerton to its faculty for the summer course of 1867, and once again the program received an enthusiastic reception from Disciple preachers on the Western Reserve. But this was destined to be the final summer of Hiram's "experiment" in the training of ministers. The distrust of theological seminaries was deeply ingrained in Disciples tradition, and there were many who were vigorously opposed to the concept of a "Theological Department" in Hiram. Over thirty years

later, the historian of Hiram College explained:

Many were in favor of the new department, but more were against it. Daily Bible instruction has been kept up during fifty years of the life of the Institution, but nothing like the modern Theological Seminary, or Theological Department, has ever gained a foothold in Hiram.¹¹

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees on February 20, 1867, W. J. Ford offered a resolution to the effect that the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute should take on the status of a college and be known as Hiram College. When this was unanimously adopted, there was no one more excited and hopeful than Garfield. He was asked to give the featured speech at the public ceremonies announcing the opening of the new college, and he responded with a bold statement of his own personal ideal of a college education. In this address he took issue with the educational policies then prevalent in the nation's colleges. He deplored a "purely disciplinary" curriculum that was limited to academic excursions in literary, metaphysical and religious thought. Garfield insisted that the purpose of education should be the training of men and women for citizenship in a changing and expanding scientific, commercial, industrial and political world. He summarized his ideal by declaring:

In brief, the student should study himself, his relations to society, to nature, and to art--and above all, in all and through all these, he should study the relation of himself, society, nature and art, to God, the Author of them all.¹²

In this same address, Garfield took advantage of the

opportunity to present his views on ministerial preparation. In addition to their training in Biblical and theological subjects, Garfield encouraged ministers to keep abreast of the current thinking of the day and "be, not only a learner, but a teacher of its science, its literature, and its criticism." He warned preachers about the dangers of a religion characterized by disputation. "The men and women of today know but little, and care less," Garfield cautioned, "about the thousand abstract questions of polemic theology which puzzled the heads and wearied the hearts of our Puritan fathers and mothers." He promised that a "minister will make, and deserves to make, a miserable failure, who attempts to feed hungry hearts on the dead dogmas of the past."¹³

Through Garfield's influence, Dr. Lewis L. Pinkerton was invited to become the first president of the new Hiram College, but he declined.¹⁴ When the college did not prosper during its first year, Garfield renewed his efforts to persuade Pinkerton to lead the school. "The institution is so related to my life and its history so entwined around my heart," he confided to Pinkerton, "that the thought of its breaking down gives me keen pain."¹⁵ When Pinkerton still hesitated, Garfield turned his attention to Burke Hinsdale. He arranged for Hinsdale to join the Hiram faculty for the school year of 1869-70, and he was primarily responsible for Hinsdale being named "permanent president" of Hiram College

on July 1, 1870. As a result of this action by the board, Garfield was drawn even closer to the college.¹⁶

During his congressional years, Garfield maintained an active relationship with the Disciple church in Washington. When he had been reunited with this congregation in 1863, they were meeting for worship in the City Hall. It was there that he was first introduced to Jeremiah Sullivan Black, the former Attorney General and Secretary of State.¹⁷ Garfield was also pleased to find that the congregation now included four other Disciple Congressmen. They were: J. F. Benjamin of Missouri, and W. H. Randall, B. C. Ritter, and Samuel McKee of Kentucky. On May 15, 1866, these five Congressmen endorsed a plan to raise funds for the construction of a national Disciple church in Washington. Garfield gave one hundred dollars to the effort.¹⁸

In 1867, a prominent Disciple preacher named D. Pat Henderson was in Washington for several months as an agent for the Christian Standard. He had been a great organizer of city churches in Chicago, St. Louis, and Louisville; and he instilled new life into the church in Washington. Upon his departure, he encouraged the church to employ Henry T. Anderson as their preacher. Garfield and Black persuaded President Andrew Johnson to give Anderson a government job "by which he could pay his own salary while he preached the good old gospel." Garfield spoke humorously of this tactic

as "a conspiracy to get the ancient Gospel preached in the City of Washington, according to the principles of the people known as Disciples." Johnson found the government job, and Anderson arrived in 1868.¹⁹

However, Garfield soon tired of Anderson's constant emphasis on "first principles" and the "Disciples plea" to the religious world. One Sunday afternoon he poured out his frustration in a letter to Hinsdale:

Wearied with the perpetual iteration of the doctrinal points of Bro. A.--and the intolerable denominational bigotry, arrogance and egotism, with which he puts forth the formal parts of "our plea," I went this morning to hear a Swedenborgian & am glad I did so. The cheerful, spiritual view of life and love and duty to which he urged his hearers was in harmony with the beautiful freshness of this spring morning--and my heart is made glad & happy more than any study of "the rule of three" could have made it.²⁰

Three months later, in reply to a question about his religious affiliation, Garfield revealed his lessening interest in "doctrinal points" when he wrote:

In answer to your inquiry I have to say that I am a member of the Disciple Church, sometimes called "Campbellites," though we acknowledge no other name than Christians or Disciples of Christ. . . . I try not to be a religious partisan and I call all men my brethren who acknowledge and follow Christ as the Son of God and the savior of men.²¹

The campaign to raise funds for a national church in Washington had netted twenty-five thousand dollars by 1869, and in that year the Disciples bought a meetinghouse from the Methodists on "M" Street. Garfield was as excited as the rest of the congregation when Isaac Errett preached the

dedicatory sermon on June 29, 1869. Two years later, the congregation purchased lots on Vermont Avenue and proceeded to move their meetinghouse to that more desirable location. From that time on the congregation came to be known as the Vermont Avenue Christian Church.²²

Othniel A. Bartholomew, a graduate of North Western Christian University in Indianapolis, was called to succeed Henry T. Anderson in 1869. A history of the congregation notes that "the church thrived" during his ministry of four years, but Garfield was not completely satisfied. In November, 1873, Garfield recorded in his Journal:

Attended church in the forenoon and evening. The Church was informed of the resignation of Bartholomew the Pastor, to take effect at the end of the month. This is well for the Church. He was a business man, a good man to look after the members, but a most inefficient preacher.²³

Garfield was actually happier the following two years when the church was without a regular minister. Among the visiting preachers who filled the Vermont Avenue pulpit during those years were: C. L. Loos, F. M. Green, W. K. Pendleton, and Burke Hinsdale.²⁴

It was unusual for Garfield to be absent from Sunday services at Vermont Avenue, and when he did have to miss he noted it in his Journal. "Find myself quite unwell from the heat and overwork of the week," he wrote on August 3, 1873. "It is rarely that I stay at home from church, but I did so today." Concerning his motivation for such faithful church

attendance, he wrote: "I do not always go because I prefer to for my own sake, but because I think a man should maintain the habit partly for his own sake and partly for the sake of others." Garfield's involvement in the life of the Washington church was quite varied. He would occasionally speak to the congregation or preside at the communion service, and for a time he taught a Bible class in the Sunday School. He even arranged for Congressmen and other Washington dignitaries to speak at various church functions.²⁵

In the post-war years, Garfield remained a popular speaker at various Disciple gatherings. Although he never again preached in protracted meetings, he often addressed Disciples at their Sunday School conventions and at social meetings. Whenever possible, he was in attendance at the conventions of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society which were held annually during the fourth week in May. At the 1869 convention in Alliance, he delivered a major address on "The Importance of Home Missions." He was also present at the 1871 convention which met in Dayton. That year the Disciples were visited by a delegation from the Ohio Baptist Convention who were exploring rapprochement with Disciples. Isaac Errett, the president of the convention, appointed a select committee consisting of Garfield, Dr. John P. Robison and W. T. Moore, to consider the overture from the Baptists and make appropriate recommendations.²⁶

Garfield's faithfulness to the Disciples did not prevent him from attending other churches on special occasions. While he supported the Disciple churches in Washington and Hiram, his frequent travels afforded him an opportunity to hear some of the most famous preachers of the day. On his trip to Europe in the summer of 1867, Garfield thrilled to the preaching of Charles Spurgeon at London's Metropolitan Tabernacle. He said of Spurgeon:

He evidently proceeds upon the assumption that the Bible, all the Bible, in its very words, phrases and sentences is the word of God, and that a microscopic examination of it will reveal ever opening beauties and blessings. All the while he impresses you with that, and also with the living fulness and abundance of his faith in the presence of God, and the personal accountability of all men to Him. An unusual fulness of belief in these respects seems to me to lie at the foundation of his power.

Garfield also expressed an admiration for Spurgeon's "ability to hold on with great tenacity and pursue with great persistency any line of thought he chooses."²⁷

Henry Ward Beecher, the celebrated minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn, was long one of Garfield's favorite preachers. On a visit to this church in November, 1866, Garfield heard Beecher deliver "a very searching and powerfully analytic discourse" on love. "The secret of Beecher's great power," he concluded, "is a finely disciplined metaphysical intellect united to a large and sympathetic heart and all moved by earnest and honest conviction." On a return visit to New York in December, 1871,

Garfield heard Beecher again. "I think I never heard him exhibit so much largeness of soul and sweetness of spirit," he reported to Hinsdale, "as in his sermon yesterday on 'The Uses of Suffering.'"²⁸

On August 24, 1874, Theodore Tilton, a member of the Plymouth Congregational Church, sued Beecher for \$100,000, charging him with adultery with Mrs. Tilton. But Garfield refused to believe the charges:

I have read the mass of horrible stuff in reference to the Beecher-Tilton Scandal, which is so agitating the country. I can understand how terribly Beecher is suffering under the savage assault of private malice and public opinion. Though the attack of Tilton is formidable, and adroitly put, yet it has not shaken my confidence in Beecher.

The sensational six-month trial attracted the attention of the nation, and even Garfield was drawn to New York to see the court proceedings for himself. He was pleased to find that Beecher was "the perfect master" of the situation. "It was clear to my mind that he was carrying his audience with him," Garfield noted, "and was making a very favorable impression on the court." At the close of the trial the jury was unable to agree on a verdict, but to Garfield's way of thinking, Beecher had been "handsomely vindicated."²⁹

On two occasions, in 1872 and 1875, Garfield visited with the famed Mormon prophet, Brigham Young, in Utah. During the second visit he attended the Sunday services at the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, where, in the presence

of 8,000 Mormons, he heard Young preach. "In accordance with my request," he wrote, "a lengthy sermon was preached on the Historical Basis of Mormonism by the Prophet. He is a clear and powerful reasoner and is manifestly an intellectual leader among his people."³⁰ Although Garfield was not impressed with Mormonism, his willingness to examine it was typical of his openness towards the religious currents of the day.

Dwight L. Moody, a lay preacher, and Ira D. Sankey, a gospel singer, became the best known evangelistic team of the post-war period. After two years of evangelistic meetings in Great Britian, they returned home in August, 1875, to find themselves famous in America. In December of that year, Garfield was part of an audience of 10,000 who heard them in Philadelphia. He wrote of the event:

I was very greatly impressed by the meeting. The singing of Sankey is very effective. Moody seems to me to be very far from a great thinker or great speaker, but there is a wonderful directness and earnestness in all he says. He drives straight towards his object without delay and reaches the hearts and wills of people to a wonderful degree. This phenomenon is remarkable in many ways, but in none more than this: It shows by contrast the powerlessness of modern theological training, as compared with a direct address to hearts and consciences of men.³¹

Two months later, Garfield had even greater praise for the preaching of James Freeman Clarke, the Unitarian clergyman of Boston. "I have not been so much instructed by a sermon in a long time," he declared. "It was so free from cant and

hypercriticism, and was full of instruction." Clarke had preached on the challenging text: "The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive."³²

Notwithstanding his admiration for many of the great denominational preachers of the day, Garfield retained warm and affectionate feelings for his people. "It is due to a man's life and soul that he stand by his past as long as he can reasonably approve it," he wrote in the summer of 1873, "and for this reason as well as others I am glad to stand by the old memories of the Disciples." Garfield's loyalty was expressed again in 1874, when, after hearing a Disciple named J. N. Austin preach, he commented: "He is bitten with Episcopacy and will probably leave our church." But he had little patience with the exclusivism that was often manifested in Disciple pulpits. After being treated to a "screed on the sects" one Sunday, Garfield responded angrily: "I am utterly wearied of this everlasting attack on other churches that has long disgraced our people and is productive of no good."³³

Garfield's Journal is replete with notations about the Disciple preachers he heard. He nearly always expressed approval for the preaching of Hinsdale, Errett, and Pinkerton, but he was sharply critical of many others. "Went to church and listened to a sermon from Mr. Cutler of Va., a vehement revivalist," he wrote on one such occasion, "who

thinks to drive people into the church by sharp logic." On another Sunday he endured "a dry and sapless sermon on the most verbal and legalistic order." Following one lackluster performance, Garfield moaned:

Went to church, where, Burke having surrendered the pulpit to another for the day, I was tortured by the feeblest little preacher it has been my misfortune to hear for many months. . . . The sermon was not a landscape, not even so diversified as a prairie. It was a flat foggy bog, in which the preacher was too feeble even to flounder.

However, Garfield soon learned how to use such occasions to better advantage. To avoid listening to "a very stupid sermon" one morning, he "translated the Fifth Ode, Book First of Horace." Once, when the sermon was "not very awakening," he spent the time "inventing a combination cipher."³⁴

One Disciple that Garfield had enormous respect for was the outspoken Dr. L. L. Pinkerton. Until his death in 1875, Pinkerton was the central figure in the theological debates between liberal and moderate Disciples. "If candor is a cardinal virtue," notes one historian, "Dr. L. L. Pinkerton achieved sainthood."³⁵ Pinkerton was never reticent about questioning accepted patterns of thought and practice among Disciples. "It is probably true," concluded another historian, "that he was the first Disciple to challenge the prevalent notion that the important task of the church is to reproduce an authorized pattern of doctrine, organization, and worship."³⁶ Along with Pinkerton, David Edwin Harrell

includes Garfield and Hinsdale in his sketch on the "first Biblical liberals" among Disciples.³⁷

In 1869 two significant Disciple journals had their beginning. Pinkerton began publication of the Independent Monthly, which was both antirebel and theologically liberal, and Moses Lard, J. W. McGarvey and three others founded the Apostolic Times, which was intended to support the moderate course. Pinkerton lost no time in attacking the Times for its attempt "to give social, political and ecclesiastical triumph to treason."³⁸ Garfield was delighted with Pinkerton's attack, and wrote the fiery editor:

I am reading your slashing articles on the Apostolic Times, and your Ky. people generally, with the keenest relish. Lard and McGarvey . . . ignore you do they? . . . Shoot away. Your quiver is full.³⁹

Pinkerton followed with a series of articles that advocated "open" membership in Disciple churches, but the attack of the Independent Monthly was short-lived. After two embattled years, the journal was forced to suspend publication due to lack of support.⁴⁰

The feud between Pinkerton and the editors of the Apostolic Times reached a peak in 1871. Through Garfield's influence, Pinkerton had earlier been given an appointment by the American Christian Missionary Society as a missionary to the freedmen in Kentucky.⁴¹ This appointment had never been appreciated by the editors of the Times, and by spring of 1871 the situation in Kentucky was tense. In March of

that year, Pinkerton reported to Garfield:

I am "apostle" to the poor negroes--lecturing them on life, and duty, and destiny; aiding them in establishing schools, etc. Incidentally, I am knocking at the foundations of our Ku-klux Christianity, and, unless I mistake, I am doing more for the white people than for the freedmen.⁴²

In the next month Pinkerton and thirteen others left the Main Street Christian Church in Lexington to form a new congregation of Disciples. But within six months, the Main Street Church made official its refusal to recognize this new congregation. On October 22, 1871, with Moses Lard in the chair, the Main Street Church withdrew fellowship from the "seceding parties," which meant that Pinkerton and his associates were "henceforth to be regarded as excommunicated and without status in the Christian brotherhood." Lard put this action in perspective when he wrote in the Times:

It is feared, however, that some of them had become loose in their religious convictions, and belonged to that class of brethren who can no longer be regarded as perfectly true to the primitive gospel.⁴³

Reeling from this insult, Pinkerton went to Washington to confer with Garfield. "Dr. Pinkerton is here anxious to get some position under the Government in Kentucky, that will enable him to fight Rebels and Campbellites," Garfield informed Hinsdale. "I wish he would come North and cast in his lot with us. But still as he wishes to stay in Kentucky, I shall help him all I can."⁴⁴ Two weeks later, after hearing Pinkerton preach at the Vermont Avenue Church, Garfield

corresponded with Hinsdale again, saying:

I told the Doctor that the whole North and North West were ready to receive him and be led by him in this new and better movement, and it seemed to me an unutterable shame for him to stay in Kentucky with the narrow minded Campbellism around him.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, as Pinkerton was determined to lead the fight in Kentucky, Garfield secured his appointment as a special mail agent in that state.⁴⁶

In a series of articles in the Christian Standard of 1873, Pinkerton continued to agitate the question of "open" membership in Disciple churches. Although Isaac Errett was magnanimous in giving Pinkerton a forum, he personally led the opposition to Pinkerton's view in a series of vigorous rebuttals. Garfield's sympathies were with Pinkerton, and he must have been delighted when the doctor wrote in one of his articles:

The New Testament is not a code of cast-iron laws for trembling slaves; but a rule of life for loving children--not a hole through a granite rock, through which fools and Pharisees are required to crawl on all-fours, but the "King's highway," on which rational beings with free spirits, and with their heads turned toward the stars, are called to walk.⁴⁷

With Pinkerton's death in 1875, the liberals in the church lost their most articulate spokesman. Garfield felt the loss keenly, and he lamented the many "indignities" that had been inflicted on Pinkerton by the "narrow minded Disciples with whom he came in contact."⁴⁸ When John Shackelford announced his intention to publish the memoirs of Pinkerton,

Garfield seized on the opportunity to draft a vindication of Pinkerton's role in the church. In defense of his much abused friend, Garfield wrote:

He could not tolerate that narrowness of spirit which contents itself with texts and forms; which builds up little walls of separation, based on critical niceties of literal interpretation. In his denunciation of that class of religionists, he was severe and unsparing; doubtless, sometimes, unjust. Few men have impressed me so deeply as he did, when, in his sermons, he dwelt upon the grand themes of religion as distinguished from the endless and barren disputes of theology.⁴⁹

Garfield's most trusted friend in the decade of the 1870's was clearly Burke Hinsdale. What Corydon Fuller and James Harrison Rhodes had been earlier, Hinsdale became in the later congressional years. Garfield had great respect for Hinsdale's solid intellectual qualities, and he adopted the practice of submitting every speech to him for judgment. The two men thought alike on most political and religious issues, and Garfield came to value the younger man's shrewd and frank criticisms. "Eventually these criticisms caused the older man to regard the younger, in some respects, as an intellectual mentor," declared Hinsdale's biographer.⁵⁰ Garfield not only engineered the selection of Hinsdale as president of Hiram College, but he persuaded Mark Hopkins to confer an honorary M.A. degree on Hinsdale at the 1871 Williams College Commencement.⁵¹

Garfield encouraged Hinsdale to use the influence of his position as president of a Disciple college to oppose

the Biblical legalism that was emerging in the Disciples movement. When, in the winter of 1871-72, Hinsdale criticized in the pages of the Christian Standard the legalistic mentality of some of the Disciples, it brought a vigorous endorsement from Garfield: "I am glad you wrote it. We have got to have more such before we get through with these small wares of partisan theology." Shortly thereafter, Garfield followed Hinsdale's lead and submitted a critique on "the Disciple dogma of 'Thus saith the Lord,'" for the readers of the Christian Standard.⁵²

With the encouragement of Garfield, Hinsdale authored three religious volumes in the 1870's. The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels (1872) was his attempt to interpret, especially for Disciples, the works of such Biblical scholars as Baur, Tischendorf, Strauss, Renan, and Westcott. The book was dedicated to Garfield, and it had a warm reception in the Disciples brotherhood. It helped to establish Hinsdale's place, and through him the place of the college, as an intellectual leader among the Disciples. The Jewish Christian Church (1878) and Ecclesiastical Tradition (1879) were his other two books. Both of these volumes were meant to be mere units of a "much more ambitious book" which was projected but never completed. After Garfield's death, he turned away from theological writing.⁵³

Upon his return to Hiram in 1869, Hinsdale had agreed

to preach for the Hiram church. Garfield approved of this arrangement, but he was disappointed in the financial agreement. "The church ought to pay you more than five hundred dollars," he told Hinsdale. "Tell them I am a subscriber to that fund in such reasonable amount as I ought to put down, and perhaps more."⁵⁴ When the leaders of the church were still procrastinating two years later about a pay raise for the preacher, Garfield took the initiative of increasing his own yearly contribution in order that the salary might be raised. He challenged the members of the church to follow his example. "I believe the church will be happier and more prosperous," he exhorted the elders, "by doing something in the direction I have suggested."⁵⁵

Garfield continued to be active in the affairs of the Hiram church in the 1870's. The fact that he was in Hiram for several months each year kept him close to the life of the congregation. He occasionally spoke before the church, and he was always a generous giver to its treasury. When the appearance of the meetinghouse was improved in the fall of 1875, Garfield was delighted. He wrote one Sunday:

At half-past ten A.M. went to Burke's, who sent for me to aid him in raising money to pay the balance due for repairs on the church. . . . At 11 A.M. went to the repaired church, which is now one of the neatest and most elegant country churches I know of. . . . Burke preached a fine sermon of dedication. At its close I helped him raise the sum of \$600, enough to pay all the debt on the house and organ. I subscribed 45 Dollars.⁵⁶

When Amos Sutton Hayden's History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve appeared in 1875, it created a new interest in Disciple history. Like many others who were engrossed in the narrative, Garfield wanted more. At the conclusion of one of Hinsdale's sermons, Garfield "offered a resolution requesting the Pastor to prepare and deliver a sermon on the origin and growth of the church in Hiram." When he enforced this resolution with some appropriate remarks, it was eagerly adopted.⁵⁷ Hinsdale not only gave the requested sermon, but it was later published.⁵⁸

Garfield called Hinsdale "one of the best preachers in the whole body" of the church. From his view, Hinsdale generally preached "very good" and "very powerful" sermons. "Attended church and heard a good sermon from Burke," Garfield wrote in an 1873 entry. "He is steadily growing in intellectual strength." In another entry: "Attended church and listened as usual to a good solid sermon from Burke." When, at a Methodist campmeeting in 1876, Garfield was dismayed by the "frantic efforts of their preachers to excite the people," he admitted that he was influenced by Hinsdale. That afternoon he had "read Hinsdale's article on the need of the study of mental and moral science for preachers," and saw how "his thoughts pointed the contrast between calm and serene faith on the one hand and this artificial excitation of the sensibilities on the other."⁵⁹

Another association that remained dear to Garfield was that with the "Quintinkle Club." On a visit to Cleveland in the summer of 1872, Garfield was reunited with the other male members of the club--Errett, Robison and Jones. The following year when they met at Robison's home again, Garfield recorded: "Harry Jones came to the Doctor's for dinner and we had a meeting of the 'Quintinkle'--a pleasant reunion defined by Jones as 'the place where we unwind.'" It was decided to admit Dr. Worthy S. Streater to the club, and later it was agreed that all of the wives should be included. When the club met at the Robison home in September, 1873, Garfield wrote in the Journal: "After an elegant supper we brought up the records of the Society and initiated Crete and Mrs. Streater, and we all signed the Constitution." Following another meeting in August, 1875, Garfield wrote:

We had a long session of the "Quintinkle" in the evening, and reviewed many of the events in our early friendship. It is probably impossible for any of us ever to have another set of friends who shall know so much of each other, and shall reach back in their friendship to the early days of youth and obscurity. We sat up till two hours after midnight, and parted for the night with renewals of old bonds.

Over the years Garfield attracted a devoted company of Western Reserve Disciples to his political organization. It was well known that the Harmon Austin home in Warren was the center of this vibrant fellowship, and the friends of Garfield usually turned to Austin for help in handling the petty but important details of politics in the Nineteenth

District.⁶¹ Without the benefit of mass communications and rapid transportation, Garfield had to rely on his friends back home to take the public pulse on local and national issues. The ultimate success of this local power base was evident in Garfield's record for winning re-election. His rise to political prominence was only possible because he maintained and expanded his home base of power.

The Garfield organization was in no way limited to the Disciples, but there can be no question that Disciples played a significant role. Garfield had early recognized the potential of Hiram College as a political base, and the trustees of the school had always been among his staunchest supporters. When the Hiram board was increased from twelve to twenty-four members in 1872, Garfield's contacts in the Disciple community were likewise expanded. Most of the new additions were prominent business and professional men of Cleveland, and Garfield was understandably pleased with the "new and vigorous materials" on the board.⁶²

In addition to his association with long-term board members like Harmon Austin, Dr. John P. Robison, W. J. Ford, Frederick Williams, and Zeb Rudolph, Garfield was now thrown into close relationship with such Cleveland businessmen as Dr. Worthy S. Streator, Charles B. Lockwood, Andrew J. Marvin, George A. Baker, William Bowler, Oliver Granger Kent, and Abram Teachout. Other valuable political contacts on the

Hiram board included Dr. Andrew J. Squire, Richard M. Hank, Aaron Davis, Henry Hamilton and Amos Coates.⁶³

Garfield also maintained close friendships with many of the Disciple preachers on the Western Reserve. The men in the preaching fraternity had significant influence over their congregations, and they were invaluable in getting out the Disciple vote. Among the Western Reserve preachers who assisted Garfield were Burke A. Hinsdale, J. Harrison Jones, Edmund Wakefield, George H. Darsie, Frank M. Green, John F. Rowe, Dr. I. A. Thayer, Warren Luce Hayden, Silas Shepherd, Charles M. Henry, W. A. Lillie, A. B. Green, W. A. Belding, F. H. Moore, John M. Atwater, R. R. Sloan, Robert Moffett, Amos Sutton Hayden, C. C. Foote and Jabez Hall.⁶⁴

Another Disciple who played a prominent role in the Garfield political organization was Charles E. Henry.⁶⁵ He had been one of Garfield's students at Hiram, and he was a veteran of Garfield's Forty-second Ohio Regiment. Both of these facts were greatly in his favor when he wrote to Garfield in 1869 requesting a government job. Garfield found Henry a position as a railway mail agent on the Ohio-Pennsylvania route of the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad, and Henry in turn promised to serve his patron "in any way I can."⁶⁶ Henry fulfilled this promise by gauging public opinion and by speaking on Garfield's behalf as he traveled through the small communities of northeastern Ohio.

Typical of Henry's role as a troubleshooter was his work in quelling the rumors that circulated about Garfield's new house in Washington. The Cleveland Plain Dealer, in an article entitled "Ohio Congressman Getting Rich," reported that Garfield had spent nearly \$20,000 in the construction of the new house. The article delivered a blunt challenge: "We hope the next time the Reverend Garfield comes home and preaches a sermon to his old congregation, he will enlighten them on this subject."⁶⁷ Garfield immediately sent Henry a letter which contained the necessary financial information to thwart the rumors. "This letter is not to be published," he explained, "but the facts may be used as my friends think best. You meet so many people, that I thought you would be glad to know the facts."⁶⁸

Garfield also depended on Henry for recommendations in matters of patronage. The two areas of patronage that Garfield controlled in his district were the railway postal service and local postmasterships. Congressmen needed men of unusual tact and sensitivity to arbitrate the emotional battles over patronage, since their constituents were often more interested in their local appointments than in their positions on public issues. Henry's wide knowledge of the district and its people uniquely qualified him to serve as a public relations man for Garfield.⁶⁹

In September, 1873, Henry wrote to Garfield asking

about a promotion. He was interested in the better paying position of special agent for the Post Office Department. To assure Garfield that the promotion would be advantageous all the way around, Henry wrote:

I can extend my labors in behalf of the old 42nd having the P.O. address of nearly all, I can gather material for our coming history. . . .

I can report to you more fully of your friends and enemies what are their plans and what they are doing. This has always been and will always be a cheerful duty.

I will be able to look after the interest of Hiram College, a subject I am always interested in, to solicit patronage and substantial support. I gave \$50.00 and am to give fifty more this fall--a thing I could not have done without injustice to my family had it not been for you. With more income, of course, I shall give to Hiram according to my means. . . .70

Garfield approached the Post Master General in person with a request for the appointment, and Henry received word of his promotion before the month was over.⁷¹

Frank H. Mason, a former Hiram student who had been a member of Company A, was compiling the regimental history that Henry made reference to. Garfield and Henry realized the political value of such a work, and they were doing all they could to hasten its publication. Henry urged Garfield to submit a lengthy biographical sketch for the book. "Do not fail to give a full account of yourself at Chicamauga in that hell of fire with Thomas," he implored, "as I wish to forever silence those stay at home powder smellers of Warren. We will have it ready in time for them next year." He reminded Garfield that the political use of the history

was still a matter of "confidence between yourself, Burke and myself."⁷² As it turned out, the volume was delayed and did not appear until the fall of 1876.

Some of the luster of Garfield's political life was tarnished in 1873 when he was named in connection with the Credit Mobilier scandal.⁷³ Although he consistently denied that he had ever accepted stock in the Credit Mobilier Company, the issue was never completely resolved. The scandal was still threatening to engulf Garfield when he began his campaign for re-election in the summer of 1874. But once again his superb organization pulled him through. As early as August 6 he was writing his thank-yous, assuring Hinsdale that he had seen his "sturdy and effective work in the fight which the rascals are making upon me," and concluding: "I do not need to tell you how grateful I am for the work you are doing."⁷⁴ Four days later he wrote to Harmon Austin:

I have not time now to express the very deep and almost painful sense of gratitude I owe to you for the power of your friendship and the great wisdom and ability with which you have managed the contest. For more than a year you have carried me in your heart and thought almost hourly, as few men have carried a friend.⁷⁵

When the governor of Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes, was inaugurated as the new American President in March of 1877, it created a new gubernatorial race in Ohio. The Democrats were rallying around a prominent Disciple from Cincinnati named Richard Moore Bishop. Bishop was one of the elders

of the Eighth and Walnut church who had approached Garfield seventeen years earlier about accepting the pulpit of the Cincinnati church. A wealthy businessman and former mayor of Cincinnati, Bishop was also nationally known among the Disciples having served for a number of years as president of the American Christian Missionary Society. Bishop was especially popular with Ohio Disciples, and he had served as president of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society from 1860 through 1869.⁷⁶

Now the Democrats had nominated Bishop to be their candidate, and his candidacy was having a marked impact on the Disciples in the state. Several Ohio Republicans urged Garfield to oppose Bishop himself, and overnight a movement was started to secure the nomination for Garfield. But the prospect of Garfield running against a fellow Disciple was soon dampened. Austin refused to give his backing to such a movement, and the nomination went in another direction.⁷⁷ Hinsdale reported to Garfield in August:

Pres't Burgess of Ind., whom I met at the Trumbull Co. meeting, fears that Bishop will get a large vote from Republican Campbellites and says this will elect Bishop, if anything. He seemed to have some facts.⁷⁸

When the election was held in November, Bishop was given a majority of 22,000 votes over the Republican candidate. It cannot be determined how the 40,000 Disciples in the state voted, but if 11,000 Republican Disciples switched to Bishop it could have swung the election.⁷⁹

Throughout the decade of the 1870's, Garfield's love for books made him one of the most intellectually inclined public men of his time. He was one of the few congressmen who was really at home in the Library of Congress, and his correspondence with Hinsdale reveals a constant exchange of ideas derived from current books. "Since I wrote you last I have found a book which interests me very much," Garfield wrote in a typical letter. "You may have seen it; if not, I hope you will get it. It is entitled Ten Great Religions by James F. Clarke." Garfield assured his friend that the reading of the book would be worthwhile. "What I have read of it leads me to believe that we have taken too narrow a view of the subject of religion," he noted. "The absolute truths of religion, of course, must be as old as the race, and such books as this of Clarke's widen our horizon and make us more liberal."⁸⁰

After reading Ernest Renan's The Life of Jesus, in which Renan rejects the supernaturalness of Jesus, Garfield remarked: "It is pleasant to read the views of a strong man with whom you disagree. He is sure to give you some valuable thoughts."⁸¹ His openness to new ideas was evident in his reaction to John Bascom's volume on The Philosophy of Religion. Garfield admired the "bold and fearless spirit" with which Bascom attempted to harmonize Biblical theology and evolutionary science.⁸² He was also interested in John

William Draper's A History of the Conflict between Religion and Science, which he called "a powerfully written essay." But Garfield suspected that Draper's generalizations might be "too broad to be altogether safe."⁸³

Garfield's receptiveness to the views of evolution was evident as early as the spring of 1871 when he gave a series of lectures on social science at Hiram College. He later approved of Hinsdale's attempt to apply the doctrine of evolution to the study of theology in the writing of The Jewish Christian Church.⁸⁴ Upon hearing the president of a Disciple college lecture on the doctrine of evolution, Garfield observed: "While the lecturer is a bright man in many ways he has not a scientific mind nor a scientific spirit. Either Huxley or Tyndall would repudiate his statement of their case."⁸⁵ In the autumn of 1878, Garfield talked with his children "half an hour on the origin of the earth, and the development of life." He wanted to give them "such a view as children can understand, and as well give them some largeness of thought." That winter he taught them further about "the current theories of creation."⁸⁶

One cause that Garfield had little sympathy with was the agnosticism championed by Robert Ingersoll. Following an interview with Ingersoll in 1876, Garfield wrote in the Journal: "His wife shares fully his atheistic views . . . I doubt if these views will sustain them when the shadows of

life fall heavily, and deepen into the darkness of death." Three years later, Garfield was in attendance at one of the famous Ingersoll lectures. "It was very brilliant and had many important truths in it," he admitted, "but I think he is the victim of intellectual prejudice against the Christian religion, to a degree that he is entirely unaware of." In the summer of 1879, Garfield was present on the occasion of Ingersoll's address at his brother's funeral. Of this remarkable address, Garfield said simply: "I was deeply impressed with the utter breakdown of atheistical philosophy in the presence of death."⁸⁷

Garfield's religious interest broadened through the years. "It is clear to my mind that the theological and formal part of Christianity has in great measure lost its power over the minds of men," he wrote in 1873. "But the life and Christianity of Christ are to me as precious and perfect as ever." When he had to endure "a very technical discourse on the action of baptism" one Sunday in 1876, he complained: "It seems about as useless and valueless a discussion as could well be had." In correspondence with John Shackelford, the biographer of Lewis L. Pinkerton, Garfield reflected on the changes in his thinking and wrote:

I recognize the fact that my general views of religion have broadened, but I hope they have not weakened my faith in the central doctrines of Christianity. I care less for denominational doctrines, but more for the spirit of Christ.⁸⁸

In the closing years of the decade, Garfield's commitment to the Disciples remained firm. When Frederick D. Power, a young professor from Bethany College, was called to the pulpit of the Vermont Avenue church in the fall of 1875, Garfield expressed his approval.⁸⁹ "The church here seem to be greatly pleased with Prof. Power," he noted in the Journal, "and I am glad they are."⁹⁰ In January, 1878, Garfield was found lecturing to the women's Bible class at Vermont Avenue on "Ancient Ephesus and Recent Discoveries." He then published the lecture in the Christian Standard.⁹¹

Garfield was in attendance at the annual convention of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society which assembled in Cleveland in May, 1877. He presided over the sessions one day, during which time he delivered an eloquent address and guided the convention through a Sunday School conference.⁹² One Sunday in the fall of 1878, while on a stumping tour in the state of Maine, Garfield wrote in his Journal:

At three p.m. went to 62 Gray street, a private residence, where 30 Disciples were met, to break the loaf. It seemed like the days of my very early life. They had no preacher, but each bore a part in mutual encouragement. I spoke two or three minutes, enough to excuse the intrusion of a stranger.⁹³

The welfare of Hiram College continued to be a major interest in Garfield's life. Declining enrollment figures plagued the school for a time, but Garfield still supported the Hinsdale program. When Hinsdale talked of resigning in favor of someone with more "enthusiasm and noise and shiny

talent," Garfield replied that he was "unwilling to believe that it is best to water the intellectual stock of Hiram in order to make it more acceptable to the skim-milk spirit of our times."⁹⁴ They were rewarded when Hiram was one of the fifteen colleges which met the requirements established by the Ohio College Association in 1876. Still, Hinsdale was restless in Hiram. He complained to Garfield: "Our Church has no place to offer where I can accomplish what I am capable of accomplishing." Garfield reluctantly agreed, but he encouraged Hinsdale to stay with the school.⁹⁵

When 1880 dawned, Garfield was still active in the affairs of the Disciples, but he was hardly a champion who upheld the "middle of the road" position, as one historian described him. The moderate consensus which dominated the Disciples in the 1870's probably included three-fourths of the church and most of its national leaders, but it did not include Garfield. He is clearly better represented in the small segment of the church that was sympathetic with the streams of liberal religious thought. Garfield's hope for the future of the Disciples was tied to the "new and better movement" he saw emerging out of the ministries of men like Pinkerton and Hinsdale.⁹⁶

CHAPTER EIGHT

"A RELIGIOUS MAN FOR PRESIDENT"

I have been astonished . . . at the hold that your candidacy took of the religious mind of the country. It has stirred the Disciples with great power . . . "Now we are going to have a religious man for President" is a thought that has swelled in the hearts of thousands of religious men.

-- Hinsdale to Garfield, November 9, 1880

When James A. Garfield arrived in Chicago near the close of May, 1880, for the Republican national convention, he was, as Captain Henry insisted, "the best dark horse."¹ Even before the convention opened, there was evidence that the party was hopelessly divided over its three major candidates--U. S. Grant, James G. Blaine and John Sherman. A deadlocked convention was foreseeable, and a number of men were already actively at work for Garfield's nomination.

On his first Sunday in town, May 30, Garfield sought out his brethren. He worshiped with the South Side Christian Church which met at the corner of Indiana Avenue and 25th Street, and he listened to "a moderate sermon" by the pastor, J. W. Allen. The following Sunday, June 6, came in the midst of the hectic week-long convention, but Garfield once more sought out his brethren to break bread. It was an exceedingly stormy morning, and a cold rain was blowing in from nearby Lake Michigan. Nevertheless, Garfield hailed a carriage and drove over three miles to the meetinghouse of

the First Christian Church. This time he listened to the preaching of his old friend, Otis A. Burgess.²

During the course of the convention, Garfield gave a spontaneous speech that "captured the whole convention" and set off an enthusiastic demonstration. At the peak of this ovation, Garfield spotted a Hiram graduate, and pulling him near, asked: "How many Hiram boys do you think there are in the gallery?"³ In a moment of personal triumph, his first thought was to know how many of the Hiram circle were there to feel pride in his achievement. Throughout the marathon proceedings, there were a growing number of demonstrations for the dark horse from Ohio.⁴

Finally, after thirty-four frustrating roll calls in which none of the major candidates could muster a majority, the movement for Garfield began to gather momentum. Wisconsin was the first state to shift its votes to Garfield, and on the thirty-sixth ballot the nomination was made unanimous in a stampede. While Garfield sat motionless in his chair, thousands of partisans triumphantly chanted his name in an emotion-packed scene no convention has ever rivaled.

After the convention, Garfield immediately returned to Hiram to fulfill a long-standing speaking engagement at Hiram College. The Hiram band in a wagon decorated with flags met his train at Garrettsville, and he was led in a triumphant procession over the three miles back to Hiram.

There he was reunited with his wife in a tearful embrace, and he graciously accepted the plaudits of Hinsdale, Austin and the others. The following day Garfield presided at the special college reunion that was held every five years, and he spoke at the annual commencement exercises.

The news of Garfield's nomination was received with pleasure and surprise in much of the Disciples brotherhood. In the North, the four leading weekly Disciple periodicals were unanimous in their approval of the convention's choice. Perhaps John F. Rowe, the editor of the American Christian Review, summed up the feeling best when he editorialized:

General James A. Garfield, recently nominated by the Chicago Republican Convention for the Presidency of the United States, is a member of the Church of Christ, and has been for about thirty years. . . . besides being a statesman of acknowledged ability, his private life has been pure, and . . . his Christian character is without a stain. . . . We have known Bro. Garfield personally for twenty-five years, and during all that time have known him as an humble Christian . . . The last time we were in Washington city we found him teaching a Bible class in the Sunday-school . . . We have spoken these few words in praise of Bro. Garfield as a Christian citizen . . . because we think our brethren at large feel pleased that so distinguished an honor has been conferred on one of our brethren.⁵

The other editors--Isaac Errett of the Christian Standard; James Harvey Garrison of the Christian; and Barton Warren Johnson of the Evangelist--all wrote encouraging editorials endorsing the Garfield candidacy.⁶

However, there were some in the church, notably from the South, who viewed the Garfield nomination with mounting

alarm. In Texas, C. M. Wilmeth, editor of the Christian Preacher in Dallas, and Thomas R. Burnett, editor of the Christian Messenger in Bonham, were opposed to Garfield's candidacy for both political and personal reasons. Neither of them could conscientiously support the Republican party, and they had never forgiven Garfield for his desire to confiscate the property of the South at the close of the Civil War.⁷ In Nashville, Tennessee, David Lipscomb, editor of the Gospel Advocate, was not really opposed to Garfield for political or personal reasons, but for theological reasons. For over fifteen years, Lipscomb had been teaching in the pages of the Advocate that the Christian should be totally noninvolved in civil government.⁸

Those who opposed Lipscomb in the South had always argued that religion and religious character were needed in the political world. But now with Garfield's nomination, Lipscomb saw an excellent opportunity to reaffirm his convictions on the Christian's relation to civil government. The June 24 issue of the Advocate carried Lipscomb's first volley: "But now, dear brethren of the South who wish to argue for good, pious, religious rulers, what are you going to do about Bro. Garfield? Are you going to vote for him, or will you take up an ungodly Democrat?"⁹ If the readers of the Advocate in the heavily Democratic South were caught off guard by that question, they were stunned a month later

when Lipscomb wrote:

. . . we are satisfied that we know of no man who has gone into politics, who has become so thoroughly identified with the affairs of government, and yet so well retained his Christian character and religious interest as has General Garfield. . . . Every disciple of Christ in the land that believes religion and religious character is needed in the political world . . . is under solemn obligation to vote for Gen. Garfield.¹⁰

Lipscomb took his attack further when he challenged the readers of the Advocate to ask themselves why Thomas R. Burnett would not support Garfield editorially in the pages of the Christian Messenger. "Is it because he thinks more of his politics than his religion?" Lipscomb asked. "Or is it because Garfield is unpopular in Bro. Burnett's section, and if he were to act out his principles, it would cost him a few subscribers . . .?"¹¹ Lipscomb's southern friends begged him to leave the issue alone, and his controversial stand did cost him some subscribers. But he had made his point. "We have had one simple purpose before us," he told his readers in August, "that is, to show those brethren who have insisted that religion is needed in politics and that religious men in high places of government would promote the cause of religion, do not really believe this . . ."¹²

Having established his point, Lipscomb revealed his true feelings about the Garfield nomination by writing:

I now say that I firmly believe that his election would be a source of great corruption and injury to the church of Jesus Christ. I would be glad not on political but purely on religious grounds, to see him

and every other member of a church of Christ who aspires to office, defeated--so badly defeated, too, that it will crush out all hope that any one of them can ever be elected, and so to drive out all thought and aspiration for political office.¹³

When John F. Rowe challenged Lipscomb to a written debate on the subject, he received a swift acceptance. Throughout the autumn of 1880, while the nation was caught up in an exciting presidential campaign, Lipscomb and Rowe were discussing the question, "Can Christians Vote and Hold Office?" The articles of each were carried in both the Advocate and the Review, and they aroused considerable interest.

Another Disciple who could not conscientiously give his support to the Garfield candidacy was Jeremiah Sullivan Black. When Black heard the news of Garfield's nomination, he was torn between old Democratic loyalties and his strong personal friendship with Garfield. But he could not bring himself to vote for the Republican party. "I am sure that if elected you will try your best to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God," he wrote Garfield. "But to a certain extent you are bound to fail, for in our country the leader of a party is like the head of a snake--it can only go as the tail impels it, and your tail will be a very perverse one."¹⁴ When Black was called upon to campaign for the Democratic ticket, he willingly complied. In the heat of the closely contested race, Black took the stump aggressively against Garfield.¹⁵

Despite the absence of support from men like Black and Lipscomb, Garfield was not lacking in devoted workers from within the community of Disciples. Since the Republican National Committee appointed the campaign managers, men like Austin, Henry, Hinsdale, Phillips, Burgess and Robison had no official capacity in the campaign. However, their significant contributions to the Garfield triumph are well documented. In the bellwether states of Ohio, Indiana and New York, the Disciples worked diligently for Garfield.

Soon after the Chicago convention, Captain Henry was dispatched to New York to evaluate the chances of ironing out the split in the state Republican organization--a task that was essential to a successful Garfield campaign. When Garfield urged Hinsdale to devote full-time to the campaign, Austin pulled the necessary strings to release Hinsdale from his responsibilities at Hiram College. Thomas W. Phillips left his oil company in the hands of others and gave all of his time and energy to the canvass.

When Hinsdale conceived of editing a Republican Campaign Text Book, Phillips eagerly gave financial backing to the project. This volume was primarily a life of Garfield, but it included a sound analysis of the main questions which had occupied the public interest since the Civil War. The book was distributed by the thousands to every speaker who took the stump for Garfield. "With that book I feel like a

preacher with his Bible, armed at every point," enthused a Garfield campaign worker.¹⁶

One example of how the Disciples were organized for Garfield is seen in the following statement by one of the Ohio preachers who was recruited for the Indiana canvass:

When Garfield was nominated for President, Indiana was a pivotal political state. It was necessary to carry it to elect the President. Thomas W. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, understood this and sent \$10,000 to O. A. Burgess, of Indianapolis, to use in needed expense in a political educational campaign. Burgess sent one hundred of us ministers into the educational campaign. We took with us the "Campaign Life of Garfield," by B. A. Hinsdale, and distributed copies by the thousands. The result was seen in the state and national elections.¹⁷

Burgess, president of North Western Christian University in Indianapolis, was the most active Disciple in the Indiana canvass. His contribution, according to one account, was "one of the important factors in turning the tide in the state of Indiana" in Garfield's favor.¹⁸

Following completion of the Republican Campaign Text Book, Hinsdale took the stump in Ohio and later in Indiana. In one two-week tour through Indiana he delivered sixteen campaign speeches.¹⁹ When the Indiana Christian Missionary Society convened in August, 1880, Hinsdale, Errett and Burgess were all on hand to endorse the Garfield candidacy.²⁰ Errett saw the Garfield nomination as a great opportunity for Disciples to advertise their unique plea. "This is a good time to buy 'Our Position' by the hundred," he urged

Disciples, "and circulate it freely. It can be had at the office of the Christian Standard at \$3.00 per hundred."²¹

Since Americans in the late nineteenth century felt that office-seeking was beneath the dignity of a candidate for the presidency, Garfield was resigned to carrying out the traditional "front porch" campaign. In the months before the election, he greeted numerous delegations from the front porch of his farmhouse in Mentor, Ohio. Included in the daily crush of well-wishers were many proud Disciples who were ecstatic over the good fortune that had befallen their brother. On one occasion, in the midst of the hectic campaign, Garfield hosted the "Quintinkle Club" for dinner and a pleasant evening of reminiscing. It was agreed that if Garfield won election, the next reunion would be held in the White House.²²

Through the tense months of the campaign, the shrewd Harmon Austin assisted Garfield in a variety of ways. But his skillful maneuvering in persuading the pro-Grant faction to support the party ticket was clearly his finest achievement. As chairman of the Republican District Committee in Garfield's home district, Austin arranged for U. S. Grant and Senator Roscoe Conkling to be the featured attractions at a large political rally in Warren, Ohio. This carefully arranged public demonstration of "harmony" in the Republican party was a deciding factor in Garfield's narrow victory.²³

On November 2, 1880, ten million Americans went to the polls and elected James A. Garfield to be the twentieth President of the United States. But Garfield's victory was no landslide. He squeaked by with a popular plurality of only 7,368 votes, or less than one tenth of one percent of the total vote cast. As expected, Garfield failed to carry a single southern state, and he lost in Texas by nearly one hundred thousand votes. Each party carried nineteen states, but the Republicans won the important ones. Their narrow majorities in New York and Indiana spelled the difference between victory and defeat.²⁴

It was fitting that Garfield invited several close friends from the Hiram circle to sit up with him during the long hours of election night. "Harmon Austin, Dr. Streator, Burke, Harry Rhodes, and a score of others have done nobly and with no hope of reward," Henry reminded him. "Austin commenced this Presidential campaign eighteen years ago and never 'let up.'" But Garfield didn't need to be reminded of his indebtedness, and he graciously summoned these dear friends to his side in the moment of triumph. "Few men in the country have made more solid contributions to our success than you have," he told Hinsdale. And to the devoted and generous T. W. Phillips, Garfield said simply: "I can never express my gratitude to you for what you have done for me in Indiana."²⁵

Garfield was deluged with congratulatory letters in the first week after his election, but none more significant than the one penned by Hinsdale. This good friend wrote:

I have been astonished . . . at the hold that your candidacy took of the religious mind of the country. It has stirred the Disciples with great power, but has reached out beyond them and embraced all the Protestant bodies. 'Now we are going to have a religious man for President' is a thought that has swelled in the hearts of thousands of religious men.²⁶

However, Garfield was wary of the exuberant expectations of Disciples. "Some of the most absurd and annoying demands were made upon him by ill-balanced members of the Disciples faith," commented Theodore Smith, "who felt that, with his election, a prospect of unexampled prosperity lay before them."²⁷ In a long letter to Hinsdale on November 17, 1880, Garfield carefully defined his relationship with Disciples:

Our people must not use me as the promoter of the views of our brethren. While I shall cheerfully maintain my old relation to them, I want it understood that it is the broad general views and not the special peculiarities of our faith that I desire to promote. Second. Our people must not make too much fuss about it. For example, they must not undertake to build a showy house in Washington. Third. Our people must remember that they are not a very large percent of the whole Republican party and a still smaller percent of the whole American people, and it would not be difficult for me to injure the administration by giving undue prominence to the Disciples in matters of appointment. Let us not flaunt ourselves in the face of the American people as though we had made a special conquest, but by modesty and moderation bear our part worthily and take whatever resulting advantages may come.²⁸

Hinsdale, of course, agreed with this stance. "Your views touching the religious matters are eminently sound, and in

my place, I shall be glad to aid you in giving effect to them," he responded, "but there are afloat many extravagant expectations that cannot be realized."²⁹

These fears were well founded. Since the President was responsible for filling one hundred thousand positions, the Disciples came rushing into Washington from as far away as Texas and California with letters of recommendation from Disciple churches. They were confident of getting the best government jobs from "Brother Garfield," but their stampede on Washington had just the opposite effect. As a result of such demands, Garfield resolutely determined that he would award no government positions to his brethren for fear of being charged with biasness. "Keep my brethren away from me," he snapped, "it annoys and wounds me for them to come asking for office because of our religious relations." But wherever he went in public, the Disciples would rush up to shake his hand and say, "How are you, Brother Garfield?"³⁰

Nor was Garfield the only one set upon. Some of his closest friends in the church were pestered daily. Isaac Errett's biographer said: "A horde of hungry office-seekers, knowing his intimate relations with the President-elect, besieged him, in season and out of season, with entreaties for influence."³¹ Among the more prominent Disciple preachers who sought government jobs was D. Pat Henderson, who wrote requesting that he be appointed consul to Liverpool.³² But

the request was denied. John B. Bowman, Disciple educator from Kentucky, was another disappointed office-seeker.³³

An example of the harassment that Garfield endured from Disciple office-seekers is seen in the following incident which he related in a letter to his wife:

Yesterday we had trial of our patience. A Kentucky woman, a Disciple who had lived less than two years in Cincinnati, came at noon armed with a couple of Disciple letters of recommendation and modestly wanted to be made Post Mistress of Cincinnati. She dismissed her driver before she came into the house and we apparently had her on our hands for five hours. Fortunately, the express was an hour late and we got her off at 2:30. She was greatly grieved not to have seen "Sister Garfield" and still more grieved that "Brother Garfield" would not give her the P. O.³⁴

There were, however, some notable exceptions to Garfield's ban on the granting of government positions to Disciples. Captain Henry was promptly named Marshal of the District of Columbia, replacing Frederick Douglass. And to the beloved Harry Jones, his former chaplain and a member of the "Quintinkle Club," Garfield sent the following telegram: "I am now President of the United States. What will you have?" To which Jones replied: "Stand out of my sunlight."³⁵

Understandably, the Disciple who received the finest political position was Hinsdale. Although Garfield wanted Hinsdale to stay with the college, he gave him a choice of political appointment. "I see no reason why I cannot fill most of the government positions in Europe as well as they are filled," Hinsdale wrote candidly to Garfield. "Such an

appointment would give me some leisure, a chance to see the old world, a change of scenery, and perhaps some money into the bargain."³⁶ Garfield was unable to arrange a suitable European appointment, but he offered Hinsdale the post of U. S. Minister to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). Although the appointment would not take effect until October, 1881, Hinsdale accepted immediately.³⁷

In February, 1881, a month before his inauguration, Garfield took time for another visit to Hiram. Although he could not have known, it was to be his last journey to Hiram. In his speech to the faculty and students he said:

Today is a sort of burial-day in many ways. I have often been in Hiram and have often left it; but, with the exception of when I went to war, I have never felt that I was leaving it in quite so definite a way as I do today. . . . I cannot see what lies beyond. I may be going on an Arctic voyage; but, be that as it may, I know that years ago I builded upon this promontory a cairn, from which, wherever my wanderings may lead me, I can draw some sustenance for life and strength. May the time never come when I cannot find some food for mind and heart on Hiram Hill.³⁸

Three days later, Garfield was still in a sentimental mood when he penned his farewell to Harmon Austin. "I know I am bidding goodbye to my old freedom and to many good friends whose countenances and counsel I shall miss," he confided, "and, worst of all, I know many of them will be disappointed in me and many will be alienated. But I feel sure that our friendship of so many years will not be shattered or dimmed by time nor by the whirl of events."³⁹

After Garfield's election, the Vermont Avenue church launched another movement for a national Disciple church in Washington. A national committee of significant Disciples was organized, and Thomas W. Phillips was appointed general solicitor of new funds. Garfield was concerned about the project, and he wrote to Frederick Power, the minister of the church, to urge that "our brethren do not undertake to build too large a house" in Washington. "Let us keep within our means," he cautioned, "and also avoid anything like ostentation, either in size or decoration."⁴⁰

While most Disciples were looking forward with keen anticipation to the growth of the church during the years of the Garfield presidency, there were still some scattered voices of concern. In London, England, David King, editor of the Ecclesiastical Observer, was openly skeptical about any real gains for the church. "No doubt there will accrue a far wider publicity than could otherwise have been attained," he conceded. "Everybody must now hear of the Disciples and somewhat of their principles, and it is but reasonable to expect, that consequently, some of honest heart will be led into their ranks." But King warned his American brethren about an "increased tendency to worldliness" that would be inflicted on the church by Garfield's presidency, and he cited the movement for a new prestigious church building in Washington as a prime example. King concluded with a word

of precaution: "That which promises blessing to the nation brings, indirectly, increased danger to the church."⁴¹

Garfield's inauguration was set for Friday, March 4, 1881. Most of the Disciples in the Hiram circle journeyed to the nation's capital for the grand occasion. Rhodes and Hinsdale were invited to the White House to share breakfast with the new President on the morning of his inauguration. In the grandeur of the noble mansion, the three old friends reminisced about their happy years together in Hiram. This was the logical culmination of the "great things" the little band at Hiram had talked and dreamed of nearly a quarter of a century before!⁴²

Two mornings later, the attention of the nation was focused on the "obscure" meetinghouse of the Vermont Avenue Christian Church in Washington. This was an opportunistic Sunday for the Disciples, and they made the most of it. A special program was arranged, with Garfield's approval, that included several nationally-known Disciple ministers. Under a headline that read, "President Garfield At Church," the Associated Press reported the next day:

It seemed as if everybody took a sudden interest yesterday in the doctrines of the Disciples.

Before ten o'clock in the morning crowds of people were concentrating in the Christian Church on Vermont avenue, where President Garfield worships. The church, with its gallery and Sunday-school rooms, were speedily filled to overflowing, and disappointed thousands were unable to obtain admission.⁴³

The responsibility for the sermon fell on Chaplain George C.

Mullins of the United States Army, one of Garfield's good friends. Mullins preached on a portion of the third verse of Jude: ". . . ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." The sermon was entitled "The Faith of the Disciples," and its content was widely published throughout the country.⁴⁴

On that first Sunday evening as President, Garfield hosted a special dinner at the White House for many of his Disciple friends. Among those included in the festivities were Austin, Hinsdale, Rhodes, Henry, Robison and Phillips. Prior to the serving of the meal, Garfield went around the room and warmly greeted everyone by their first name. It must have been a proud moment for the former teacher from Hiram as he circulated among his dearest friends. He knew they were pleased with the enormous publicity that had been given to the church that morning. It had been a wonderful day of opportunity for the Disciples.⁴⁵

During Garfield's first frenetic months in office, the Disciples were delighted with how steadfast he remained in his Sunday attendance at the Vermont Avenue church. The reporters sneeringly referred to the Vermont meetinghouse as the "Campbellite shanty," but after Garfield's election its seats were always filled hours ahead of time. However, the constant crush of curiosity seekers around the church building provoked Garfield to make such criticisms in his Journal

as: "Attended Church with Mother, Crete and Mrs. Sheldon--a great and annoying crowd," and "Mother, Crete and I went to Church; another crowd outside and in." Garfield deplored this chaotic situation. "It gives me a sorry view of human history," he lamented, "to see a little church filled to double its usual attendance by the accident of one of its frequenters having been elected to high office."⁴⁶

One of the dilemmas that Garfield inherited with his new office was that involving the liquor question. During the four-year reign of "Lemonade Lucy" Hayes, formal dinners at the White House were served without wine. Garfield was not inclined to maintain the White House as a symbol of the temperance movement, but he was well aware that the friends of that movement were fast becoming one of the most powerful lobbies in American politics. In addition, Garfield was reluctant to begin his administration by making a sharp break with President Hayes. When Hinsdale was consulted about the liquor question, he cautioned: "Should the Hayes regime be departed from, there will be a good deal of disappointment and a considerable loss of confidence."⁴⁷

Upon hearing scattered rumors on this subject, Hayes wrote in his diary:

It is said Gen. Garfield will restore wine and liquor to the White House. I hope this is a mistake. . . . If Gen. Garfield rejects the practice I have inaugurated, he will offend thousands, and drive them into the hands of the Temperance demagogues. He will lose the confidence of thousands of good citizens and gain no strength

in any quarter. His course will be taken as evidence that he lacks the grit to face fashionable ridicule. Nothing hurts a man more than a general belief that he lacks "the courage of his convictions."⁴⁸

It was almost a month after he entered office that Garfield hosted his first formal dinner in the White House. In the Journal account of that evening, he noted: "We gave a dinner to Dr. Hopkins of Williams College. . . . A very pleasant party and a good dinner sine vino."⁴⁹ This continuation of the Hayes policy not only pleased the temperance crusaders, but it received the endorsement of most Disciples.

The Disciples were vitally interested in Garfield's handling of the liquor question. No issue had stirred more united indignation from Disciple leaders than the "liquor evil." The volume of temperance articles in Disciple papers increased every year through the decade of the 1870's, and by 1874 the Christian Standard was featuring a regular temperance column. No Disciple was more involved in the cause of prohibition than Frederick D. Power, the minister of the Vermont Avenue Christian Church. Power was a vice-president of the National Temperance Society and Publication House of New York, and in a much-publicized event in 1879, he invited the organization to Washington for a meeting in the Vermont Avenue church building. The Anti-Saloon League was another cause that was close to Power's heart, and he served as the first chaplain of the league.⁵⁰ Like most Disciples, Power hoped Garfield would be committed to the temperance cause.

The first months of Garfield's Administration were sullied with unproductive strife and discord over matters of Federal patronage. In one brief note to Hinsdale, the beleaguered President wrote: "I throw you a line across the storm to let you know that I think, when I have a moment between breaths, of the dear old quiet and peace of Hiram and Mentor."⁵¹ But Garfield stuck to the task, and in the end he won a great victory in the party battles over patronage. Rhodes spoke for many when he wrote to Captain Henry: "Tell the President I am proud of his magnificent pluck and that the people en masse are at his back."⁵²

The lamp in the President's bedroom was still burning at 2 o'clock in the morning of April 13, 1881. Garfield was finding great enjoyment in a recently published novel called Ben-Hur. By April 17 he was writing in the Journal: "In the afternoon saw a few callers but spent most of the time with Ben-Hur. The plot of the story is powerfully sketched and the tone is admirably sustained." When Garfield completed the book on April 19, he immediately wrote to the author to say thankfully: "With this beautiful and reverent book you have lightened the burden of my daily life."⁵³

The author, General Lew Wallace, had known Garfield briefly during the Civil War when they had served together in the Shiloh campaign. Wallace had worked tirelessly for Garfield in the Indiana canvass, and as a reward for these

efforts he had requested a European diplomatic post. Prior to the reading of Ben-Hur, Garfield had not been disposed to award Wallace such an appointment, but afterwards he reconsidered the request. "I am inclined to send its author to Constantinople," he wrote in the Journal, "where he may draw inspiration from the modern East for future literary work." Garfield followed through on his inclination, and Wallace sailed for Turkey to write a sequel to Ben-Hur.⁵⁴

Throughout the month of June, 1881, the President of the United States was being stalked by an assassin. Knowing of Garfield's church-going habits, the killer was among the early arrivals at the Vermont Avenue church on June 12. He planned to shoot the President during the worship service, but in the crowded meetinghouse he couldn't get the proper angle. However, he observed that Garfield was seated near an open window. On the following Sunday the assassin took up a strategic position outside the low windows of the Vermont Avenue meetinghouse. He was prepared to shoot through the open window closest to the President, but Garfield was away from Washington that morning.⁵⁵

The President was in high spirits on the morning of July 2, 1881, as he prepared to leave on a trip to Williams College. He was eagerly looking forward to the twenty-fifth reunion of his college graduating class. But as he walked through the Baltimore and Potomac railroad depot at 9:30 in

the morning, the assassin stepped behind him and fired two shots at point-blank range. The mortally wounded President was immediately rushed to the White House where he lingered near death through the remainder of the day. After the initial shock of the shooting, the nation turned its attention to the identity of the assassin. He was Charles Guiteau, a mentally unbalanced office-seeker, who, although he claimed to be a lawyer, had a long history of fraudulent deeds.⁵⁶

For three days, Garfield's life hung in the balance. But to the surprise of everyone he rallied, and for eleven agonizing weeks, through the heat of the summer, he fought valiantly for his life. As Garfield gradually wasted away, his remarkable courage captured the heart of people around the globe. The New York Times referred to the sick room as "the greatest arena of his life," and the New York Evening Mail declared: "Lying patiently on a bed of suffering he has conquered the whole civilized world."⁵⁷ Eight years later, a Disciple historian recalled:

The President's religion was the chief thing prominently brought to light during the entire time of his illness, and when it became generally known that he was identified with the religious people known as "Disciples of Christ," or "Churches of Christ," this fact of itself drew special attention to their principles and aims, and gave their religious movement an importance which it had never attained before.⁵⁸

As a consequence of the tragic shooting, the special friendship between Garfield and Jeremiah Sullivan Black was belatedly restored. In the first week after he was shot,

Garfield inquired if there had been any communication from his estranged friend. He was informed that Black had sent one of the first telegrams and had already called in person at the White House. Garfield was visibly moved by the news of Black's loving concern, and he commented with great emotion, "That almost pays for this."⁵⁹

Some of the Disciples in Great Britian responded to the shooting by sending a generous contribution to the fund that had been established for erecting a national Disciple church in Washington. The organizer of this contribution, Timothy Coop, explained to Lucretia Garfield that the money was sent "as a grateful offering to our Heavenly Father for His goodness in saving your husband's life." But Coop also suggested that these British Disciples were motivated by "a special interest" in Garfield. They had recognized in him "a Divine kinship, growing out of relations which have been formed by a common acceptance of the Gospel of Christ."⁶⁰

Throughout his long ordeal, Garfield yearned for the companionship of his friends. He wanted to see Hinsdale and Rhodes and a score of others. He longed to be back "on the old sod" of Hiram and Mentor. Sundays were especially hard on him, as he thought of his brethren gathering for worship and prayer on Vermont Avenue. On one such occasion, knowing of their fervent prayers on his behalf, Garfield was heard to remark: "The dear little church on Vermont Avenue! They

have been carrying me as a great burden. When I get up they shall have no cause to regret it." Whenever Disciples came together in the summer of 1881, Garfield was the object of their ardent prayers. The annual convention of the Indiana Christian Missionary Society was punctuated with frequent prayers for the recovery of "Brother Garfield."⁶¹

From the moment that Garfield was struck down, there were many who were convinced that God would not permit him to die. Two days after the shooting, Captain Henry wrote: "I have been almost broken down . . . but I have faith that God will spare him." Across the country, preachers urged their congregations to pray with the assurance of faith for Garfield's recovery. "Let us join the millions who are making the space between heaven and earth thick with prayers," cried Henry Ward Beecher, "besieging the throne of God, that he will have compassion on the nation and spare the life of the President." However, there were some subtle dangers in this confident reliance on prayer. "Most unadvisedly the recovery of the President was made a test of faith by many religious people," wrote Washington Gladden. "It was held, in many crowded and weeping assemblies, that if there were prayer enough, and if the prayer were the prayer of faith, he would surely be healed."⁶²

On the evening of September 19, the eighteenth anniversary of the Battle of Chicamauga, Garfield passed quietly

away. The shock had been lessened somewhat by long weeks of anxiety, but the news of the President's death triggered the greatest outpouring of grief since the death of Lincoln. The casket lay in state for two days in the rotunda of the Capitol where it was viewed by a slowly moving procession of over 100,000 people. On September 23, a funeral service was held in the rotunda with Frederick D. Power giving the address. In addition to the family of President Garfield, there were assembled here President Arthur, Ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes, the members of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet, the Diplomatic Corps, Senators and Representatives, and a multitude of representatives from civil and military organizations. To this distinguished audience, Power said of the slain President:

The chief glory of this man was his discipleship in the school of Christ. . . . Speaking of his attendance upon the little church on Vermont Avenue, he said to me, "I am not there as President of the United States; I am there simply as a disciple of Christ." . . . When he entered public life in this city, he met weekly with his brethren . . . He would sing with heartiness the songs of praise, partake devoutly of the emblems of the body and blood of Christ, and grasp . . . the hands of his brethren as he passed with his aged mother on his arm. The church was ever a restful home for him.⁶³

Following this service, the casket went by a special funeral train to Cleveland, Ohio, which had been chosen by the family as the place for burial. The church bells tolled in every village as the train passed slowly from Washington to Cleveland. Thousands lined the tracks in major cities

like Baltimore and Pittsburgh, and hundreds more in every hamlet as the train passed through the farmlands. Everywhere along the route, the silent crowds bared their heads as they said good-bye to Garfield.

On Sunday afternoon, September 25, while the casket lay in state in Cleveland, a Hiram College memorial service was held in that city. Garfield received several eulogies at this memorial, but none of them quite equaled the simple eloquence with which Hinsdale paid tribute to his departed friend. "Today we leave the soldier to soldiers, the lawyer to lawyers, the statesman to statesmen," he said. "Mr. Garfield faced towards Hiram, and to us this will always be the most engaging side of his life." In recalling his lifelong association with Garfield, Hinsdale said tenderly:

Of my own obligations to him, first as a pupil, next as a co-teacher, then as a friend, nay, as a brother, I cannot trust myself to speak. Only he who chanted the elegy over the slain Saul, and Jonathan his son, can voice my grief: "How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle. O, Jonathan, thou wast slain in thine high places! I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been to me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women."⁶⁴

The public funeral was held in downtown Cleveland on Monday, September 26. In honor of this occasion, President Arthur called for a day of fasting and prayer throughout the land. The funeral ceremonies were in the nature of a great reunion for the Hiram circle. Rhodes, Henry, Streator and Lockwood were among the pallbearers, while Robison, Errett,

Jones and Hinsdale were included in the program. Lucretia Garfield selected Robison to preside at the ceremonies, and she asked Errett to deliver the eulogy.⁶⁵

More than 250,000 people were in the public park or nearby vicinity when Errett began his forty-minute address. He reviewed Garfield's conversion to Christ and his budding career as a Disciple preacher. "You are within a few miles of the spot," Errett informed the throng, "where the great congregations . . . hung upon words that fell from his lips, with admiration, wonder and enthusiasm." In the course of his remarks, Errett drove one point home with unusual clarity. "James A. Garfield went through his whole public life," Errett insisted, "without surrendering for a single moment his Christian integrity, his moral integrity, or his love for the spiritual." He concluded his memorial to Garfield by declaring:

I have discharged now the solemn covenant and trust reposed in me many years ago in harmony with a friendship which has never known a cloud, a confidence that has never trembled, and a love that has never changed. Farewell, my friend and brother. Thou hast fought the good fight; thou hast finished thy course; thou hast kept thy faith.⁶⁶

At the close of these ceremonies, the huge funeral cortege began its slow three-mile procession to Lakeview Cemetery. A steady rain was falling by the time the multitude arrived at the cemetery. There Harry Jones delivered a graveside address, and Burke Hinsdale offered the benediction.

In the months following the President's death, there were continuous memorial services and addresses across the country. "Israel's grief for Samuel," observed one preacher, "was only a small thing compared with America's grief for Garfield. The land of Canaan was not as large as the state of New Jersey."⁶⁷ The Disciples were especially active in this regard. Typical of their efforts was the service held at Farwell Hall in Chicago. The four Disciple churches in Chicago cooperated in this service, and they chose Otis A. Burgess to deliver the memorial address. In defending such a memorial service, Burgess commented:

And certainly for us, in whose communion he stood for more than thirty years, part of the time as one of our most honored preachers, and always as one of our most active and earnest members, it is fitting to give whatever expression to our deep feelings that words and tears can give as we say our sad goodbye over the grave of our distinguished, our beloved, brother.⁶⁸

During this period of mourning, the Disciple papers were filled with the memoirs of Garfield. "God graciously honored his church in lifting from her midst James A. Garfield to such a height of human glory," wrote Isaac Errett. "And, although permitted to occupy that dizzy eminence so short a time, he was there long enough to be seen of all men as one of the purest, wisest and best rulers the nation has exalted." Errett reminded the readers of the Christian Standard that Garfield had been "a faithful representative of the religious principles learned from a Christian mother,

and justified to himself by profound investigations afterwards."⁶⁹ In similar fashion, Garfield was lauded in the columns of numerous church periodicals.

However, some Disciples took exception to all of the attention focused on Garfield. David Lipscomb rebuked the Disciples in the North who had seen the divine hand of God in Garfield's election. "If God had a purpose in rearing him up," Lipscomb argued in the Gospel Advocate, "he had a purpose in letting him be stricken down; one is as much of his providence as the other."⁷⁰ C. M. Wilmeth, editor of the Christian Preacher, responded to the issue by writing:

The presidency and sudden death of President Garfield are pregnant themes for the press both political and religious. But we have not been so affected that his name must be connected with every subject treated in our columns. Christ is still our polar star; and the sooner some of our preachers and editors, now pointing on every occasion to the illustrious and lamented president, begin to point again unerringly to Christ, the better it will be for the cause of truth.⁷¹

As far as Wilmeth was concerned, Garfield "condemned his own course when he turned away the two office-seeking preachers on the ground that they had commissions superior to any he could give." Garfield once had the same superior commission, declared Wilmeth, "but he threw it up for the honors of the world." This was also the view of a British correspondent for the Ecclesiastical Observer. "There lay a mighty continent, peopled by masses of sin-enthralled and perishing creatures," he asserted, "who could only be saved

by the Gospel--that Gospel which Garfield had embraced, and which he was so well fitted to proclaim." Consequently, he could only "deplore the changed purpose that converted the preacher into the political orator."⁷²

Although Disciples could never agree on the value of Garfield's influence on the church, they never doubted his loyalty. Even among outsiders like President Noah Porter of Yale College, it was accepted that Garfield had remained a loyal and influential Disciple. "In my judgment, there is no more interesting feature of his character," remarked Dr. Porter, "than his loyal allegiance to the body of Christians in which he was trained, and the fervent sympathy with which he shared in their Christian communion." Reflecting on the uniqueness of this loyalty, President Porter commented:

Not many of the few "wise and mighty and noble who are called" show a similar loyalty to the less stately and cultured Christian communions in which they have been reared. Too often it is true that, as they step upward in social and political significance, they step upward from one degree to another in some of the many types of fashionable Christianity. President Garfield adhered to the church of his mother, the church in which he was trained, and which he had served as a pillar and an evangelist . . .⁷³

Most Disciples gloried in Garfield's loyalty to the church. "The lesson of his religious life will not be lost," said Otis Burgess. "His Church will cherish it as a part of their precious heritage, and unbelievers, touched by the glory of so heroic a faith, will be moved to inquire whence

the fountains of such inspirations."⁷⁴ As Burgess rightly predicted, the Garfield saga continued to draw attention to the religious principles of the Disciples. Years later, a respected Disciple historian wrote:

It may seem almost sacrilegious to some to suggest that his death was much more powerful for good than his life could have been, even if it had continued for many years. Nevertheless, it is believed that this was true in his case. To use his own language, when another martyred President fell, the Lord still reigned, and the country was saved, even if Garfield died, and not only was this so, but the Church was saved also, and a new force entered into it from Garfield's death chamber when it was told everywhere that he died the death of a Christian, and that his Christianity consisted in a simple faith in, and obedience to, the Lord Jesus Christ, without any additions such as belong to the creeds of Christendom. At any rate, it is certain that through his death the plea of the Disciples was practically made known to the civilized world.⁷⁵

EPILOGUE

"It is left for us," Hinsdale told the crowd at the Hiram College memorial service, "to adjust ourselves to a world that contains no living Garfield."¹ However, there were some Disciples who had difficulty making the necessary adjustment. Otis Burgess never recovered from the shock of Garfield's assassination. "The bullet of the assassin that cut him down, went to the heart of Mr. Burgess," noted one account. "At the news of the tragedy he wept like a mother for her child. It seemed the blasting of all his hopes, the undoing of all his plans." Burgess suppressed his profound grief long enough to deliver the memorial address at Farwell Hall in Chicago, but it was among his last public efforts. From that time on, "death had marked him for its victim."² Burgess died on March 14, 1882, at the age of fifty-two.

Harry Rhodes was another who experienced a deep sense of personal loss at Garfield's passing. "He not only had courage and inspiration for himself," Rhodes marveled, "but he filled everyone who approached him with much of his own spirit." Searching for words that would describe Garfield's impact on the Disciples, Rhodes could only say: "Now that he is gone, and the vision has fled, I feel like using the words of the disciples who came from Emmaus, 'Did not our heart burn within us while he talked with us by the way?'"³

Meanwhile, back in Hiram, Burke Hinsdale made only a

halfhearted attempt to secure the political appointment to Hawaii. When President Arthur selected someone else for the post, Hinsdale did not complain. He requested a leave of absence from Hiram College in order to prepare Garfield's public papers for publication. By March, 1882, Hinsdale had completed the two volumes of The Works of James A. Garfield. "Despite the speed with which the two volumes of the works were edited," wrote Hinsdale's biographer, "it was a carefully done job--the finest possible tribute to a longtime intimate friend and guide."⁴ A few months later, Hinsdale released a companion volume entitled President Garfield and Education. It was primarily a study of Garfield's ties to the school in Hiram, and it was published as a Hiram College Memorial volume.⁵

Burke Hinsdale was not the only Disciple who found the time to write a book on Garfield. In 1882, F. M. Green, one of Garfield's former students at the Eclectic, published a biography entitled A Royal Life. In contrast to the many other available biographies of the former President, Green presented considerable material on Garfield's relationship to the Disciples of Christ. And shortly before his death in 1886, Corydon Fuller finally completed his Reminiscences of James A. Garfield. This classic volume, which has recently been reprinted, remains one of the most valuable sources on Garfield's student years.⁶

For several months after Garfield's death, Captain Henry continued to serve as the Marshal of the District of Columbia. Ironically, most of his official duties revolved around the sensational public trial of Garfield's assassin. During the daily sessions of the trial, Henry was responsible for the safety of Charles Guiteau and the maintenance of order in the supreme court of the District of Columbia. Thus, for ten agonizing weeks, Henry was forced to sit next to and protect the man he despised most in the world. When the jury found Guiteau guilty, Henry was placed in charge of the admission of witnesses to his hanging.⁷

In the aftermath of Garfield's funeral, Frederick D. Power found that his association with the lamented President had increased his status in the Washington community. As a result of this new prestige, Power was appointed chaplain of the House of Representatives for the term of 1881-1883. In August, 1883, he was thrust into the public consciousness again when he was chosen to preach the funeral of Jeremiah Sullivan Black. In the meantime, the Vermont Avenue church was enjoying a period of encouraging prosperity.

Following Garfield's death, the Disciples looked for tangible ways to perpetuate his memory. One preacher was of the opinion that the church might compensate for the loss of Garfield "by pushing to an early completion the new church in Washington, which, whether we will it or not, will be a

memorial of him."⁸ Another Disciple suggested:

Now that we have lost our much loved President by death, we hope our brethren will not permit the erection of the chapel in Washington, D. C., to prove a failure; and would the idea be too sectarian to erect it as a monument to President Garfield's memory, to be known as "Garfield Memorial Chapel"? It seems to us it would be visited by thousands annually who visit Washington, and a well posted attendant could, if required, post many regarding the belief of the President and thus sow the good seed which could not be done in other ways so well. Ford's theater and the building where President Lincoln died are visited by a numerous multitude each year, and ever will be, and could not the good cause be spread through a structure for Christian worship known as the Garfield Memorial?⁹

In response to such suggestions, Isaac Errett affirmed that the new building would be a memorial to Garfield "whether we choose to name it in that way or not." Apart from Garfield, "it would not have been undertaken," reasoned Errett, "and it can not fail to be a memorial from the fact that it is the only church ever erected in this broad land because its chief ruler was a Christian."¹⁰

Contributions for this memorial project came in from all over the United States, and the Vermont Avenue church announced that it would soon begin construction. On July 2, 1882, the first anniversary of the shooting of Garfield, the cornerstone was laid for the new meetinghouse. More than five thousand people, including President Arthur, attended this ceremony and heard the addresses by Hinsdale and Power. "That which was to be reared with rejoicing," Power said on this occasion, "has become a Memorial."¹¹ But there were

many Disciples who were disappointed in this hero worship.

David Lipscomb responded by writing of Garfield:

His course was one of dishonor to the church; with ability and assured success as a servant of that church, he surrendered it for service in the worldly kingdom. If Garfield's career was acceptable, why not all young men of popular talents turn from the ministry to law, war and politics? Did I believe his course was acceptable to God, I would yet turn from the service of the church to that of the world. It is strange when the church counts him who turned from service in her offices and works, to the work of the world, worthy of so much more honor than those who serve faithfully in her sanctuaries . . .¹²

On January 20, 1884, the prestigious new home of the Vermont Avenue Christian Church was officially dedicated in a special three-hour service. Among those present at this service were President Arthur and many members of Congress. W. K. Pendleton, president of Bethany College, delivered the dedicatory sermon, and Richard M. Bishop read an historical address. Although the new building was frequently referred to as the "Garfield Memorial Church," it was never meant as an exclusive name. The congregation continued to be known as the Vermont Avenue Christian Church.¹³

Once the Garfield Memorial Church was dedicated, the Disciples turned their attention to another project. In the summer of 1886, they began construction on the new Garfield University in Wichita, Kansas. The impressive five-story main building, modified gothic in style, included "more than sixty-six halls and recitation rooms." Harvey W. Everest, one of Garfield's former colleagues in Hiram, was called to

be chancellor. He quickly recruited an excellent faculty of twenty teachers, and the university opened its doors to nearly 500 students in September, 1887. The following year it was "the largest school in the state" with an enrollment of more than 1,000 students.

Garfield University enrolled 1,720 students in its third year of operation, but severe financial problems were afflicting the institution. Ultimately, the school folded and closed its doors after graduating its only class in the summer of 1890. There were a number of attempts to revive the school, but they all resulted in failure. In 1898, the buildings and property were purchased by the Quakers for the establishment of Friends University. The old Garfield University building is still in use today at the center of Friends University.¹⁴

Hiram College was careful to maintain its own tie to the Garfield heritage. Lucretia Garfield was asked to fill her husband's place on the Hiram board, and she served in that capacity from 1882 to 1895. When Hinsdale resigned as president of the college in 1882 to become superintendent of schools in Cleveland, he agreed to accept a position on the Hiram board. Probably in reaction to the founding of Garfield University, Hiram College began billing itself as "The Garfield School" in 1889. This caption soon appeared on all official publications of the college.¹⁵

In the fall of 1885, the Garfield National Monument Association was formed. The trustees announced a campaign to secure funds for the erection of a monument at Lakeview Cemetery, and Harry Rhodes was made secretary of the association. For over four years, Rhodes worked tirelessly on the exciting project. The Garfield Monument, 180 feet tall and located on a commanding hill, was completed in time for dedication on Memorial Day, 1890. President Benjamin Harrison headed the list of dignitaries who came to pay tribute to Ohio's martyr President on that occasion. Unfortunately, Harry Rhodes could not be present. He had died suddenly a few months earlier at the age of fifty-three.¹⁶

Gradually, all of Garfield's friends passed from the scene. Isaac Errett died in 1888, and Dr. John P. Robison in 1889. Harmon Austin passed away in 1893. Burke Hinsdale enjoyed a distinguished career as professor of education at the University of Michigan prior to his death in 1900. The funeral of Harry Jones in 1904 closed the final chapter on the "Quintinkle Club." Captain Henry retired to his Ohio farm, where he died in 1906. Thomas W. Phillips followed Garfield into Congress. He remained a liberal benefactor of the Garfield Memorial Church and Hiram College until his death in 1912. Lucretia Garfield outlived them all. She was in her eighty-sixth year when she died at Lawnfield in the spring of 1918.¹⁷

Not far into the twentieth century, the schism that had long been evident in the ranks of the Disciples became official. This occurred in 1906 when the United States Census Bureau listed the Disciples of Christ and the Churches of Christ as separate religious bodies. It is impossible to establish the precise date of this division, but it is clear that the two parties had taken shape as early as Garfield's nomination in 1880.¹⁸

Throughout the twentieth century, the Disciples have tried to keep their Garfield heritage alive.¹⁹ When they celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration and Address with a massive Centennial Convention in 1909, Garfield was not forgotten. The more than 50,000 Disciples who crowded into Pittsburgh for the week-long celebration were frequently reminded that Garfield had been a faithful Disciple. William T. Moore's Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ, which was prepared and published for the centennial, included a nine-page memoir of Garfield.²⁰

In the fall of 1830, the Vermont Avenue congregation moved into their beautiful new sanctuary at Thomas Circle. The church changed its name to the National City Christian Church, and the old Garfield Memorial Church was put to use as an educational building. When the church constructed a new educational facility in 1951, the Garfield Memorial Church was sold to the Lutherans.⁵¹

For a time it appeared that the Disciples would soon forget Garfield. However, the founding of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in 1941 created a new interest in the heritage of Disciples. Through its quarterly publication, Discipliana, the historical society began to acquaint a new generation of Disciples with the great leaders of the past. Once again, the Garfield saga came to life. Through the generosity of the Thomas W. Phillips family, a new home for the historical society was constructed near Nashville's Vanderbilt University in 1958. Today, the society serves as a depository for a number of items of Garfieldiana.²²

When the Disciples gathered in Kansas City, Missouri, for their annual International Convention in October, 1961, they were treated to a display of Garfield material in the exhibit hall. This coincided with the featured address by Dr. Willis R. Jones, DCHS president, on "James A. Garfield; A Dyed-in-the-Wool Disciple."²³ In the years between 1961 and 1977, Garfield was featured on the cover of Discipliana four times.²⁴ As the American nation neared the centennial of Garfield's assassination, the Disciples of Christ were still perpetuating their own tie to the Garfield heritage. One hundred years after his election had stirred them with "great power," the Disciples were still finding strength in the life and death of "The Preacher President."²⁵

NOTES

FREQUENT ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THESE NOTES

Eliza	-	Eliza Garfield
Lucretia	-	Lucretia Garfield
Fuller	-	Corydon E. Fuller
Rhodes	-	James Harrison Rhodes
Austin	-	Harmon Austin
Hinsdale	-	Burke Aaron Hinsdale
Henry	-	Charles E. Henry

1. This statement was made by Thomas Campbell (1763-1854) on September 7, 1809, just prior to the first public reading of his Declaration and Address. This document, long considered the Magna Charta of the Disciples movement, was a 56-page pamphlet when it first came from the press in 1809. Now generally accepted as one of the great classics of Christian literature, it has been described by William Warren Sweet as one of the greatest religious documents ever produced in America. Thomas Campbell was a faithful minister in the Seceder Presbyterian Church in Ireland before his emigration to America in 1807. By 1809 he had decided to withdraw from his ancestral church, and he published to the world his reason for this action in the Declaration and Address. By the time it had left the press, his son, Alexander, had joined him in America and his greater aggressiveness and platform eloquence caused his father to surrender to him the leadership of the reform movement which the Declaration and Address had initiated. The Declaration and Address was a comprehensive statement of the restoration and unity principles which were to become the central themes in the "plea" of the Disciples.
2. This quotation is taken from the text of the Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery. This document, originally issued on June 28, 1804, was one of the first statements of religious freedom ever proclaimed in the Western Hemisphere. Its authorship is uncertain since it was signed by six men, but it has generally been accepted that Barton Warren Stone (1772-1844) was the man responsible for its publication. The document denounced all human creeds and appealed to the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. It also declared in favor of the name "Christian" as the only proper name for the followers of Christ. The reading of the Last Will and Testament on June 28, 1804, initiated a movement of independent "Christian Churches." Along with the Declaration and Address, the Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery is considered to be one of the great religious charters that gave direction to the "Restoration Movement."
3. Beginning in 1825 Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) wrote a series of 30 articles in the Christian Baptist entitled "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things." It was an attempt to evaluate the practices of Protestantism by the light of the New Testament pattern. The spirit of these articles was strongly iconoclastic, and Campbell mercilessly attacked the clergy, creeds, and authoritative councils of Protestantism.

4. Walter Scott (1796-1861) was educated at the University of Edinburgh. He emigrated to America in 1818, and became associated with the Campbell movement in the winter of 1821-1822. Along with the Campbells and Stone, Scott is generally considered to be one of the four "founding fathers" of the Disciples of Christ movement in America. Scott suggested the name Christian Baptist to Campbell, and was a frequent contributor to that periodical. He submitted his articles under the pseudonym of "Philip," and saw his relationship to Alexander Campbell as being the same Philip Melancthon bore to Martin Luther. His greatest contributions to the Disciples movement were his work as an evangelist of the Mahoning Association (1827-1830) and his authorship of a book entitled The Gospel Restored (1836). The source for the statement on the Western Reserve being "the principal theatre" of the Disciples movement is A. S. Hayden, Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve (Cincinnati: Chase & Hall, Publishers, 1875), p. iii.
5. See William E. Tucker and Lester G. McAllister, Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975), p. 26. Tucker says "about 12,000 Disciples and 10,000 Christians united in the 1830s." Bill Humble says: "The united movement probably had between 20,000 and 25,000 members in 1832." See Bill Humble, The Story of the Restoration (Austin: Firm Foundation Publishing House, 1969), p. 36.
6. A good discussion of the differences between Campbell and Stone on the question of the proper name for the followers of Jesus can be found in William Garrett West, Barton Warren Stone (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954), pp. 153-157.
7. Tucker and McAllister, op. cit., p. 26.
8. James Deforest Murch, Christians Only: A History of the Restoration Movement (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1962), p. 35.
9. Garfield to Fuller, June 19, 1855. Garfield Papers.
10. David Lipscomb, "Those Statistics," Gospel Advocate. (February 24, 1881), p. 114. The actual total that the General Missionary Society published was 563,928. But it was well known that a large number of congregations, particularly in the South, were not in agreement with the purposes of the Society and refused to send their statistics in.

1. Eliza to Garfield, March 31, 1870. Garfield Papers.
2. Eliza to Garfield, March 31, 1870. Garfield Papers.
3. Adamson Bentley (1785-1864), one of the best known preachers on the Western Reserve, began his ministry as a Baptist and was one of the leaders of the Mahoning Baptist Association. After being influenced by Alexander Campbell and Walter Scott, he accepted the principles of the Disciple movement and supported the dissolution of the Mahoning Baptist Association in 1830. In 1831 he moved to Chagrin Falls, Ohio, three miles from the Garfield log cabin. In addition to baptizing the parents of James Garfield, he performed the wedding ceremony for the parents of Lucretia Rudolph Garfield. He preached until eighty years of age. "For sixty years," it was said, "he blew the trumpet, and led Israel in the glorious combat." He was a man of economic enterprise also, an owner of mills on the Chagrin River, a store, and a house which appeared palatial to the people of the area around Chagrin Falls.
4. A. S. Hayden, Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve (Cincinnati: Chase and Hall, Publishers, 1875), p. 19.
5. Eliza to Garfield, December 20, 1868. Garfield Papers.
Eliza to Garfield, March 30, 1870. Garfield Papers.
Eliza to Garfield, April 1, 1870. Garfield Papers.
6. Eliza to Garfield, March 30, 1870. Garfield Papers.
Eliza to Garfield, April 1, 1870. Garfield Papers.
7. Eliza to Garfield, March 30, 1870. Garfield Papers.
8. J. M. Bundy, The Life of General James A. Garfield. (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1880), p. 13.
9. Ellen Larabie Hoppe, "Memories." This four-page typed manuscript is now on file at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee. It is located in the Garfield file. I obtained a xerox copy during my research at the society.
10. Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p. 14. The schoolhouse on the Garfield property "was plain and rough enough. The scholars sat on split logs, hewed a little on the top."

11. Hazel H. Davis, General Jim (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1958), p. 26.
12. F. M. Green, A Royal Life: The Eventful History of James A. Garfield (Chicago: Central Book Concern, 1882), p. 152.
13. Bundy, op. cit., p. 5.
14. In addition to Campbell's monthly Millennial Harbinger, the best sources for information on the yearly meetings held on the Western Reserve are: Walter Scott's monthly periodical, the Evangelist, published from Cincinnati between 1832-1844; A. S. Hayden's Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve; Alanson Wilcox's A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio; and Henry Shaw's Buckeye Disciples.
15. Henry K. Shaw, Buckeye Disciples: A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1952), p. 126. Garfield attended numerous yearly meetings under the tent in various locations on the Western Reserve, and later he preached on several occasions under the tent. During the Civil War this tent was cut up and sent to Union hospitals for use in the binding of wounds.
16. Millennial Harbinger, (December, 1848), pp. 655-656. It was discovered that the largest Disciple church on the Western Reserve was the one at Bedford with 231 members. Dr. John P. Robison, later one of Garfield's closest friends, was one of the leaders at Bedford.
17. MS. Biographical Notes, 1877. Garfield Papers.
18. This six-week stint on the Ohio Canal became a much romanticized phase of Garfield's youth as the result of presidential biographies like Horatio Alger's From Canal Boy to President. Recent biographies have continued to focus on this six-week period, and one says: "As an adolescent he spent much of his time in the company of waterfront loafers." This emphasis seems to detract from other powerful influences in his boyhood, such as his mother and religion.
19. MS. Biographical Notes, 1877. Garfield Papers.
20. MS. Biographical Notes, 1877. Garfield Papers.
21. MS. Biographical Notes, 1877. Garfield Papers.

22. Frederick D. Power, Thoughts of Thirty Years (Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1905), p. 179.
23. MS. Biographical Notes, 1877. Garfield Papers. Samuel D. Bates taught in the district schoolhouse that was located on the Garfield property. Referring to Bates, Lucretia Garfield wrote during the 1880's that "to his encouragement at this time may be largely attributed the direction given to the hitherto crude development of the General's life." In 1880 Bates was a minister for the Disciple church in Marion, Ohio.
24. Journal, October 28, 1849. Garfield wrote the first entry in his Journal on January 1, 1848. It is an immensely valuable source for the study of his entire life, but it is especially crucial for understanding the years 1848-1854. There are very few Garfield letters in those years, but after his enrollment in Williams College he became a frequent letter-writer.
25. Jefferson Harrison Jones (1813-1904), sometimes called Harrison or Harry in the Journal, was a colorful Disciple preacher who later became the chaplain of Garfield's 42nd Ohio Infantry Regiment. One of the original members of the "Quintinkle Club," he became one of Garfield's most intimate friends. When Garfield was elected to the Presidency, he remembered his old friend and sent him the following telegram: "I am now President of the United States. What will you have?" Jones wired the White House at once: "Stand out of my sunlight." Jones was one of the speakers at the Garfield funeral in Cleveland.
26. Journal, February 17, 1850.
27. Journal, February 28, 1850. Robert Pollok's The Course of Time (1827) was a long poem on the theme of redemption.
28. Journal, March 3-4, 1850.
29. W. W. Wasson, James A. Garfield: His Religion and Education (Nashville: Tennessee Book Company, 1952), p. 14.
30. Harry James Brown and Frederick D. Williams, (eds.), The Diary of James A. Garfield (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967) I, pp. xviii-xix. The 60-page introduction to this volume is an excellent summary of the major contours of Garfield's life. There are four volumes in this series.

31. Smith, op. cit., p. 34.
32. Journal, March 10, 1850.
33. Journal, March 30, 1850.
Journal, June 10, 1850.
34. Journal, October 1, 1850.
35. Journal, March 25, 1850.
Journal, March 26, 1850.
Journal, May 1, 1850.
36. Journal, May 27, 1850.
Journal, August 26, 1850.
Journal, August 30, 1850.
37. Journal, April 11, 1850.
38. Journal, April 20, 1850.
Journal, August 8, 1850.
Journal, January 26, 1851.
Journal, August 31, 1851.
Journal, March 31, 1851.
39. Journal, January 1, 1851.
Journal, April 17, 1851.
40. Journal, September 28, 1850.
41. Journal, January 1, 1851.
42. Journal, June 19, 1851.
Journal, July 27, 1851.
Journal, November 19, 1852.
Journal, November 21, 1852.
Journal, May 20, 1853.
Journal, May 24, 1853.
Journal, July 1, 1853.
Journal, March 15, 1854.
Journal, June 29, 1854.
Journal, July 2, 1854.
43. Journal, March 17, 1850.
Journal, March 24, 1850.
Journal, May 31, 1850.
44. Journal, July 28, 1850.
Journal, August 11, 1850.
Journal, August 27, 1850.

Garfield's reference to the Free Will Baptist Church as the Free Will Immerser Church is interesting. In 1826 Alexander Campbell issued from his press a new translation of the New Testament that gradually came to be called the Living Oracles. The most publicized feature of this translation was its rendering of the Greek word "baptidzo" as "immerse" instead of "baptize." The Baptists were delighted with that rendering until they saw Matthew 3:1, where John the Baptist had become John the Immerser. The Living Oracles became a widely circulated translation among the Disciples of Christ, and led many Disciples to refer humorously to the Baptist Church as the Immerser Church. Garfield's use of this play shows how widespread the practice was.

45. Journal, October 11, 1850.
Journal, October 15, 1850.
Journal, October 20, 1850.
46. Journal, May 19, 1850.
Journal, August 18, 1850.
Journal, September 22, 1850.
Journal, October 13, 1850.
Journal, April 13, 1851.
47. Journal, July 21, 1850.
Journal, January 12, 1851.
48. Journal, May 18, 1851.
49. Journal, June 1, 1850.
Journal, June 9, 1850.
Journal, September 13, 1850.
50. Journal, July 7, 1850.
Journal, July 27, 1851.
51. Wasson, op. cit., p. 20.
52. Announcement and Catalogue of the First Session of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (Hiram, Portage County, 1850), p. 11.
F. M. Green, Hiram College and Western Reserve Eclectic Institute: Fifty Years of History 1850-1900 (Cleveland: The O. S. Hubbell Printing Company, 1901), pp. 25, 52.
53. Corydon Fuller (1830-1886) was probably Garfield's closest friend at the Eclectic in the student years of 1851-1854. His Reminiscences of James A. Garfield was published in 1887.

54. Corydon E. Fuller, Reminiscences of James A. Garfield (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1887), p. 57.
55. Smith, op. cit., p. 46.
56. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 36-38. Fuller found a copy of this speech among his papers and reprinted it in full. It was delivered at the end of the first term on November 14, 1851, five days before his twentieth birthday.
57. Journal, October 4, 1851.
58. Journal, March 23, 1852.
59. Green, Hiram College, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
60. Burke A. Hinsdale, Delphic Literary Society, The Reunion, 1875 (an address); quoted in Green, Hiram College, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
61. Journal, October 12, 1851.
Journal, December 7, 1851.
Journal, March 5, 1852.
62. Journal, March 12, 1854.
63. Journal, June 25, 1854. Established in 1842 by Free Will Baptists, the Geauga Seminary continued in operation until 1854.
64. Journal, July 4, 1851.
Journal, July 4, 1851.
65. Journal, May 20, 1852.
66. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 52-54.
67. Journal, July 7-8, 1853. Jonas Hartzel, A Disciple preacher from Hopedale, Ohio, and Joseph Barker of Salem, Ohio, were the participants in this debate. The debate was over the nature of the Scriptures and their value as offering a perfect rule of life. The debate began on Monday, July 4, and ended on July 8. Altogether there were nine sessions of from two and a half to three hours each. An interesting sidelight to this week was Garfield's opportunity to hear Walter Scott preach "a powerful discourse" on the Messiahship of Christ. As far as is known, it was the only time he ever heard Scott preach. He noted that the great evangelist was "exceedingly eloquent at times."

68. Garfield to Fuller, February 27, 1854. Garfield Papers.
69. Journal, June 13, 1852.
Journal, February 8, 1852.
Journal, June 26, 1853.
Journal, August 10, 1853.
Journal, August 11, 1853.
70. Journal, April 11, 1853.
Journal, August 2, 1853.
Journal, August 3, 1853.
71. Journal, January 1, 1853.
Journal, May 22, 1853.
Journal, August 1, 1853.
72. Journal, February 8, 1852. When Disciples moved from one location to another, they usually brought letters of recommendation from their previous congregation. On August 22, 1852, Garfield wrote in his Journal, "I took a letter from the congregation here (Orange) for the purpose of joining in Hiram, where I expect to be most of the time for two years to come."
73. Journal, September 2, 1851.
Journal, October 24, 1852.
Journal, February 1, 1853.
74. Wasson, op. cit., pp. 25-26.
75. Journal, July 2-3, 1853.
76. Fuller, op. cit., p. 97.
77. Journal, December 17-29, 1852. Although he was only thirty-two years old at this time, Isaac Errett (1820-1888) was already a prominent figure in the Disciples of Christ. For many years he and Garfield were intimate friends in the "Quintinkle Club." He delivered the principal address at Garfield's public funeral.
78. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 97-98.
79. Journal, March 27, 1853.
Journal, April 3, 1853.
Journal, July 24, 1853.
80. Shaw, op. cit., p. 208.
81. Fuller, op. cit., p. 176.

1. Journal, July 1, 1853.
2. Garfield to Fuller, July 19, 1853. Garfield Papers.
3. Journal, August 4, 1853.
4. W. E. Garrison, Religion Follows the Frontier: A History of the Disciples of Christ (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p. 193.
5. Almeda Ann Booth (1823-1875) lived on the Western Reserve throughout her life. From 1851 to 1866, except for one year during which she completed work for her degree at Oberlin, she taught at the Eclectic. It was there that this remarkable woman, strong in mind, character and personality, exercised a profound influence on Garfield, an influence ranking in importance with that of his mother and his wife. Garfield and "Miss Booth" both boarded at President Hayden's home for a time, and in 1853-1854 they worked on a translation of the Book of Romans together. "I have many times said," Garfield wrote years later, "that she was the only person with whom I ever studied in my college course whose mind met mine at every point with absolute fulness and power and a clearness and grasp that made me proud to be reckoned anywhere near her equal." When Garfield returned to the Eclectic in 1856, he and Miss Booth often played chess together. In 1876 Garfield delivered at Hiram College a fitting tribute to the memory of his beloved mentor, associate and friend.
6. Edmond Kirke, "My Experience as a Lawyer," North American Review, (June, 1877), p. 568. (This article contains autobiographical notes given by James A. Garfield to Edmond Kirke.)
7. Journal, January 1, 1854.
Journal, March 25, 1854.
8. Garfield to Fuller, May 13, 1854. Quoted in Corydon E. Fuller, Reminiscences of James A. Garfield (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1887), pp. 114-115. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers. Fuller published several Garfield letters in his volume which are not in the Library of Congress collection.
9. Journal, June 23, 1854.
10. Journal, June 23, 1854.

11. Journal, June 24, 1854.
Journal, June 25, 1854.
12. Journal, June 29, 1854.
13. Fuller, op. cit., p. 117. In his Journal, Garfield wrote: "In the forenoon I attended the meeting of the Brethren in Butler village (South Butler) and spoke to them. They have a fine congregation there and seem to possess a considerable influence." In the afternoon he went to hear the "Reverend" Antoinette Brown preach in the Union House, but could not approve it. "After all that may be said," he wrote in the Journal, "there is something about a woman's speaking in public that unsexes her in my mind, and how much soever I might admire the talent, yet I could never think of the female speaker as the gentle sister, the tender wife, or the loving mother."
14. Journal, July 9, 1854. On the journey to New Jersey, Garfield had delighted in the trip down the Hudson from Albany, as he once more experienced a scenic grandeur so different from his native Ohio. In New York City he "witnessed the enactment of a Temperance Drama and laid the foundation in my mind for the examination of the question whether dramatic composition and scenic representations are in accordance with the spirit of enlightened Christian morality."
15. Journal, July 11, 1854. On July 15 he wrote to Lucretia: "This is a quiet little village nestling in the lap of the Green Mountains and on all sides like huge sentinels stand the towering peaks that prop the bending heavens with their woodcrowned heads." Smith says: "Probably no one but a romantic-souled youth from a perfectly flat region like Portage County, Ohio, would have seen in the smoothly rounded and gently swelling Berkshire Hills, sparsely dotted with farm clearings, anything so grandiose or so European."
16. Journal, July 11, 1854.
17. One entire year is missing in the Journal. He did not make a single entry in the Journal between September 12, 1854, and September 10, 1855. With the exception of a few brief lines, there are no references between February 28, 1856, and July 28, 1857, a period of 17 months. The Civil War years, 1861-1865, are also missing in the Journal but the other years are complete. There are about a half million words in the Journal.

18. Lucretia Rudolph (1832-1918), the daughter of Zeb and Arabella Mason Rudolph, was a student at Geauga Seminary and the Eclectic with Garfield. By the spring of 1854, Garfield was pursuing a cautious courtship of Miss Rudolph, and by the time he left for Williams he and "Crete" had reached an understanding tantamount to engagement.
19. Garfield to Lucretia, July 30, 1854. Garfield Papers.
20. Garfield to Fuller, July 30, 1854. Garfield Papers.
21. Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p. 69.
22. Garfield later came to know several of the young men who would have been his classmates if he had gone to Bethany. As editor of the American Christian Review, Rowe editorially supported Garfield in the election of 1880, as did Johnson in his Chicago-based Evangelist. Lamar replaced Burke Hinsdale as an editor of the Christian Standard, and preached on occasion in Washington, D. C. Shackelford was L. L. Pinkerton's biographer, and through Pinkerton he came to be good friends with Garfield. Everest taught with Garfield at the Eclectic, and was later the president of Garfield University. Burgess was president of North-Western Christian University after a successful pastorate in Chicago. He was active in Garfield's campaign, speaking all over Indiana. Barnes was an Alabama evangelist who fought in the Confederate Army. If Garfield had attended Bethany, he would have known several students from the South, an opportunity he did not have at Williams. Among the faculty members, Milligan later lectured at Hiram College in the theological department that Garfield helped set up, and Pendleton preached frequently in Washington, D. C. It is interesting to speculate on the different direction Garfield's life might have gone if he had attended the Disciple institution.
23. Journal, July 11, 1854.
Journal, July 17, 1854.
24. Garfield to Fuller, September 14, 1854. Garfield Papers.
25. Garfield to Fuller, August 22, 1854. Garfield Papers.
26. Smith, op. cit., p. 76.

27. Garfield to Mary Watson, September 16, 1854. Mary P. Watson, of Butler, New York, was the fiancée of Corydon Fuller, and a former student at the Eclectic. She and Fuller were married on January 1, 1855. This letter is found in Fuller, op. cit., pp. 150-151.
28. Garfield to Lucretia, July 30, 1854. Garfield Papers.
29. W. W. Wasson, James A. Garfield: His Religion and Education (Nashville: Tennessee Book Company, 1952), p. 36.
30. Garfield to Lucretia, August 14, 1854. Garfield Papers.
31. Smith, op. cit., p. 75.
32. Garfield to Lucretia, September 13, 1854. Garfield Papers. In the Journal this meeting is described in the entries between September 5-12, 1854.
33. Garfield to Mary Watson, September 16, 1854. This letter is found in Fuller, op. cit., pp. 150-151.
34. J. M. Bundy, The Life of General James A. Garfield (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1880), p. 37. In the summer of 1880 Bundy obtained this information from S. P. Hubbell for use in his campaign biography.
35. Fuller, op. cit., p. 163. Fuller made a brief visit to Williamstown in the fall of 1854 (October 18-20). In his notes on October 19, Fuller wrote: "This afternoon I have attended a recitation in Greek, by the Junior Class. James did first rate, and I have just been conversing with one of the class, who says that he will take one of the first honors."
36. Garfield to Lucretia, September 28, 1854. Garfield Papers.
37. Smith, op. cit., p. 84.
38. James A. Garfield, "Chivalry: Ancient and Modern." Garfield Papers. This speech was delivered on December 29, 1854. The 33-page manuscript of this speech can be found on Reel 125 in the microfilm copy of the papers.
39. Garfield to Fuller, November 12, 1854. Garfield Papers.
40. Garfield to Martha Fiske, December 31, 1854. Garfield Papers. Garfield's disillusionment was short-lived. There were no further remarks of this kind.

41. Wasson, op. cit., p. 37.
42. Garfield to Fuller, February 15, 1855. Garfield Papers.
43. Garfield to Lucretia, February 22, 1855. Garfield Papers.
44. Rebecca Jane Selleck (1831-1909) is sometimes referred to in the Journal as "Rancie." Garfield also visited her at Lewisboro. In August, 1856, she went to the Williams commencement to see Garfield graduate. She was a small, attractive girl with wit and charm, and there is no doubt that Garfield was much attracted to her and that she was deeply in love with him. Her letters to him, which are very revealing documents, are preserved in the Garfield Papers; she evidently destroyed his letters to her. By the spring of 1856, due to his attraction to Miss Selleck, Garfield's engagement to Lucretia was very much up in the air. Even after he returned to Hiram he could not get Rebecca out of his mind. After Garfield married Lucretia there was still occasional tension over Rebecca. Rebecca never married.
45. Garfield to Fuller, March 13, 1855. Garfield Papers.
46. Burke A. Hinsdale, President Garfield and Education (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), p. 141.
47. Garfield to Lucretia, March 6, 1855. Garfield Papers.
48. Bundy, op. cit., p. 39. This is also from the memoir submitted by S. P. Hubbell.
49. Garfield to Phoebe Boynton, July 10, 1855. Garfield Papers. She was a cousin to Garfield.
50. Wasson, op. cit., p. 39.
51. Garfield to Fuller, May 23, 1855. Garfield Papers.
52. Garfield to Lucretia, May 29, 1855. Garfield Papers.
53. Garfield to Fuller, June 19, 1855. Garfield Papers.
54. Garfield to Lucretia, August 11, 1855. Garfield Papers.
55. Garfield to Fuller, August 20, 1855. Garfield Papers.
56. Garfield to Fuller, August 20, 1855. Garfield Papers. He also spent time with Lucretia and Almeda.

57. Garfield to Fuller, September 7, 1855. Garfield Papers.
58. Garfield to Lucretia, September 18, 1855. Garfield Papers.
59. Journal, November 8, 1855. But Garfield did not slow down immediately. In the following month he traveled to New York City, New Haven, and Boston, in search of material for his debates at Williams. It wasn't until February, 1856, that he slackened his pace.
60. Journal, November 5, 1855. In addition to Pittstown and Poestenkill, Garfield preached for a little Disciple church in Millville, New York, on occasion. His closest friends in that church were "my dear Bro. & Sister Allen." There is a letter from Garfield to the Allens in the archives of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee.
61. Frederick Rudolph, Mark Hopkins and the Log (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), p. 92. The inspiration for the title of this volume comes from Garfield. At a Williams College alumni dinner held in Delmonico's restaurant in New York City on December 28, 1871, Garfield is supposed to have said: "The ideal college is Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other." There have been several variations to this story, and while it is impossible to determine exactly what Garfield said, it is clear that he was bestowing praise upon his former teacher.
62. Journal, November 8, 1855.
63. Journal, November 10, 1855.
64. Garfield to Lucretia, November 10, 1855. Garfield Papers. In the following month Garfield wrote to Amos Sutton Hayden: "We have been walking in the strong clear light of Dr. Hopkins' teachings which lead us deeper down into the heart of things than anything we have had before. He is a real sky-clearer, a cloud-compelling Jupiter." See Arthur H. Merritt, "Two unpublished Letters of James A. Garfield Written while a Student at Williams College," New York Historical Society Quarterly, (1947), pp. 137-138.
65. Garfield to Fuller, February 11, 1856. Garfield Papers.
66. Journal, November 10, 1855. The volume he referred to was Thomas Vincent's An Explicatory Catechism.

67. Bundy, op. cit., p. 36. This information was obtained from Hazen in the summer of 1880.
68. Garfield to Lucretia, February 11, 1856. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Lucretia, March 23, 1856. Garfield Papers.
69. Journal, November 19, 1855. His 24th birthday.
70. Bundy, op. cit., p. 41. This information was obtained from Manley in the summer of 1880.
71. Garfield to Fuller, May 15, 1856. Garfield Papers.
72. Smith, op. cit., p. 101.
73. Garfield to Lucretia, May 4, 1856. Garfield Papers.
74. Garfield to Lucretia, May 18, 1856. Garfield Papers.
His reference to the "warring factions" may concern the controversy that was then arising over the slavery issue. In November, 1855, the so-called "Bethany riot" resulted in the dismissal of ten anti-slavery students from the campus. They were hailed as martyrs in the North, and dubbed "the immortal ten." When they were immediately accepted at a Disciple college in Indianapolis, Campbell and the Bethany faculty were enraged. Throughout the first half of 1856 the Disciple papers gave wide coverage to this sectional controversy, and it may have been the reason Garfield was discouraged. This incident will be discussed in a later chapter.
75. Garfield to Lucretia, June 9, 1856. Garfield Papers.
A few days later he declined an offer from the Disciple church in Mishawaka, Indiana, to become its pastor. "I think I shall not become a preacher now, if I ever do," he wrote to Lucretia on June 13. Fuller was responsible for getting Garfield this preaching offer, but he was not aware of Garfield's new disenchantment with the Disciples. Garfield chose not to reveal his true feelings to Fuller, and said simply: "Surely nothing could give me more pleasure than to live near you and labor, shoulder to shoulder, with you in such a noble enterprise as that of carrying forward the gospel of our Redeemer and God." (June 17) However, he went on to explain that he was giving thought to returning to the Eclectic.
76. Garfield to Lucretia, March 3, 1856. Garfield Papers.
77. Garfield to Lucretia, July 6, 1856. Garfield Papers.
But earlier, on February 11, he had written to Fuller:

"I do not know the origin of that rumor concerning the Presidency of the Eclectic . . . I do not expect any such thing, and shall make no moves to bring it about, though perhaps I might echo the sentiment of Sam Houston, 'If the Presidency is thrust upon me, I shall do as I please about accepting.'"

78. Early in 1856 Almeda Booth, who had now graduated from Oberlin and was back on the faculty at the Eclectic, wrote to Garfield: "Brother Hayden thinks you are morally bound to come back here, but I think the moral obligation resting upon him is quite as strong to give up the management to you if you should come. I know you can never endure to work under him, for it is ten times as irksome to me as it was before I went away. James, would you risk to come here and see what you can do with the school? It certainly is a good location, and I know you would succeed, if you were not embarrassed by dictation or management."

79. For a debate he prepared to argue that "Christians have no right to participate in human governments!" Despite arguments to the contrary, he was inclined to believe it was "like serving two masters to participate in the affairs of a government which is point blank opposed to the Christians (as all human ones must necessarily be)." After hearing the famed Ohio politician, Joshua R. Giddings, deliver a political speech, Garfield wrote: "I could not help but consider that the cause for which he was laboring was a carnal one." When he visited the Capitol in Columbus, he "was not satisfied with the appearance" of most of the legislators. "Their rubicund, bloated faces spoke plainly of the midnight bowl, and, in my opinion, unfitted them for representing the free people of a great state."

80. Journal, August 17, 1852.
Journal, November 2, 1852.

81. Journal, November 2, 1855. Soon he was into political biography. On March 3, 1856, he asked Lucretia: "Have you seen Irving's 'Life of Washington'? It is a most thrilling work. Hard-hearted as I am, I cried more than a dozen times while reading the last 50 pages . . ."

82. Bundy, op. cit., p. 36. A week later, on June 25, he confided to Lucretia that he had now become "intensely interested" in the presidential campaign of 1856.

83. Journal, August 22, 1859.

1. Hinsdale to Garfield, August 30, 1857. Garfield Papers.
2. Garfield to Fuller, September 8, 1856. Garfield Papers.
3. For some years Norman Dunshee had been exercising many of the duties of the Presidency, due to Hayden's loose supervision of the school. In recent months he had been the chief instigator of the campaign to unseat President Hayden. For evidence that Dunshee tried to undercut the authority of Hayden, see Dunshee to Garfield, November 13, 1855, and February 12, 1856, in the Garfield Papers. Dunshee regarded himself as the real head of the school, and he probably thought Garfield would support him in his bid for the Presidency. When it became evident that Garfield desired the Presidency for himself, there was a serious break in the Garfield-Dunshee relationship.
4. Garfield to Fuller, November 9, 1856. Garfield Papers.
5. Garfield's opponent was Alphonso Hart (1830-1910), who later became a Republican and served in the state legislature as lieutenant governor, and from 1883-1885 as a member of the U. S. House of Representatives. In this debate Garfield was helped out by his own presence of mind. Smith says: "His opponent had staggered him by reading from a speech of Fremont in Congress a passage that seemed to prove that he took the same ground that the Democratic party did on 'Squatter sovereignty.' But during the Ravenna editor's peroration, Garfield picked up the copy of the Congressional Globe and when his turn came he was able to prove him guilty of an attempt to deceive the audience, by showing that what was quoted was a description by Fremont of the Democratic position. Having exposed the fraud, says the account, 'Garfield followed up the advantage amid storms of applause, winding up with a peroration so impressive as to astonish everybody, even himself.'" See Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), pp. 122-123.
6. Smith, op. cit., p. 123. Years later Garfield confirmed that this was the first time he voted. In his Journal entry for November 7, 1876, he wrote: "I cast my first vote in 1856 for Salmon P. Chase for Governor of Ohio, and a month later, voted for Fremont."
7. Garfield to Fuller, December 14, 1856. Garfield Papers.
8. Garfield to Fuller, February 3, 1857. In Corydon E. Fuller, Reminiscences of James A. Garfield (Cincinnati:

Standard Publishing Company, 1887), p. 244. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers.

9. Garfield to Lucretia, May 18, 1857. Lucretia was living for a time in Cleveland. One of the things that brought the internal affairs of the Eclectic to a head, was the action of the faculty. At the end of the spring term, the disgruntled faculty all resigned in order to force President Hayden's removal. See Charles Wilber to Garfield, April 11, 1857, in the Garfield Papers.
10. Journal, June 29, 1854. This visit occurred in the city of Cleveland, when Garfield was on his way to enroll in Williams College.
11. Garfield to Fuller, August 30, 1857. In Fuller op. cit., p. 256. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers. At this time, Fuller was living in Arkansas and was unaware of the circumstances surrounding Garfield's promotion.
12. Robert Granville Caldwell, James A. Garfield: Party Chieftain (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1931), p. 42.
13. Garfield to Fuller, August 30, 1857. In Fuller, op. cit., p. 256. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers.
14. Two years later, when Garfield was President, the board endorsed this policy. However, due to the intervention of the Civil War, the change was not made until several years later. In 1867, the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute became Hiram College.
15. B. A. Hinsdale, President Garfield and Education (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), p. 55. Frederick A. Henry said that by the time his father, Charles E. Henry, enrolled at the Eclectic in the winter of 1857-1858, "the odium theologicum was now pretty well shaken off the institution" as a result of Garfield's leadership. See Frederick A. Henry, Captain Henry of Geauga (Cleveland: The Gates Press, 1942), p. 76. The Henry family were all members of the Methodist Church.
16. Henry, op. cit., p. 598. Hinsdale's speech was delivered at a Hiram "Jubilee" on June 22, 1900. It was his last visit to the Hiram College campus.
17. Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 55.
18. Henry, op. cit., p. 598. Garfield was influenced by the "muscular morality" in Charles Kingsley's writings.

30. Smith, op. cit., p. 118.
31. Garfield was frequently criticized for these late-night sessions, prompting him to write: "The dastard race of rotten-hearted, evil-eyed fools that live about here think that a man cannot possibly enter a lady's room for other than licentious purposes." He defended his love for chess by writing: "I believe that the game of chess is one of the best exercises that can be found, combining the amusement with the exercise of the intellect, and cultivation of a man's diplomatic power. Some one has said, 'Put two young men out into the world with equal powers and acquirement except that one can play chess and the other cannot, and the chess player will checkmate the other in all the undertakings of life.'" See Journal, October 2-3, 1857.
32. Burke Aaron Hinsdale (1837-1900) eventually became Garfield's most intimate friend. Fuller had occupied that position in 1851-1856, and Rhodes was the most frequent correspondent in the years 1856-1864. But between 1864-1881 the Garfield-Hinsdale friendship grew stronger, and it was especially close in the years 1870-1881 when Hinsdale was president of Hiram College. There are a total of 1,141 letters in the Garfield-Hinsdale correspondence in the Garfield Papers.
33. Smith, op. cit., p. 119.
34. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 15, 1857. Garfield Papers.
35. It was in this club that Garfield began the practice of smoking a pipe, a practice frowned upon by Disciples. Hinsdale's biographer says of this subject: "About this time, too, he began the practice of smoking a pipe. His parents had always disapproved of smoking as immoral, but since his class friends, Garfield and Rhodes, both enjoyed smoking, Hinsdale soon fell into the habit." See Harold Eugene Davis, Hinsdale of Hiram: The Life of Burke Aaron Hinsdale (Washington: The University Press of Washington, D. C., 1971), p. 41.
36. Smith thought this principle became "almost a superstition" with Garfield (op. cit., p. 113). Caldwell was of the opinion that Garfield was over-committed to this tradition, "even sometimes, to the extent of almost deceiving himself" (op. cit., p. 51). Garfield seemed to be always fearful of revealing his true ambitions, and he used this political ploy to tremendous advantage in his successful political career.

37. Harmon Austin (1817-1893) has been likened to Mark Hanna and Colonel Edward House, who in later years were the "king-makers" that led William McKinley and Woodrow Wilson into the White House. Austin was without personal political ambitions, but he became Garfield's unofficial campaign manager. Through the years, Garfield was a frequent overnight guest in the Austin home. There are 873 letters in the Garfield-Austin correspondence in the Garfield Papers.
38. Smith, op. cit., p. 118.
39. Garfield to Austin, October 4, 1858. Garfield Papers.
40. John M. Taylor, Garfield of Ohio: The Available Man (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1970), p. 56.
41. Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 74. See also, Robert Moffett, "Garfield As a Preacher," The Christian Standard, (November 26, 1881), p. 53.
42. Almeda Booth to Lucretia, September 28, 1857. Garfield Papers. Lucretia was still living in Cleveland.
43. All of Garfield's sermons and sermon notes that are preserved in the Garfield Papers are from the years 1857 and 1858, and they are all located on reel #126 in the microfilm copy of the papers. The longest full-length manuscript in this collection is a 32-page sermon entitled "Life" that was delivered at the Disciple church in Chagrin Falls on February 20, 1857. In addition, there are 94 pages of sermon notes covering the year of 1857. Garfield had clipped these together in one manuscript.
44. Journal, October 4, 1857.
45. Garfield to Fuller, March 23, 1858. Garfield Papers.
46. Garfield to Lucretia, February 13, 1858. Garfield Papers.
47. Journal, February 14, 1858.
48. Caldwell, op. cit., p. 40.
49. Pittsburgh Daily Post, October 16, 1880. The 1877 article was reprinted in the heat of the 1880 presidential campaign. It is found in the 1880 scrapbook in the Garfield Papers.
50. Smith, op. cit., p. 129.

51. Journal, April 29, 1858.
52. Journal, May 4, 1858.
53. Journal, May 26-27, 1858. The Disciples organized the Ohio Christian Missionary Society at Wooster, Ohio, on May 12, 1852. Alexander Campbell and Isaac Errett were present on that occasion, and they were significant factors in the organization of the society. David S. Burnet served as president of the O.C.M.S. from 1852-1855. Dr. John P. Robison, one of Garfield's close friends, was named president in 1856 and served through 1859. The annual convention that Garfield attended in 1858 was held in Massillon.
54. Journal, June 10, 1858.
55. Garfield to Hinsdale, July 17, 1858. Garfield Papers. The two main Disciple schools that Garfield visited on this trip were North Western Christian University (now Butler University) in Indianapolis, Indiana, and Eureka College in Eureka, Illinois. In Indianapolis he had dinner with Ovid Butler, the chief founder of the school and the president of the Board of Trustees. At Eureka he visited with President Charles Louis Loos. Loos was later a professor at Bethany College from 1858 to 1880.
56. Garfield to Hinsdale, July 17, 1858. Garfield Papers.
57. Garfield to Rhodes, July 19, 1858. Garfield Papers.
58. Garfield explained to Hinsdale how he happened to find the letter. He was writing a letter at Washburn's table and "by chance picked up a wastepaper which had the following letter in it." The term "Egypt" was a popular name for the southern part of the state of Illinois.
59. Journal, August 10, 1858. The man that Garfield hired to replace Rhodes was John M. Atwater (1837-1900). He was a Disciple preacher and a former student at the Eclectic. The fact that he was favorable to Garfield's leadership at the Eclectic was probably the deciding factor in his hiring. Given the internal situation at the school, Garfield was not about to hire anyone who would favor the Dunshee-Everest faction. As evidence of the continuing tension at the school, Amos Sutton Hayden wrote to Garfield to say that he had begun to believe "what I have often heard others say, that Mr. G_____ is not a really honest man." Hayden had been temporarily swayed by Dunshee and Everest, but three

weeks later he retracted the insinuation in an effusive letter to "Beloved Bro. Garfield." See A. S. Hayden to Garfield, August 26 and September 14, 1858, in the Garfield Papers.

60. See Mary Bosworth Treudley, Prelude to the Future: The First Hundred Years of Hiram College (New York: Association Press, 1950), pp. 79-101. Chapter 4 in this volume is entitled "The Golden Age," and it charts the course of the Garfield administration.
61. Journal, April 14, 1858. When Garfield returned from Williams College, he had misgivings about marriage to Lucretia, misgivings of which she was well aware. His acquaintance with Rebecca Selleck had developed into a serious attachment, and they had continued to write to one another. But Lucretia was patient, and in April of 1858 she and Garfield resolved to "try life in union before many months." That evening Garfield confided to his Journal: "I will not at this time go down into the depths of all my thoughts on this sorrowful theme." As it turned out, the marriage was not very fulfilling in its first years. The establishment of a happy and durable relationship required a considerable amount of time.
62. Garfield to Rhodes, December 4, 1858. Garfield Papers.
63. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 16, 1858. Garfield Papers.
64. Smith, op. cit., p. 159. Almeda Booth frequently stayed in the Garfield home. In a typical letter to Hinsdale, Garfield closed by saying, "Our two girls send love. In token whereof they affix their name." This was followed by a brief note from both Almeda and Crete.
65. The seven great debates in the Lincoln-Douglas contest were held between August 21 and October 15, 1858.
66. The Garfield-Denton debate originated in February, 1858, when Denton was giving his lectures in Chagrin Falls. While interest in the community was high, the Disciples asked Garfield to come and preach on the same subjects that Denton was exploiting. Garfield accepted, preaching sermons on "Development Theory" and "Geology and Religion" at the Disciple meetinghouse. Garfield must have known that he would be challenged by Denton, and he was prepared to accept the issue. Denton issued the challenge, but as Garfield noted: "He is just going to Kansas and will not return till next Fall. I shall debate with him then if he wishes." See Journal, February 22,

1858. It was around November 18, a week after his wedding, that Garfield was informed that Denton would be back in Ohio in December. A date was agreed upon, and Garfield began immediately to prepare for the event.
67. Garfield to Rhodes, January 8, 1859. Garfield Papers. Denton was 37 years old at the time of the debate, and Garfield had just passed his 27th birthday.
 68. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 16, 1858. Garfield Papers.
 69. Garfield to Rhodes, December 4, 1858. Garfield Papers.
 70. F. M. Green wrote: "In his preparation for debate with Mr. Denton, Mr. Garfield laid under tribute his friends to serve him, especially Miss Almeda A. Booth, to whose aid he pays this graceful tribute: 'When I was in a hurry of preparing for a debate with Mr. Denton, in 1858, she read not less than eight or ten volumes, and made admirable notes for me on those points which related to the topics of discussion.'" See F. M. Green, A Royal Life: The Eventful History of James A. Garfield (Chicago: Central Book Concern, 1882), pp. 187-188. For evidence of the contribution of Hinsdale and Rhodes, see Hinsdale to Garfield, November 29, 1858; Rhodes to Garfield, December 15, 1858; and Hinsdale to Garfield, December 23, 1858, in the Garfield Papers. It was Hinsdale who discovered that Denton was evidently not aware of Hugh Miller's book, The Footprints of the Creator. That volume, published in 1847, was a contribution to both Christian apologetics and to palaeontology. When Garfield learned that Denton was unaware of the book, he took advantage of the situation by following Miller closely.
 71. Garfield to Rhodes, December 4, 1858. Garfield Papers.
 72. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 16, 1858. Garfield Papers.
 73. Garfield to Rhodes, January 8, 1859. Garfield Papers. Garfield was not deceived by Denton's pretense to scientific objectivity. Allan Peskin has written: "As a matter of fact, Garfield had the better of the scientific arguments. Denton's evolutionary views were not supported, as yet, by any firm scientific evidence. Origin of Species was still a year in the future, and the earlier research which had paved the way for Darwin's work was unknown on the Reserve. Denton had been led to his conclusions through his atheism, much as Garfield had reached his through his belief." See Allan Jay Peskin, "James A. Garfield: 1831-1863" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation,

Western Reserve University, 1965), p. 96. Denton opened the debate "with a gallant charge that was full of chivalric and self-confident daring," in which he attempted to establish the Nebular hypothesis. Garfield countered his arguments at every point, and after five sessions on this subject, Denton switched to an attack on the Mosaic account of creation. This attack occupied almost two full days of the debate. The final two days of the contest were devoted primarily to a discussion of the development theory. Garfield argued for the miracle of creation as recorded in Genesis, whereas Denton affirmed the law of development.

74. Garfield to Rhodes, January 8, 1859. Garfield Papers.
75. S. W. Collins to Garfield, February 4, 1859. Garfield Papers.
76. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 10, 1859. Garfield Papers. Garfield also quoted from this letter in his Journal entry for December 31, 1858, but he noted that the letter had arrived "a week after this date." When Garfield had preached at Chagrin Falls in February, 1858, at the time of the Denton challenge, he had stayed overnight with "Bro. Collins." (see Journal, February 20, 1858) This Disciple leader was largely responsible for the debate.
77. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 10, 1859. Garfield Papers. Garfield heard about this conversation second-hand, and he was eager to share it with Hinsdale.
78. Smith, op. cit., p. 125. A week after the debate, while he was poring over his Journal, Garfield noticed the entry for November 19, 1855, where he had written of looking "for a purpose, an aim in life." He now wrote below this entry: "(Have I found it? Jan. 7, 1859.)" Perhaps he could see a political future already developing.
79. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 10, 1859. Garfield Papers. Hinsdale had suggested the series, and Garfield now responded: "What you suggest ought to be done I am about to undertake." See also, Garfield to Rhodes, February 3, 1859, in the Garfield Papers, where Garfield discusses the series of lectures.
80. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 10, 1859. Garfield Papers. Garfield's preparation for the Denton debate broadened his understanding of the natural sciences, and it convinced him that religion must be harmonized with the evidence of the natural sciences. "I have become very

- deeply interested in the subject of Natural Science," he remarked to Hinsdale, "by the studies into which the preparation for this debate had led me." See Garfield to Hinsdale, December 16, 1858, in the Garfield Papers. As a result, Garfield increased the role of science in the Eclectic curriculum, introduced a geology class, and organized a Natural History Society. It is noteworthy that among the men he revered most in later years were Joseph Henry, the distinguished secretary of the Smithsonian, and Louis Agassiz, Harvard's great scientist and Garfield's fellow regent on the Smithsonian board.
81. Garfield to Rhodes, February 3, 1859. Garfield Papers. Garfield was trying to organize a chess league with some of the neighboring colleges, but the agitation from the Dunshee-Everest-Ryder faction forced him to cancel his plans.
 82. Rhodes to Garfield, March 3, 1859. Garfield Papers. Garfield had offended some of the more conservative Disciples when he admitted in the course of the Denton debate that the world had existed for millions of years. According to "Bro. Collins," a "few Christians were unsettled" by Garfield's admission. See Garfield to Hinsdale, January 10, 1859, in the Garfield Papers.
 83. Garfield to Rhodes, January 8, 1859. Garfield Papers. The combination of one of these fields with statesmanship appeared to Garfield to be "the loftier highway."
 84. Henry K. Shaw, Buckeye Disciples: A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1852), p. 211.
 85. Garfield to Fuller, January 16, 1858. In Fuller, op. cit., pp. 267-268. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers.
 86. Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 78. Garfield later passed his bar examination in 1861.
 87. Austin to Garfield, March 3, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 88. The most persistent objection to Masonry and other fraternal organizations was that such institutions, if Christians participated in them, destroyed the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of the church. However, most of the leaders of the Disciples, including Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone, were moderate on the question. They advised that Masons ought not to be "excluded" from

- the church. See David Edwin Harrell, Jr., Quest For A Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866 (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), pp. 211-214, for a discussion of the reaction of the Disciples to "secret societies."
89. Garfield to Rhodes, April 15, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 90. Garfield to Rhodes, April 23, 1859. Garfield Papers. In this letter Garfield remarked that he thought there were indications pointing towards "teaching as a stepping stone to political influence," citing two educators who had recently become politicians.
 91. Garfield to Rhodes, April 15, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 92. Rhodes to Garfield, May 2, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 93. It is interesting to see who the six trustees were and how they voted. Symonds Ryder, a friend of Dunshee and Everest, was the only one who opposed the motion. The five trustees who supported the motion were: Harmon Austin, Zeb Rudolph, William Hayden, Frederick Williams, and Wallace John Ford. All of these men were friends of Garfield. See F. I. Herriott, "Norman Dunshee," Annals of Iowa, (January, 1936), pp. 163-206, for a thorough discussion of this incident.
 94. Garfield to Rhodes, May 14, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 95. Garfield to Rhodes, May 29, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 96. Austin to Garfield, May 28, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 97. Garfield to Rhodes, June 20, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 98. Austin to Garfield, June 12, 1859. Garfield Papers. In this letter Austin asked Garfield to cultivate a better relationship with Harvey Everest. Austin felt that it was important for the image of the Eclectic. With Dunshee out of the picture, Garfield and Everest did become closer, but Everest was never a part of Garfield's intimate circle of friends. However, after the Garfield assassination, Everest was president of the short-lived Garfield University.
 99. Garfield to Rhodes, June 20, 1859. Garfield Papers.
 100. W. J. Ford to Garfield, July 16, 1859. Garfield Papers. Wallace John Ford (1832-1916), a former student at the

Eclectic, was now a financial agent for the school in addition to his membership on the board. He was near Garfield's age, and the two had been friends for a number of years. Ford was not personally opposed to Garfield's political ambition, but he wanted to inform him of how others were responding to the rumors. Ford advised Garfield in this letter to wait two years before running for office, but when Garfield finally decided to seek the nomination, Ford supported him. Later, Ford was Garfield's secretary during part of his first term in Congress.

101. W. J. Ford to Garfield, July 16, 1859. Garfield Papers.
102. Garfield had received a letter from President Hopkins informing him that the Williams faculty had unanimously selected him to deliver a Master's Oration. He proudly accepted the honor and departed for Williamstown on July 13, accompanied by his wife and Almeda Booth. One of the young men who graduated with Rhodes was Washington Gladden (1836-1918), who later gained fame as "the father of the American Social Gospel." Gladden met Garfield on this occasion, and in later years he recalled the moment by writing: "He was a fine, strong young fellow, with a ruddy face, a massive head, a cordial manner, and an air of mastership. The hour that I spent with him on this occasion gave me a large sense of his power. Few who knew him in those days were surprised at his swift ascent to the places of command." See Washington Gladden, Recollections (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), p. 76.
103. Journal, August 22, 1859. The 26th Ohio Senatorial District consisted of Portage and Summit counties, and Ravenna was the largest town in Portage County. Apparently by pre-arrangement, Portage County was entitled to pick that year's senatorial candidate.
104. W. W. Wasson, James A. Garfield: His Religion and Education (Nashville: Tennessee Book Company, 1952), p. 73.
105. See footnote 36 in this chapter. Garfield's friends immediately canvassed the district, lining up support. Since delegates for the district nominating convention had to be chosen at the party caucuses which convened in each township, Garfield's friends made it a point to attend these meetings and plead the cause of their candidate. They helped to elect delegates who were favorable to the Garfield nomination. "As the darkey said, 'things is working,'" reported one agent to Garfield.

106. Journal, August 22, 1859.
107. Journal, August 22, 1859.
108. Journal, August 23, 1859.
109. Edwin Palmer Hoyt, James A. Garfield (Chicago: Reilly and Lee, 1964), p. 27.
Journal, September 2, 1859.
110. Among the prominent Disciples who were actively supporting Garfield were: Harmon Austin, Wallace John Ford, Dr. John P. Robison, Dr. Andrew J. Squire, and the intimates in the Hiram circle. They each influenced large numbers of Disciples to look favorably on the Garfield candidacy.
111. Garfield to Fuller, November 9, 1859. Garfield Papers. Garfield's statement of "Long ago, you know," raises the question of how long Garfield had entertained this ambition. The last time he had seen Fuller was at the graduation ceremonies at Williams in August, 1856. Since the Garfield-Fuller correspondence reveals no discussion of this ambition, it appears likely that Garfield is referring to a private conversation in August, 1856. That would coincide with his first political involvement in the Fremont presidential campaign.
112. J. S. Lamar, Memoirs of Isaac Errett (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1893), I, pp. 207-208.
Journal, August 30, 1859.
113. Peskin, op. cit., p. 114.
114. Garfield to Fuller, November 9, 1859. Garfield Papers.
115. Garfield to Lucretia, December 31, 1859. Garfield Papers.
116. Fuller, op. cit., p. 287.
117. Almeda Booth to Garfield, January 8, 1860. Garfield Papers. Garfield's absence from Hiram made it necessary to add another teacher to the Eclectic staff, and he recommended Burke Hinsdale to the trustees. Beginning in the spring term of 1860, Hinsdale was employed on a part-time basis. The faculty now consisted of Garfield, Rhodes, Booth, and Everest, with Atwater and Hinsdale part-time. Together with influential trustees like Austin, Robison and Ford, it made for a strong political base. Garfield had chosen the right "portal" through which to enter "the field of statesmanship."

1. Kenneth M. Stamp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York: Random House, Inc., 1956), p. vii.
2. For the finest general discussion of the slavery issue in the Disciple movement, see Robert O. Fife, "Alexander Campbell and the Christian Church in the Slavery Controversy" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1960). It has been estimated that Disciples owned 101,000 slaves by 1851. See The Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (New York: William Harned, Office Agent, 1851), p. 56. This report notes that only Baptists and Methodists held more slaves. Disciple historians have concluded: "Disciples on a per capita basis constituted the leading slaveholding church of the nation." See Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1958), p. 468. While these statistics might be open to question, there is no doubt that the Disciples were deeply involved in the slavery problem. For a recent interpretation of how the slavery dilemma affected the Disciples, see David Edwin Harrell, Jr., Quest For A Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866 (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), pp. 91-138.
3. Both of these regions produced new Disciple schools in 1850. Western Reserve Eclectic Institute in Hiram and North-Western Christian University in Indianapolis were at least partially motivated by the desire for "sound" institutions on the slavery question. Although neither school was completely controlled by abolitionists, both had strong antislavery backing. Fuller confirms: "If it had not been for slavery, it is very doubtful whether the Eclectic would ever have been founded." See Corydon E. Fuller, Reminiscences of James A. Garfield (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1887), pp. 29-30. In Indiana, the radical abolitionists were led by Ovid Butler and John Boggs, while in Ohio the leaders were Cyrus McNeeley and Matthew S. Clapp.
4. In his fifth essay, Campbell had stated his position in three propositions: 1. Roman slavery, certainly no better than American slavery, pervaded all the countries in which those churches existed to which the apostolic epistles were addressed, and in which the relation of master and servant is at all alluded to. 2. In the primitive church there were masters and slaves while they were yet under the personal inspection and guidance of the Apostles themselves. 3. From a particular and full

induction of every passage in the New Testament that alludes to the relation of master and slave, or to their relative duties of master and slave, there is not any indication of the unlawfulness of the relation; but simply a recognition of it, with very clear and specific directions to the parties, how they should conduct themselves to each other in the discharge of those duties. See Alexander Campbell, "Our Position to American Slavery," Millennial Harbinger (May, 1845), p. 232.

5. Journal, September 29, 1850.
6. Henry K. Shaw, Buckeye Disciples: A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1952), p. 140.
7. Journal, September 6, 1850.
8. Journal, October 2, 1850. The Fugitive Slave Law was passed by Congress on September 12, 1850, as a part of the Compromise of 1850. It triggered a fiery exchange in the pages of the Millennial Harbinger. Campbell insisted that the law was "perfectly constitutional" and ought to be obeyed, but many of his Northern readers declared their allegiance to the "higher law" of justice.
9. Samuel Ward, a prominent Negro minister, and Professor Jehu Brainard of Cleveland, a reputable geologist, were the two speakers. See Journal, September 18 and October 3, 1851.
10. Journal, July 17, 1852.
Journal, March 4-5, 1853.
11. Journal, July 4, 1853. This was Garfield's first journey into the South.
12. Garfield to Fuller, July 19, 1853. Garfield Papers.
13. Fuller, op. cit., p. 115.
14. Journal, June 23, 1854.
15. Journal, November 2, 1855. The Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed in May, 1854. It repealed the Missouri Compromise and provided freedom of choice for all territories and states on the slavery question. As a result of this act, Kansas became a battleground (in the five turbulent years from 1855 to 1860 "bleeding Kansas" was a national byword). The act was also a leading factor in the birth

and growth of the Republican Party. The speeches that Garfield heard in November, 1855, were on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its aftermath. He was particularly moved by the speech of Jeb Patterson, editor of the Parkville (Missouri) Luminary, whose newspaper office had been subjected to mob violence and his press thrown into the Missouri River as a result of his opposition to illegal voting by Missourians in Kansas. See pages 77-78 in this dissertation for additional information.

16. Alexander Campbell, "Disturbances in Bethany College," Millennial Harbinger, (January, 1856), pp. 54-60. Philip Burns, et. al., "Disturbances at Bethany, Virginia," North-Western Christian Magazine, (January, 1856), pp. 213-218. The sectional tensions at Bethany had reached a climax on Sunday evening, November 11, 1855, after an antislavery sermon by Burns. About 50 students walked out during the course of the sermon, and they began hammering on the floor from the basement and breaking windows, etc. A committee of Northern students barely managed to escort Burns to safety. Campbell was very upset with Burns and his cohorts, and he firmly believed that the sermon was "ill-judged and unwarranted under all the circumstances."
17. T. J. Newcomb, "Discussion at New Philadelphia," North-Western Christian Magazine, (January, 1858), p. 221. Accounts of their "martyrdom" were circulated through the North in leading periodicals like the Indianapolis Weekly State Journal and the New York Tribune.
18. Alexander Campbell, "Reported Troubles in Bethany College," Millennial Harbinger, (February, 1856), p. 115.
19. The Bethany Faculty, "College Etiquette and the Faculty of the N. W. Christian University," Millennial Harbinger, (April, 1856), pp. 226-229. The brotherhood feud that developed over the "Bethany riot" was very depressing to Garfield. See footnote 74 in chapter two of this dissertation. He did not want to enter the ministry while the Disciples were "all torn up into warring factions."
20. Dunshee to Garfield, November 13, 1855. Garfield Papers. "Doughface" was an epithet applied by abolitionists to Northern politicians who yielded to the demands of the Southern leaders in the controversies over slavery.
21. When Dunshee came to Hiram as a professor in 1851, he was quickly recognized as a fine classical scholar. He soon became the center of an enthusiastic group of the

- ablest students of the school, including Garfield, Alameda Booth, Harvey Everest, and Harry Rhodes. Garfield called Dunshee a "very fine scholar and one of the best men and Christians I know of." See Garfield to his mother, July 29, 1853, Garfield Papers. Dunshee assumed that he had the support of his former students in his bid to unseat President Hayden. His dream was to turn the Eclectic into an abolitionist stronghold like Oberlin College, and he had good reason to think that the other four faculty members shared his dream. Booth was a graduate of Oberlin, and Everest was a member of the "immortal ten." Garfield and Rhodes were new converts to the Republican Party.
22. John Boggs had founded the Magazine in June, 1854, one month after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He published it monthly in 1854-1858. It was succeeded by the semi-monthly Christian Luminary which ran from 1858 to 1862. A monthly Luminary was published in 1862-1863. For more information, see Robert E. Barnes, "An Analytical Study of the Northwestern Christian Magazine," (unpublished B.D. thesis, Butler University, 1951). See also, Fife, op. cit., pp. 142-159.
 23. For a good discussion of the internal tensions in the Eclectic Faculty, see F. I. Herriott, "Norman Dunshee," Annals of Iowa, (January, 1936), pp. 162-206. The subtle change in Garfield's position on the slavery problem can probably best be understood in the light of expediency. From the fall of 1855 when he heard the abolitionist speeches, to the fall of 1856 when he campaigned for Fremont, Garfield's antislavery views were becoming increasingly more pronounced. Although not yet in the radical abolitionist camp, he appeared to be moving in that direction. But after the fall campaign, he grew silent on the divisive issue. Perhaps he was put off by the fanaticism attached to the abolitionist movement, or by the realization that many influential supporters of the Eclectic were opposed to involving the school in such a passionate controversy. For whatever reason, Garfield refused to embrace the radical abolitionist position.
 24. Dred Scott, a slave residing in Missouri, had been taken by his master into the free state of Illinois and later into the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase, where slavery had been forbidden by the Missouri Compromise. Scott sued for his freedom and the case eventually went to the United States Supreme Court.
 25. North-Western Christian Magazine, (June, 1857), p. 23.

26. Garfield to Lucretia, July 4, 1857. Garfield Papers.
27. Journal, October 6, 1857. In clear violation of the Fugitive Slave Law, Garfield fed the fugitive and sent him on his way to freedom. He wrote: "I told him in parting to trust to God and his muscle. His name is Williams and he is from near Midway, Kentucky."
28. Journal, October 22, 1857.
29. F. M. Green, Hiram College and Western Reserve Eclectic Institute: Fifty Years of History 1850-1900 (Cleveland: The O. S. Hubbell Printing Company, 1901), pp. 155-156. There is some basis for questioning the accuracy of this story. The source was probably Garfield, and he may not have told Green until several years after the Civil War. Whether Garfield would have risked the reputation of the Eclectic by clashing with federal officers on the campus is questionable. Dunshee would have been delighted with such a confrontation, but it doesn't appear likely that Garfield would have permitted it. But after the war, when men like the "Oberlin-Wellington rescuers" had become heroes, Garfield may have remembered his role in the Hiram incident in a different light.
30. Garfield to Fuller, March 23, 1858. Garfield Papers.
31. Pardee Butler (1816-1888) had been outraged by the extension of slavery into the territories. In 1855 he moved from Indiana to Kansas to evangelize for the Disciples and to rout the proslavery forces. Settling on a 160-acre claim twelve miles from Atchison, Butler soon was instrumental in the organizing of seven congregations.
32. J. S. Lamar, Memoirs of Isaac Errett (2 volumes; Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1893), I, p. 215. Throughout the 1850's the A.C.M.S. had attempted to maintain a neutral position on the slavery issue. Prior to Butler's request for support in Kansas, the society had selected three missionaries to serve overseas: a slaveholder, Dr. James T. Barclay; a former slave, Alexander Cross; and an abolitionist, J. O. Beardslee.
33. Rosetta B. Hastings, Personal Recollections of Pardee Butler (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1889), p. 320.
34. John Boggs, "The General Missionary Society," North-Western Christian Magazine (April, 1858), p. 314. The charge that Errett had once been a friend of the cause

was only partially correct. In 1851, when Alexander Campbell took the position that the Fugitive Slave Law was "perfectly constitutional," it was Errett who wrote the ablest and most challenging attack on Campbell's views. However, Errett was never completely identified with the cause of the radical abolitionists.

35. Lamar, op. cit., I, p. 217.
36. Ibid, p. 219.
37. Harrell, op. cit., pp. 118-119. During the time of the Butler-Errett affair, when tensions between radicals and moderates were increasing, Garfield remained in contact with the radical leaders. Cyrus McNeeley asked Garfield to take charge of his interracial school at Hopedale. See Journal, April 30, 1858. When Garfield preached in Mentor, he spent the night with Matthew S. Clapp. See Journal, June 14, 1858. While traveling through Indiana that summer, Garfield had dinner at Ovid Butler's home in Indianapolis. See Journal, June 29, 1858. Butler was the leader in the drive to organize a new missionary society. He was also the financial backbone and largest stockholder of North-Western Christian University (later the school was renamed Butler University). The radicals were hoping that Garfield would embrace their cause, but in the end he chose to support Errett.
38. Garfield to Austin, March 30, 1859. Garfield Papers.
39. J. H. Jones to Garfield, April 20, 1859. Garfield Papers.
40. Garfield to Errett, May 3, 1859. Garfield Papers. There was abolitionist pressure on Garfield to turn the Eclectic into another Oberlin College or North-Western Christian University. John Boggs had endorsed the latter as a "safe" place for abolitionist Disciples to send their children, but he had refused to apply this same rating to the Eclectic. See John Boggs, "N. W. Christian University," Christian Luminary (September 1, 1858), p. 74.
41. Herriott, op. cit., pp. 191-198.
42. Garfield to Austin, May 21, 1859. Garfield Papers.
43. Garfield to Austin, May 21, 1859. Garfield Papers. When the trustees met again on June 8, they had to confront all the rumors that were circulating over Dunshee's dismissal. They passed the following resolution: Resolved, That whereas, a report has been circulated in certain

localities that the actions of the trustees of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute have been influenced, in certain cases, by the "question of slavery": Therefore, it is Resolved, that we deny that the "question of slavery," or any other political question, has at all influenced the action of the trustees in any case.

44. Garfield to Hinsdale, July 12, 1859. Garfield Papers.
45. Although the Western Reserve was solidly Republican, the county with the most Democratic strength was Portage.
46. G. P. Udall to Garfield, September 27, 1859. Garfield Papers.
47. Portage Sentinel, September 14, 1859. This statement was in an anonymous letter from Hiram. The Sentinel was the voice of the Democratic Party; whereas the Portage County Democrat, despite its name, was solidly Republican in policy and affiliation. The Democrat, edited by Halsey and Lyman Hall, enthusiastically supported Garfield throughout his political career. Both of these papers were published in the county seat of Ravenna.
48. Allan Jay Peskin, "James A. Garfield: 1831-1863" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1965), p. 110.
49. Portage County Democrat, October 5, 1859.
50. Portage County Democrat, October 5, 1859.
51. Portage County Democrat, September 28, 1859.
52. Garfield carried his district in the October 11 election by a margin of 5,176 to 3,746. As expected, his plurality was greater in Summit County.
53. One of the better theses done in the area of Disciples history deals with this movement. See Eileen Gordon Vandergrift, "The Christian Missionary Society: A Study in the Influence of Slavery on the Disciples of Christ" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Butler University, 1945).
54. Isaac Errett, "The Secret Circular," American Christian Review, (September 20, 1859), pp. 150-151. Harrell, op. cit., p. 119. Errett was upset that the circulars were only mailed to a select group of Northern Disciples who were known to be sympathizers of the abolitionist movement. He advised the brethren to ignore the convention.

55. The abolitionists now had their own periodical, convention, and missionary society. In addition, they were the dominant influence in one school and had the sympathy of several others. There was renewed pressure on moderates like Garfield to give sufficient evidence of their antislavery convictions or be denied fellowship.
56. Journal, December 2, 1859.
Pocket Diary, December 2, 1859. During 1859 and 1860, Garfield occasionally used a small pocket diary. This diary is included in the Garfield Papers.
57. James Monroe (1821-1898) had been an Oberlin professor since 1849. Jacob Dolson Cox (1828-1900) had graduated from Oberlin. Garfield and Cox became especially close friends. They boarded together at the home of William Bascom, chairman of the state Central Republican Committee. The two young Senators shared the same room and bed. Both had reached political office through the educational portal (Cox was superintendent of schools in Warren). Both men had much in common, and as Garfield readily admitted, "both he and myself are occasionally visited with that impulse which men call ambition." See Garfield to Austin, February 5, 1860, Garfield Papers.
58. Portage County Democrat, January 11, 1860.
59. Garfield to Rhodes, January 21, 1860. Garfield Papers.
60. Garfield to Rhodes, January 24, 1860. Garfield Papers.
61. John G. Fee, one of the Lane rebels, was a Disciple abolitionist with a national reputation. He established an interracial school in Berea, Kentucky, which enjoyed the support of Henry Ward Beecher and the Tappan brothers. Fee had been invited by Beecher to speak in the Plymouth Church at the time of John Brown's raid. In the course of his address he said: "We want more John Browns; not in manner of action, but in spirit of consecration; not to go with carnal weapons, but with spiritual; men who, with Bibles in their hands, and tears in their eyes, will beseech men to be reconciled to God. Give us such men, and we may yet save the South." Upon returning to Kentucky, Fee found that his remark, "We want more John Browns" was taken out of context, which gave it a different meaning from the original. He was consequently waited on by a committee of sixty-five of the "most respectable" citizens and given ten days to leave the state. This ultimatum was given on December 23, 1859. Fee appealed to the Governor, who refused to intervene.

- Thus he and others, including John Rogers, principal of Berea, fled to Cincinnati. This was occurring during the week Garfield welcomed the Southern legislators. See John G. Fee, Autobiography of John G. Fee (Chicago: National Christian Association, 1891), p. 147.
62. Eliza Carman to Garfield, March 5, 1860. Garfield Papers.
 63. Theobald Miller to Garfield, June 16, 1860. Garfield Papers.
 64. Journal, August 17-19, 1860. Garfield preached 4 times.
 65. See Journal, August 26, September 9, September 23, October 7, October 21, 1860. Garfield was preaching every 2 weeks for this church. See p. 127 in this chapter for evidence of the antislavery sentiment in this church.
 66. Since the legislative session lasted only 3 months, Garfield retained his position at the Eclectic. He even preached occasionally while he was in Columbus. On one occasion he preached to the inmates of the Ohio penitentiary. See Portage County Democrat, March 7, 1860.
 67. Garfield to W. J. Ford, August 6, 1860. There is not a copy of this letter in the Garfield Papers, but the original is in the John Taylor collection. Ford was a trustee and a financial agent for the Eclectic.
 68. Journal, August 11-12, 1860.
Journal, September 1-2, 1860.
 69. Journal, November 3-4, 1860.
H. U. Johnson, "Garfield as a Disciple," Christian Standard, (April 25, 1891), p. 354.
James DeForest Murch, Christians Only: A History of the Restoration Movement (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1962), p. 198.
It is said that the Archbishop of Canterbury praised this simple statement of faith when he preached at the memorial service for Garfield in London.
 70. Burke A. Hinsdale, President Garfield and Education (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), p. 78. Hinsdale did not give the date of the Cincinnati church offer, but it can be determined by looking at events in the life of David S. Burnet. At the twelfth annual convention of the American Christian Missionary Society in October, 1860, Burnet was persuaded to replace Errett as the corresponding secretary. Burnet accepted the offer

and resigned his pastoral care of the Eighth and Walnut congregation. Garfield was probably approached about the position in November, 1860. See Noel L. Keith, The Story of D. S. Burnet: Undeserved Obscurity (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954), p. 158. See also, William T. Moore, ed., The Living Pulpit of the Christian Church (Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll and Company, 1868), p. 40.

71. In Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925),
72. In Portage County Democrat, June 20, 1860.
73. W. T. Bascom to Garfield, June 15, 1860. Garfield Papers.
74. Garfield to Fuller, October 3, 1860. In Fuller, op. cit., p. 294. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers.
75. Portage County Democrat, September 12, 1860.
76. In Portage County Democrat, October 10 and 17, 1860.
77. W. T. Bascom to Garfield, September 13, 1860. Garfield Papers.
78. W. T. Bascom to Garfield, September 19, 1860. Garfield Papers.
79. Journal, September 11, 1860.
Portage County Democrat, September 12, 1860.
80. Journal, August 10 - November 5, 1860.
81. Journal, November 6, 1860.
82. Edwin P. Hoyt, James A. Garfield (Chicago: Reilly and Lee Company, 1964), p. 35.
83. The Buchanan Administration had lost control of events. Buchanan believed that secession was illegal, but that coercion was also. Consequently, he favored a constitutional amendment guaranteeing protection for slavery in all states and territories to lure the southern states back into the Union. Numerous schemes for reconciliation were proposed during the winter of 1860-1861.
84. Garfield to Lucretia, January 13, 1861. Garfield Papers.
85. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 15, 1861. Garfield Papers.

86. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 15, 1861. Garfield Papers. Perhaps thinking of his own future, Garfield wrote further: "I believe the times will be even more favorable than calm ones for the formation of strong and forcible character and every one ought to improve the opportunities. Just at this time (have you observed the fact?) we have no man who has power to ride upon the storm and direct it. The hour has come but not the man. The crisis will make many such."
87. Garfield to Rhodes, January 26, 1861. Garfield Papers.
88. Portage County Democrat, February 6, 1861.
89. Garfield to Hinsdale, February 17, 1861. Garfield Papers.
90. James A. Garfield, "My Experience as a Lawyer," in North American Review, (1887), p. 565. Peskin, op. cit., pp. 140-141. Portage County Democrat, February 6, 1861.
91. Garfield to Hinsdale, February 17, 1861. Garfield Papers.
92. Lincoln had reassured the South in the most positive terms that he would countenance no act against slavery in the states where it already existed. Although many in the North supported Lincoln's conciliatory approach, the abolitionists were outraged. They had been calling for a holy war to free the slaves. The line separating radicals and moderates had blurred for Garfield, and he was now in the camp of those who anticipated a glorious antislavery crusade. Convinced of the righteousness of his stand, Garfield was prepared for war. But Lincoln's Union-saving strategy dampened Garfield's hopes.
93. Garfield to Lucretia, March 10, 1861. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Lucretia, April 7, 1861. Garfield Papers.
94. Garfield to Lucretia, March 24, 1861. Garfield Papers.
95. Returning to the Eclectic on a permanent basis entailed "many unpleasant consequences" for Garfield, and he felt the ministry was "too narrow a field" for the growth and development he desired. But the law seemed too full of "weary details" to suit his taste, and politics had left him "sad and unhappy" at Columbus. "Never," he admitted, "did I feel so sadly, and almost despairingly over my future life as I do at times this winter." See Garfield to Lucretia, April 7, 1861. Garfield Papers.
96. Garfield to Lucretia, April 7, 1861. Garfield Papers.

1. Early in his life, Garfield became a pacifist. He read Alexander Campbell's "Address on War" and considered it "a profound work" (Journal, 9-13-50). At Hiram he spoke at a public lyceum that debated the question: "Can war ever be justifiable under any circumstances?" He spoke for the negative and won the decision of the three judges (Journal, 9-19-51). He lamented "man's sin" that resulted in ". . . wars, of brother slain by brother's hand" (Journal, 1-31-53). However, during Garfield's Senior year at Williams College, his pacifism underwent a significant change. His study of The Life, Letters and Poetry of Theodore Korner, the Poet Warrior of Germany as preparation for a lengthy article on "Korner" to be published in the Williams Quarterly, prompted him to study more critically the subject of war. In the article he said: "Korner's whole life gives a withering rebuke to that puling sentimentalism of modern days which, in the safe closet, will pray for freedom; but holds up its hands in pious horror when the sword is unsheathed to purchase that precious boon amid the carnage of the battlefield." See Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p. 98.
2. Corydon E. Fuller, Reminiscences of James A. Garfield (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1887), p. 303.
3. Garfield to Lucretia, April 14, 1861. Garfield Papers.
4. C. H. Hamlin, "The Disciples of Christ and the War Between the States," The Scroll, (December, 1943), p. 101. Alexander Campbell thought that 300,000 might be too high a figure, but Benjamin Franklin insisted in 1860: "We have been raised up by the Lord to be a mighty community, some four hundred thousand strong."
5. Among the leading Disciples who urged neutrality were: Alexander Campbell, Tolbert Fanning, J. W. McGarvey, David S. Burnet, Benjamin Franklin, and Elijah Goodwin. With the exception of Campbell, none of these men had any significant influence on Garfield.
6. J. H. Garrison, (ed.), The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 167-170. In this volume Moore wrote the section on "The Turbulent Period" which included the Civil War, and he used the opportunity to relate his own role. On the Sunday before the legislature voted on whether to support the Union or remain neutral, Moore preached a sermon on the "Duty of Christians in the Present Crisis."

Of the reaction to this sermon, Moore wrote: "Some forty or fifty members of the legislature heard the sermon, and among them those who had been reckoned as doubtful with respect to the vote which would be taken the early part of the week. The vote was taken, and 'armed neutrality' was defeated; and this defeat was secured, in the opinion of some of those who are acquainted with the facts, by the influence of the sermon which I preached."

7. B. F. Manire, (ed.), Caskey's Last Book (Nashville: The Messenger Publishing Company, 1896), pp. 29-30.
8. Garfield to Lucretia, April 14, 1861. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Rhodes, April, 14, 1861. Garfield Papers.
9. See Rhodes to Garfield, November 26, 1861, Garfield Papers, in which Dennison's statement is mentioned.
10. Portage County Democrat, (Ravenna, Ohio), April 24, 1861.
11. Frederick D. Williams, (ed.), The Wild Life of the Army: Civil War Letters of James A. Garfield (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1964), p. xv.
12. Portage Sentinel, (Ravenna, Ohio), May 29, 1861. It was around this time that Garfield's close friend, Dr. John P. Robison, who a few months earlier had penned an anti-war letter to Isaac Errett, informed Errett that he was "out of the woods and in for the fight." See Robison to Errett, May 31, 1861, Butler Manuscript Collection.
13. Garfield to Austin, June 28, 1861. Garfield Papers. On this journey, Garfield was accompanied by Dr. John P. Robison. W. K. Pendleton, a son-in-law of Alexander Campbell, was vice-president of Bethany College and co-editor of the Millennial Harbinger. At their annual meeting one week later, the Board of Trustees of Bethany College conferred an honorary M.A. degree on Garfield. See Millennial Harbinger, August, 1861, p. 473.
14. Garfield to Hinsdale, July 12, 1861. Garfield Papers. But Garfield continued to preach during this period of personal frustration. Smith writes: "Instead of preaching sermons on the Union and lecturing to the school on artillery, as he had done in May, he utilized the well-worn subjects of "Church Government," "Simon Magus" or "The Disciple Reformation." See Smith, op. cit., p. 166. The sermon on "The Disciple Reformation" was an attempt to define the Disciple plea. According to Garfield, the "Disciple reformation" was primarily a reformation of

theological terms, which he felt was the best index of religious error. The great aberration of the Christian world was that it had not called Bible things by Bible names. Such ideas and words as "total depravity," "falling from grace," "final perseverance," and "trinity" had become sources for discord and division in the Christian world. The vague and wrong meanings given to terms like "grace," "conversion," "regeneration," and "election" had thrown a cloud of mystery over religion. Garfield pointed out the difference between "faith" and "opinion" and urged that all creeds be discarded, "because they consist chiefly of opinions." The Bible alone was the final authority in religion. He denounced the current meaning of conversion as the mystical operation of the Holy Spirit upon the individual, and called it misleading and evil. Such a conception of conversion took away effort and the sense of responsibility in the individual; it "disarranged the order of the Gospel" and made conversion irrational. Garfield concluded the sermon by reminding his hearers of the proper "order of the Gospel." This he defined as: (1) Faith; (2) Repentance; (3) Baptism; (4) The Forgiveness of Sins; and (5) The Gift of the Holy Spirit. This was identical with Walter Scott's "Gospel Plan of Salvation," which all Disciples knew by heart. This significant sermon by Garfield was given in two sections, morning and afternoon, on Sunday, June 30, 1861, in the Hiram meetinghouse. See "Sermon Memoranda and Notes" in the microfilmed Garfield Papers, Reel 126.

15. Along with Harmon Austin, J. H. Jones, and John P. Robison, Garfield called on Isaac Errett at his residence in Muir, Michigan. The purpose of this mission was to get Errett to agree to establish a theological department at Hiram. Errett's biographer noted: "Although they failed in accomplishing the object of their mission, they were abundantly successful in having a good time. Both they and their host laid dull care aside, and fished, and hunted, and joked, with hilarious and boyish jollity. The evenings brought a feast of reason and a flow of soul, and grim-visaged war frowned only afar off. They were old friends, and congenial spirits; and to all it was a free and joyous holiday." See J. S. Lamar, Memoirs of Isaac Errett (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1893), I, p. 246. A few months later, Garfield, Jones, Robison, and Errett were charter members of the "Quintinkle Club."
16. Frederick Williams writes: "His acceptance, followed by promotion to colonel only weeks later, suggest that Dennison coupled his offer with an assurance of prompt

advancement." See Williams, op. cit., p. xvi. However, Garfield may have also been helped by a petition that was sent to the Governor urging Garfield's promotion to colonel. See Lucretia to Garfield, August 25, 1861, in the Garfield Papers.

17. Garfield to Rhodes, August 10, 1861. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Luther Day, August 30, 1861. Garfield Papers.
18. Frank H. Mason, The Forty-Second Ohio Infantry (Cleveland: Cobb, Andrews and Company, 1876), p. 261.
Frederick A. Henry, Captain Henry of Geauga: A Family Chronicle (Cleveland: The Gates Press, 1942), p. 100.
19. Mason, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
James A. Garfield, "My Campaign in East Kentucky," in North America Review, (December, 1886), p. 526.
One account says: "Hiram gave to the Union army during the war more than two hundred students." See Charles E. Henry, "Hiram in the War," Hiram College Advance, (April, 1893), p. 207.
Garfield's recruiting drained the school of students. In Rhodes' history class, for example, only girls (and one lone male Democrat) remained. See Andrew Squire, A Few Recollections of Hiram, 1861-1932 (Cleveland: Published by the Author, 1932), p. 15.
20. Frederick A. Henry, op. cit., p. 101.
21. Garfield to Lucretia, November 4, 1861. Garfield Papers.
22. J. M. Bundy, The Life of General James A. Garfield (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1880), p. 54.
Garfield made frequent use of Disciple meetinghouses in his recruiting campaign. For example, see Henry K. Shaw, Saga of a Village Church (Medina: Medina County Gazette, 1937), pp. 35-36.
23. Garfield to Lucretia, October 8, 1861. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Lucretia, December 1, 1861. Garfield Papers.
For information on Jones, see note 25 in chapter one of this dissertation. Wasson called Jones "a promising young Disciple minister" at the time of his association with Garfield's regiment, but Jones was actually forty-eight years old when he became chaplain. See Woodrow Wasson, James A. Garfield: His Religion and Education (Nashville: Tennessee Book Company, 1952), p. 80.
24. Lamar, op. cit., p. 247.

25. Some of the pre-convention emotion was generated by an announcement from the abolitionist Christian Missionary Society based in Indianapolis. This rival organization promised to disband if the American Christian Missionary Society passed a suitable resolution of loyalty to the Union.
26. See Report of Proceedings of the Thirteenth Anniversary Meeting of the American Christian Missionary Society, Held in Cincinnati, October 22, 23, 24, 1861 (Cincinnati: E. Morgan and Son, Printers, 1861), pp. 19-20. For additional comment, see David Edwin Harrell, Jr., Quest For A Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866 (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), pp. 156-161. Also, Noel L. Keith, The Story of D. S. Burnet: Undeserved Obscurity (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954), p. 162. The significant Garfield-Pinkerton friendship had its beginning at this convention. Garfield wrote later: "With that meeting began a friendship between us which knew no diminution." See John Shackelford, Jr., Life, Letters and Addresses of Dr. L. L. Pinkerton (Cincinnati: Chase & Hall, Publishers, 1876), p. 149. Soon after the close of the Cincinnati convention, Pinkerton became a surgeon in the Union army.
27. Harrell, op. cit., p. 159.
28. For a good discussion of the rival claims, see Harrell, op. cit., pp. 159-161. Some of the repercussions of the 1861 convention are treated in the next chapter of this dissertation. Although both sides claimed victory, they had a difficult time convincing some of their more avid associates. The abolitionist Christian Missionary Society was so deeply disappointed that it refused to disband. And in the South, many of the leading Disciples were so outraged by the action of the convention that they never again supported the missionary society.
29. Garfield to Rhodes, October 26, 1861. Garfield Papers.
30. Tolbert Fanning, "Ministers of Peace in the World's Conflicts," Gospel Advocate, (November, 1861), pp. 347-348.
31. John R. Howard and David T. Wright, "A Reply to 'Vindication of Ourselves and the Pioneer,'" Christian Pioneer (December, 1861), p. 327.
32. Rhodes to Garfield, November 19, 1861. Garfield Papers.
Rhodes to Garfield, November 26, 1861. Garfield Papers.

33. Otto F. Bond, (ed.), Under the Flag of the Nation: Diaries and Letters of a Yankee in the Civil War (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1961), p. 12. This remark is from the diary of Owen Johnston Hopkins, a private in Company K.
34. Ibid., pp. 12-13. See also, Mason, op. cit., p. 46.
35. Garfield to Rhodes, December 17, 1861. Garfield Papers.
36. Garfield to Lucretia, December 20, 1861. Garfield Papers.
37. Thomas Munnell, "Discipleship Amid the War," Banner of the Faith, (February, 1862), pp. 42-43. The Canadian Disciple who edited this periodical was David Oliphant, a graduate of Bethany College. Garfield's contacts with his brethren in Kentucky were not always encouraging. While in Piketon, he informed Lucretia that he was staying "with a Disciple family, the finest in the place; but they are all secessionists." It is "one of the painful facts of the rebellion," he wrote, "that nearly all the most cultivated and enlightened people in this country, at least, are on the side of the rebellion. This probably grows out of the fact that the leaders of the rebellion were the aristocrats of the South, and they have led off that element with them." See Garfield to Lucretia, February 23, 1862, in the Garfield Papers.
38. "In most respects it is the completest thing we have accomplished," Garfield wrote after the battle, "but it lacks blood to give it much place among the movements of the time." See Garfield to Lucretia, March 19, 1862, in the Garfield Papers. Marshall lost eleven killed and fourteen wounded, and Garfield reported losses of three dead and eighteen wounded. See War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (128 vols.; Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, VII, p. 31 and p. 48.
39. Garfield to Lucretia, January 13, 1862. Garfield Papers.
40. Rhodes to Garfield, February 6, 1862. Garfield Papers.
41. Williams, op. cit., p. 4. Years later, after a conversation with Dr. Robison, Garfield wrote in his diary: "The Doctor gave me a full history of his struggle with Gov. Tod in March 1862, in reference to my promotion to a Brigadier Generalship." See Harry James Brown and Frederick D. Williams, (eds.), The Diary of James A. Garfield (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press,

- 1973), III, p. 126. When Garfield got wind of the movement on his behalf, he wrote to Wallace John Ford: "I have never said a word in reference to it in way of expressing a desire for it. If any such thing comes up I want it to be because the great cause of the Union will be advanced by it." See Garfield to Wallace John Ford, February 14, 1862, in the Andre DeCoppet Collection at Princeton University, and quoted in Williams, op. cit., p. 67. On the same subject, Garfield wrote to Rhodes: "I am reassured by this thought, that I have never by word or written sentence made any approach to forwarding the movement or inviting it. Had I done so, I should feel I was moving the plans of God, and should not succeed." See Garfield to Rhodes, March 3, 1862, in the Garfield Papers. Thus, after leading only one command in battle (in which he fired only one shot), Garfield became the youngest brigadier general in the Union army.
42. Hinsdale to Garfield, January 21, 1862. Garfield Papers. In his first letter home after the battle, Garfield had said of Marshall: "He left 85 of his dead on the field. His wounded cannot be less than 150." See Garfield to Lucretia, January 13, 1862, in Garfield Papers. These initial figures turned out to be a great exaggeration.
43. Garfield to Eliza, January 26, 1862. Garfield Papers.
44. William Dean Howells, Years of My Youth (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1916), pp. 205-206.
45. Garfield to Rhodes, February 12, 1862. Garfield Papers. Wilbur F. Hinman, The Story of the Sherman Brigade (city and publisher not given, 1897), p. 152. Garfield to Lucretia, January 13, 1862. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Mark Hopkins, June 9, 1862. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Rhodes, February 12, 1862. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Lucretia, February 15, 1862. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Rhodes, March 3, 1862. Garfield Papers.
46. Garfield to Lucretia, March 10, 1862. Garfield Papers.
47. Garfield to Lucretia, March 10, 1862. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Lucretia, March 30, 1862. Garfield Papers. Captain Frederick Augustus Williams, another Disciple from Company A, contracted typhoid fever at this same time. Garfield allowed him to return to his home in Ravenna, Ohio, where he died on July 25, 1862. He had been one of the most popular men in the regiment, and Garfield had called him "the twin brother of my soul." See Frederick A. Henry, op. cit., p. 125.

48. In this 2-day battle, April 6 and 7, both the Union and Confederate armies suffered heavy casualties. Nearly 24,000 were killed, wounded, or reported missing. Each side lost about a quarter of the total troops engaged.
49. Garfield to Lucretia, April 9, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Lucretia, April 21, 1862. Garfield Papers.
50. Garfield was shocked by the seeming indifference of the West Point-trained officers to the evils of slavery. He found that many of them hated rebels, Negroes, and abolitionists with equal passion, and they did not want to win the war if victory meant the end of slavery. Their views even had official sanction. At this stage in the war, the official goal of the North was the restoration of the Union, and not the eradication of slavery. "I have come to believe there is something amounting almost to a conspiracy among leading officers, especially those of the regular army," Garfield complained to Rhodes, "to taboo the whole question of anti-slavery and throw as much discredit on it as upon treason. . . . Before God I here second my conviction that the spirit of slavery is the soul of this rebellion, and the incarnate devil which must be cast out before we can trust in any peace as lasting and secure. It may be a part of God's plan to lengthen out this war till our whole army has been sufficiently outraged by the haughty tyranny of proslavery officers and the spirit of slavery and slaveholders with whom they came in contact." See Garfield to Rhodes, May 1, 1862, in the Garfield Papers.
51. Garfield to Lucretia, May 4, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Austin, May 28, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Smith, op. cit., p. 207.
Garfield to Lucretia, April 21, 1862. Garfield Papers.
52. Garfield to Lucretia, July 5, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Wasson, op. cit., p. 86. Wasson served as a student minister for the church in Mooresville during the school year of 1936-37.
53. Garfield to Rhodes, July 9, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Lucretia, July 5, 1862. Garfield Papers.
54. Ashtabula, Trumbull, and Mahoning counties had long been together, but now Geauga and Portage were added to the new grouping. Hutchins was strong in his home county of Trumbull, but that was largely neutralized by his unpopularity with the abolitionists of Ashtabula who had not forgiven him for unseating their idol, Joshua Giddings,

four years earlier. Garfield had some strength in the new counties, and he had the added advantage of Harmon Austin's considerable influence in Trumbull.

55. Rhodes to Garfield, May 9, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, May 19, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Rhodes to Garfield, May 26, 1862. Garfield Papers.
56. Garfield to Austin, May 28, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, May 28, 1862. Garfield Papers.
See note 36 in chapter three of this dissertation.
57. Garfield to Rhodes, June 10, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Lucretia, July 5, 1862. Garfield Papers.
58. Garfield to Austin, June 25, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Smith comments on this letter: "It is not too much to say that in this letter Garfield took a decisive step in his life, not merely as to his expressed willingness to run for Congress, coupled with strict scruples as to the part he was willing to play in paving the way, but chiefly in placing his political fate in the hands of Harmon Austin, who from this moment was to be his guide, adviser and political manager all his days." See Smith, op. cit., p. 224.
59. Lucretia to Garfield, April 17, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Brown had known of Garfield's ambitions for some time, and he had first made his accusation a year earlier.
60. Rhodes to Garfield, no date, but probably July, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, July 24, 1862. Garfield Papers.
61. Jessie Brown Pounds, "Exercises in Honor of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Birth of James A. Garfield," Bulletin of Hiram College, Garfield Number, 1912.
62. Garfield to Captain Ralph Plumb, September 2, 1862, in Smith, op. cit., p. 234.
Garfield to Eliza, September 2, 1862. Garfield Papers.
63. Garfield to Fuller, September 5, 1862, in Fuller, op. cit., p. 330.
Portage County Democrat, September 17, 1862.
64. In the election on October 4, 1862, Garfield defeated his Democratic opponent by the overwhelming vote margin of 13,288 to 6,763. Under the system then prevailing, a "lame duck" Congress would meet in the spring of 1863.

65. Garfield arrived in Washington on September 19. Ironically, it was nineteen years later to the very day that he died of an assassin's bullet on September 19, 1881.
66. Garfield to Lucretia, September 20, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, September 22, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Austin, September 25, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Robert B. Warden, The Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase (Cincinnati: Willstach, Baldwin and Company, 1874), p. 489.
67. Garfield to Rhodes, September 26, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Lucretia, September 27, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, October 5, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, October 26, 1862. Garfield Papers.
68. Garfield to Lucretia, October 31, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, November 2, 1862. Garfield Papers.
69. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 10, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Harold Eugene Davis, Hinsdale of Hiram: The Life of Burke Aaron Hinsdale (Washington: The University Press of Washington, D. C., 1971), p. 59. While Garfield was serving in the state senate in the spring of 1860, Hinsdale had been employed with the school on a temporary basis (see note 117 in chapter 3 of this dissertation). But a declining enrollment had forced his dismissal.
70. Garfield to Lucretia, October 24, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, October 26, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Rhodes to Garfield, November 9, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, November 16, 1862. Garfield Papers.
71. David Lipscomb, "Church of Christ and World-Powers, No. 11," Gospel Advocate, (July 3, 1866), pp. 417-418.
David Edwin Harrell, Jr., "Disciples of Christ Pacifism in Nineteenth Century Tennessee," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, (September, 1962), pp. 268-269.
72. Garfield to Rhodes, December 7, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield's letters during the sojourn in Washington reveal a few contacts with Disciples. See Garfield to Lucretia, October 14, 1862; Garfield to Lucretia, October 31, 1862; Garfield to Lucretia, November 7, 1862; Garfield to Lucretia, November 30, 1862; and Garfield to Lucretia, December 26, 1862, in the Garfield Papers.
73. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 6, 1863. Garfield Papers.

74. Garfield was translating the Secret . . . Instructions of Frederick II, for His Inspectors General. The manuscript of this unpublished work exists in the Garfield Papers. The statements by Garfield are from his preface to this projected volume. For Garfield's comments on the progress of this manuscript, see Garfield to Rhodes, December 24, 1862; Garfield to Lucretia, January 6, 1863, and Garfield to Lucretia, January 9, 1863, in Garfield Papers. When Garfield arrived in Tennessee, Rosecrans was at the peak of his fame. He had just prevailed over Bragg in the widely hailed victory at Stone's River.
75. Garfield to Lucretia, January 26, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Rhodes, January 27, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Lucretia, February 5, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Rhodes, February 14, 1863. Garfield Papers.
76. Garfield to Lucretia, February 13, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Chase, February 15, 1863. This letter is in the Chase Papers in the Library of Congress and cited in Williams, op. cit., pp. 235-236. Garfield to Austin, February 18, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Hinsdale, February 16, 1863. Garfield Papers.
77. Garfield to Rhodes, January 27, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Eliza, March 22, 1863. Garfield Papers.
78. Garfield to Rhodes, February 14, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Chase, February 15, 1863. This letter is in the Chase Papers in the Library of Congress and cited in Williams, op. cit., pp. 235-236. Garfield to Austin, February 18, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Lucretia, February 22, 1863. Garfield Papers. Lionel A. Sheldon to Garfield, November 14, 1863. Garfield Papers.
79. Garfield to Rhodes, February 14, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Lucretia, February 26, 1863. Garfield Papers. Garfield's new headquarters were in the old Keeble residence, a Southern mansion that had been hastily vacated by its secessionist owner. In later years, a descendent of one of the Keeble slaves would become a celebrated preacher in the Restoration Movement. See J. E. Choate, Roll Jordan Roll: A Biography of Marshall Keeble (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1974), p. 14.
80. Garfield to Hinsdale, September 12, 1862. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Fuller, May 4, 1863, in Fuller, op. cit., pp. 336-337.

Garfield to Chase, May 5, 1863. This letter is in the Chase Papers in the Library of Congress, and is cited in Williams, op. cit., pp. 265-266.

Commenting on Garfield's strategy, Allan Peskin writes: "At West Point young officers were trained in the strategic doctrines of Baron Jomini, whose classic textbooks on the art of war had shaped the strategic concepts of a generation of plebes. To Jomini and his many translators and popularizers . . . war was a fine art that was best left in the hands of professional soldiers. Their ideal was eighteenth-century warfare, conducted with a minimum of bloodshed by well-disciplined soldiers fighting for limited, clearly defined aims, the most important of which were the occupation of the enemy's territory and the capture of his capital city. Enthralled by the prospect of turning war into a science, Jomini and his school disregarded all the untidy and unscientific factors, such as politics and ideology, which could upset their neat diagrams. Recoiling in horror from the excesses of the French Revolution, they deplored total wars, or wars waged for the subjugation of entire peoples. These principles might have been sound for European wars of the eighteenth century, but the American Civil War was a different case entirely. It was pre-eminently a political war, fought between peoples, not soldiers. Garfield, no soldier but very much a politician, was actually better equipped to understand the true nature of this war than were many professional soldiers. Convinced that no military solution was possible without the abolition of slavery and the thorough reconstruction of southern society, he rejected Jomini's principles and advocated a total war fought to the finish." See Allan Peskin, "James A. Garfield," in Kenneth W. Wheeler, (ed.), For the Union: Ohio Leaders in the Civil War (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), pp. 101-102. For essays on the influence of Jomini, see T. Harry Williams, "The Military Leadership of North and South," in David Donald (ed.), Why the North Won the Civil War (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960); and David Donald, "Refighting the Civil War," in David Donald (ed.), Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961).

81. Garfield to Eliza, March 22, 1863. Garfield Papers.
82. It was during this period of mounting frustration that Garfield transmitted orders for a hanging. On June 8 two confederate officers, dressed as Union officers, entered Union lines in an effort to get information on Rosecrans' army. When their ruse was discovered, they

were tried by a military commission and hanged for spying. For more on Garfield's role in this affair, see John E. Bakeless, "Incident at Fort Granger," Civil War Times Illustrated, (April, 1969), pp. 10-15.

83. Garfield to Hinsdale, May 26, 1863. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Rhodes, June 11, 1863. Garfield Papers.
General Order No. 38 threatened persons "declaring sympathies for the enemy" with arrest and trial by military procedure as spies and traitors. Those convicted were to be executed or sent to the enemy. See also, Garfield to Austin, May 4, 1863, in the Garfield Papers for additional evidence of Garfield's continuing involvement in the internal affairs of the Eclectic during this time.
84. For a good discussion of the Tullahoma Campaign, see Allan Jay Peskin, "James A. Garfield: 1831-1863" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1965), pp. 287-300.
85. Garfield to Lucretia, August 23, 1863. Garfield Papers.
86. It was during this six-weeks delay that Garfield sent a private letter to Secretary Chase criticizing Rosecrans' inaction. In this way, Garfield disassociated himself from his commander's delaying tactics.
87. Garfield to Lucretia, September 16, 1863. Garfield Papers.
88. Peskin dissertation, op. cit., pp. 320-321.
There were over 33,000 total casualties at Chicamauga.
89. Rosecrans' commendation of Garfield noted that "his high intelligence, spotless integrity, business capacity, and thorough acquaintance with the wants of the army will render his services, if possible, more valuable to the country in Congress than with us."
90. Garfield to Mark Hopkins, December 12, 1863. Garfield Papers.
91. Garfield to John Quincy Smith, February 15, 1862. Garfield Papers.
Garfield's comments on the "horrors of peace" are from a speech he delivered before the Cleveland Sanitary Fair on February 22, 1864, and quoted in the Portage County Democrat on March 2, 1864.
92. See Peskin, in Wheeler, op. cit., p. 115.

1. William T. Moore, A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1909), p. 12 and p. 699.
 Winfred Ernest Garrison, Religion Follows the Frontier (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p. 148.
 Winfred E. Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ: A History (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1958), p. 364.
 For a detailed study of periodicals among the Disciples from 1850 to 1910, see James Brooks Major, "The Role of Periodicals in the Development of the Disciples of Christ, 1850-1910" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1966).
2. For a listing of periodicals, see Claude E. Spencer, Periodicals of the Disciples of Christ and Related Religious Groups (Canton, Missouri: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1943).
3. Journal, June 9, 1850.
 Garfield to Phoebe Boynton, July 10, 1855. Garfield Papers.
 See, also, Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p. 75.
4. Benjamin Franklin, "A Letter from an Old Brother," American Christian Review, (February, 1860), p. 34.
5. Benjamin Franklin, "What is Political Preaching?" American Christian Quarterly Review, II (1863), p. 277.
6. John R. Howard and David T. Wright, "A Vindication of Ourselves and the Christian Pioneer," Christian Pioneer, (September, 1861), p. 170.
 Of the twenty-three men, Alexander Campbell, W. K. Pendleton, and Robert Richardson, were from Bethany. Three were from Kentucky--Winthrop H. Hopson, Aylette Raines, and Robert Milligan. Two--Benjamin Franklin and David S. Burnet--were from Cincinnati, and two others--Philip Fall and Tolbert Fanning--were from Tennessee. Eleven were from Missouri--Thomas M. Allen, Alexander Procter, J. W. McGarvey, Benjamin H. Smith, Francis R. Palmer, Jacob Creath, Jr., Butler K. Smith, Moses E. Lard, H. H. Haley, Thomas P. Haley, and Josiah W. Cox. The only Northern preachers listed were Isaac Errett and Silas E. Shepard, and there was no one named from the deep South.
7. Elijah Goodwin, "Remarks," Christian Record, (September, 1861), pp. 279-280.

8. One of the Men, "A Reply to 'Vindication of Ourselves and the Pioneer,'" Christian Pioneer, (December, 1861), pp. 322-334.
As pointed out in the previous chapter (see pp. 158-59), the loyalty resolution was not passed in the convention proceedings but in a hastily-called "mass meeting."
9. Ibid.
10. See the 1862 volume of the Weekly Christian Record for numerous war reports from Chaplain Jones. The Abilene Christian College library has microfilm copies of all issues of the Record for the years 1843-1866.
11. Elijah Goodwin, "He That Is Not For Us Is Against Us," Weekly Christian Record, (April 15, 1862), p. 2.
Until it ceased publication in 1863, the abolitionist paper edited by John Boggs, the Christian Luminary, was an ardent supporter of the Record's prowar policy.
12. Benjamin Franklin, "The General Missionary Meeting," American Christian Review, (November 4, 1862), p. 2.
13. Elijah Goodwin, "A. C. Missionary Society," Weekly Christian Record, (November 4, 1862), p. 2.
14. A. S. H., "Missionary Convention at Shelby, Ohio," American Christian Review, (July 14, 1863), p. 110.
Alanson Wilcox, A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1918), pp. 114-119.
15. Report of Proceedings of the Fifteenth Anniversary Meeting of the American Christian Missionary Society, Held in Cincinnati, October 20, 21, 22, 1863 (Cincinnati: E. Morgan and Sons, Printers, 1863), p. 24.
16. Benjamin Franklin, "The General Missionary Meeting," American Christian Review, (November 10, 1863), p. 178.
17. J. W. McGarvey, "Missionary Societies," American Christian Quarterly Review, II (1863), pp. 342-345.
18. D. Pat Henderson to Isaac Errett, November 21, 1861.
John Rogers to Isaac Errett, August 10, 1863.
Robert Milligan to Isaac Errett, October 29, 1863.
William Baxter to Isaac Errett, December 16, 1863.
These letters are in the Butler Manuscript Collection, located in the archives of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee.

19. William Baxter to Isaac Errett, December 16, 1863, Butler Manuscript Collection. Baxter's reference to "Lard's Review" is a reference to a quarterly edited by Moses E. Lard, a preacher in Lexington, Kentucky. This periodical was actually called Lard's Quarterly, and was published between 1863 and 1868.
20. John F. Rowe, "Reminiscences of the Restoration," American Christian Review, (June 10, 1886), p. 188. Earl Irvin West, The Search for the Ancient Order, II, (Indianapolis: Religious Book Service, 1950), pp. 31-35. F. M. Green, The Life and Times of John Franklin Rowe (Cincinnati: F. L. Rowe, Publisher, 1899), pp. 99-101. It is interesting to see the name of John F. Rowe in a discussion of the origin of the Christian Standard. He was later a close associate of Benjamin Franklin, and when Franklin died in 1878 the editorship of the Review passed to Rowe.
21. West, op. cit., p. 35. J. S. Lamar, Memoirs of Isaac Errett, I, (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1893), pp. 309-310. Describing what took place after the Ashland meeting, Errett wrote: "Later in the year we were approached by Dr. J. P. Robison, James A. Garfield, and, if we remember certainly, Harmon Austin, of Warren, to learn if we would accept the editorship of the proposed paper. We were assured that if we accepted, brethren stood ready to furnish capital to the amount of \$20,000, and as soon as we could enter upon the work the capital would be supplied." See Lamar, op. cit., p. 310.
22. See Thomas W. Phillips, "A Personal Tribute to James A. Garfield," Bulletin of Hiram College, Garfield Number, 1912. In the course of this speech, Phillips remarked: "I knew General Garfield better than I have ever known any other man. It was in the year 1865 that I first met him in company with W. J. Ford at my home in New Castle, Pa. Prior to this meeting I had become well acquainted with his career through the press, from mutual friends and especially from students of Hiram of whom my wife was one."
23. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 11, 1865. Garfield Papers.
24. Henry K. Shaw, Buckeye Disciples: A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (St. Louis: The Christian Board of Publication, 1952), p. 212. See, also, James DeForest Murch, B. D. Phillips: Life

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and Letters (Louisville: The Standard Printing Company, 1969), p. 12.

The fourteen men who were present at this meeting were: James A. Garfield, Isaac Errett, W. J. Ford, Dr. John P. Robison, John F. Rowe, W. K. Pendleton, T. W. Phillips, C. M. Phillips, J. T. Phillips, J. K. Pickett, O. Higgins, C. H. Gould, J. B. Milner, and E. J. Agnew. See, Lamar, op. cit., p. 302.

25. Lamar, op. cit., p. 302.
26. Ibid. p. 303. Lamar reports that Dr. John P. Robison was the leading spokesman for those favoring Cleveland.
27. Ibid. The seven Directors were: James A. Garfield, Dr. John P. Robison, W. J. Ford, Thomas W. Phillips, C. M. Phillips, G. W. N. Yost, and Dr. Worthy S. Streater.

It is readily apparent that Garfield was the catalyst of "The Christian Publishing Association," and that it was his initiative which brought the group together. The seventeen key men in this fellowship can be easily divided into three geographical groupings: (1) Pennsylvania--the four Phillips brothers and Yost were wealthy oil men contacted by Garfield; (2) Michigan--Richard Hawley, a Detroit businessman, and Isaac Errett, who was then preaching in Detroit, were both good friends of Garfield; (3) Ohio--Dr. John P. Robison was a Cleveland businessman, state senator, and member of the Board of Trustees at Hiram; Harmon Austin was a bank president in Warren, and a member of the Hiram Board of Trustees; W. J. Ford, a former student at Hiram, had served as Garfield's secretary during his first term in Congress, and was now editor of a Western Reserve paper called the Geauga Leader; J. Harrison Jones was a popular Disciples preacher who had served as Garfield's chaplain in the army; James H. Rhodes, like Garfield, had been a student at Hiram and then at Williams, and had returned to join the faculty at Hiram; Dr. Silas A. Boynton, a cousin of Garfield, was a Cleveland physician; Andrew J. Marvin was a Cleveland lawyer who later served on the Board of Trustees at Hiram; Dr. Worthy S. Streater was a railroad builder and prominent Cleveland businessman who later served on the Board of Trustees at Hiram; and Burke A. Hinsdale, a former student and faculty member at Hiram, who was perhaps Garfield's closest friend.

28. Garrison, op. cit., pp. 242-243. Garfield to Hinsdale, February 19, 1866. Garfield Papers. Lamar, op. cit., p. 302-303.

Harold Eugene Davis, Hinsdale of Hiram: The Life of Burke Aaron Hinsdale (Washington: The University Press of Washington, D. C., 1971), p. 70.

See, also, West, op. cit., p. 32. West explains that John F. Rowe wanted to be the book review editor, but that Errett selected Hinsdale over Rowe.

29. Lamar, op. cit., pp. 301-302.
Twenty years later Errett confirmed this motive when he wrote: "There had been for years a growing desire among the Disciples for a weekly religious paper of broader range, more generous spirit and a higher order of literary skill and taste than any that had yet appeared under their patronage." See Lamar, op. cit., p. 309.
30. Davis, op. cit., p. 70.
31. Moore, op. cit., p. 699.
32. West, op. cit., p. 157.
33. Moore, op. cit., p. 699.
34. J. H. Garrison, "A Decennial Retrospect," Christian, (December 26, 1878), p. 4.
35. Lamar, op. cit., pp. 300-301.
36. David Lipscomb, "The Truth of History," Gospel Advocate, (July 14, 1892), p. 436.
37. Lamar, op. cit., pp. 305-306.
38. David Lipscomb, "A Reply to the Call of W. C. Rogers, Corresponding Secretary of the A. C. M. Society for All to Disseminate the Gospel," Gospel Advocate, (March 27, 1866), p. 109.
39. David Lipscomb, "The Advocate and Sectionalism," Gospel Advocate, (May 1, 1866), p. 273.
40. David Lipscomb, "Correction," Gospel Advocate, (July 21, 1892), p. 453.
41. Garfield to Hinsdale, February 19, 1866. Garfield Papers.
42. Shaw, op. cit., p. 213.
43. Garfield to Hinsdale, April 12, 1866. Garfield Papers.

44. Hinsdale to Garfield, April 14, 1866. Garfield Papers.
45. Garfield to Hinsdale, April 12, 1866. Garfield Papers.
46. Garfield to Hinsdale, May 22, 1866. Garfield Papers.
47. Lamar, op. cit., p. 304.
48. Garfield to Hinsdale, April 15, 1866. Garfield Papers.
49. Davis, op. cit., p. 71.
50. Isaac Errett, "The Freedmen," Christian Standard, (April 7, 1866), p. 4.
51. David Lipscomb, "The Cincinnati Society and the Hymn Book," Gospel Advocate, (April 24, 1866), p. 265.
52. Isaac Errett, "A Letter from Georgia," Christian Standard, (June 9, 1866), p. 76.
53. David Lipscomb, "The Church of Christ and the World Powers," Gospel Advocate, (January 9, 1866), p. 29.
54. Isaac Errett, "Religion and Politics," Christian Standard, (September 29, 1866), p. 204.
55. Wendell Willis, "A Sociological Study of the Restoration Movement in the North: 1866 to 1878," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Abilene Christian College, 1966), p. 10.
56. B. J. Humble, The Story of the Restoration (Austin: The Firm Foundation Publishing House, 1969), p. 53.
57. Hinsdale to Garfield, December 21, 1866. Garfield Papers.
58. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 1, 1867. Garfield Papers.
59. W. J. Ford to Garfield, August 5, 1867. Garfield Papers.
60. Hinsdale to Garfield, August 19, 1867. Garfield Papers.
61. Hinsdale to Garfield, August 29, 1867. Garfield Papers.
62. Hinsdale to Garfield, September 30, 1867. Garfield Papers.
63. Hinsdale to Garfield, December 9, 1867. Garfield Papers.

64. Hinsdale to Garfield, December 24, 1867. Garfield Papers.
65. Garfield to Hinsdale, January 1, 1868. Garfield Papers.
66. Hinsdale to Garfield, January 13, 1868. Garfield Papers.
67. Hinsdale to Garfield, February 3, 1868. Garfield Papers.
Lamar, op. cit., pp. 375-387.
Davis, op. cit., p. 78.
68. Garfield to Hinsdale, March 8, 1868. Garfield Papers.
69. Isaac Errett, "Slavery--Where Does the Blame Rest?"
Christian Standard, (August 17, 1867), p. 258.
70. John Shackelford, Jr., Life, Letters and Addresses of Dr. L. L. Pinkerton (Cincinnati: Chase & Hall, 1876), p. 93.
71. Pinkerton to Garfield, November 24, 1868. Garfield Papers.
72. Garfield to Pinkerton, December 28, 1868. Garfield Papers.
73. L. L. Pinkerton, "Letter From Dr. Pinkerton," Independent Monthly, (April, 1870), p. 109.
74. Lamar, II, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
75. In an article written in 1898, Edward Scribner Ames outlined three "epochs in the history of the Disciples of Christ." The first began with the publication of Thomas Campbell's Declaration and Address in 1809; the second "came into power with the founding of the Christian Standard in 1866, which was also the year of Alexander Campbell's death"; and "the unmistakable sunrise glow" of a third epoch was just beginning in the 1890's. He was referring primarily to the activities resulting from the founding of the Disciples Divinity House at the University of Chicago. See, Edward Scribner Ames, "A New Epoch in the History of the Disciples," Christian Quarterly, (January, 1898), pp. 64-84. Although Garfield helped to launch the Standard, he is better represented in the "third epoch" of Disciples history. The liberal journal that Garfield longed for finally appeared in 1908. In that year Charles Clayton Morrison bought the Christian Century and turned it into the distinguished voice of Disciples liberalism.

1. See John M. Taylor, "Garfield: Time for Rehabilitation?" Williams Alumni Review, (Fall, 1966), p. 10.
2. Robert Granville Caldwell, James A. Garfield: Party Chieftain (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1931), pp. 167 and 358. See also, George F. Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years, I, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), p. 403. Noah Brooks, Washington in Lincoln's Time (New York: Rinehart & Company Inc., 1858), p. 30. Richard O. Bates, The Gentleman from Ohio: An Introduction to Garfield (Durham, North Carolina: Moore Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 191-194. Allan Peskin, "From Log Cabin to Obivion," American History Illustrated, (May, 1876), p. 30.
3. Henry K. Shaw, Buckeye Disciples: A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1952), p. 208.
4. Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ: A History (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1958), p. 329.
Shaw, op. cit., pp. 260-261.
David Lipscomb, "Those Statistics," Gospel Advocate. (February 24, 1881), p. 114.
Nationally, the Disciples accelerated to over 600,000 members by 1880. Although they were "rapidly urbanized" in areas like Cleveland, a majority of Disciples still resided in rural areas. See William E. Tucker and Lester G. McAllister, Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975), p. 235.
5. Thomas W. Phillips, "A Personal Tribute to James A. Garfield," Bulletin of Hiram College, Garfield Number, 1912.
6. For a discussion of the liberal-moderate-conservative schism in the Disciples movement after the war, see: David Edwin Harrell, Jr., The Social Sources of Division in the Disciples of Christ, 1865-1900 (Atlanta: Publishing Systems, Inc., 1973), pp. 1-32 and 323-350.
George G. Beazley, Jr., (ed.), The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ): An Interpretative Examination in the Cultural Context (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1973), pp. 27-35 and 81-101.
Tucker and McAllister, op. cit., pp. 209-254.
7. F. M. Green, History of Hiram College: 1850-1900 (Cleveland: The O. S. Hubbell Printing Company, 1901), p. 143.
Mary Bosworth Treudley, Prelude to the Future: The First

Hundred Years of Hiram College (New York: Association Press, 1950), p. 110.

J. S. Lamar, Memoirs of Isaac Errett, I, (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1893), pp. 297-299.

Harold Eugene Davis, Hinsdale of Hiram: The Life of Burke Aaron Hinsdale (Washington: The University Press of Washington D. C., 1971), p. 69.

See note 15 in chapter five of this dissertation for evidence that Garfield tried to launch this program as early as 1861. Actually, The College of the Bible in Lexington, Kentucky, got the jump on Hiram. Responding to J. W. McGarvey's article on "Ministerial Education" which was published in Lard's Quarterly in April, 1865, the Disciples in Kentucky launched The College of the Bible in the fall of 1865. See Dwight E. Stevenson, Lexington Theological Seminary: 1865-1965 (The College of the Bible Century) (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1964), pp. 11-29.

8. Isaac Errett (1820-1888) and Burke Hinsdale (1837-1900) were both living in Cleveland. Errett was giving full time to the editing of the Christian Standard, and Hinsdale was preaching for the Franklin Circle church and assisting Errett. Robert Milligan (1814-1875), a former faculty member at Bethany College, was now President of The College of the Bible in Lexington, Kentucky. Henry T. Anderson (1812-1872) was preaching for the Disciples church in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, and completing his six-year project of translating the New Testament from the Greek text. This significant translation was later published by the Standard Publishing Company. David Staats Burnet (1808-1867) was a celebrated Disciples preacher who had served the powerful Eighth and Walnut church in Cincinnati for many years. He was now preaching for a Disciples church in Baltimore, Maryland. Amos Sutton Hayden (1813-1880), a former President of the Eclectic and a popular Disciples preacher, also did some teaching in the summer program. Garfield managed to find time to attend the program too. He lectured on the relation of geology to religion. See Journal, August 10 & 17, 1866. For a defense of the theological lectures, see Robert Milligan, "The Hiram Lectures," Millennial Harbinger, (October, 1866), pp. 451-453. Milligan called them "a new phase in our course of Ministerial Education."
9. Lamar, op. cit., pp. 322-323.
Green, op. cit., pp. 144-145.
Garfield to Hinsdale, July 18, 1866. Garfield Papers.
10. Green, op. cit., p. 145.

11. John Shackelford, Jr., Life, Letters and Addresses of Dr. L. L. Pinkerton (Cincinnati: Chase & Hall, 1876), p. 92.
Green, op. cit., pp. 145-146.
12. B. A. Hinsdale, (ed.), The Works of James A. Garfield (Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1882), I, p. 265f.
Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), pp. 767-769.
W. W. Wasson, James A. Garfield: His Religion and Education (Nashville: Tennessee Book Company, 1952), p. 97f.
This address was delivered at the annual commencement exercises in Hiram on June 14, 1867. Smith commented: "The ideal laid down in this address was years ahead of its time." Wasson wrote: "It is too much to assume that Hiram College, with its limited resources, would fully incorporate this ideal . . . however, the young Disciple school, with its tradition of flexibility and experimentation, was in many ways a good place to attempt it."
13. Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 275.
Wasson, op. cit., pp. 98-99.
14. Shackelford, op. cit., p. 92.
Between the time that Garfield left for the war in 1861 and Hinsdale became president of the college in 1870, a number of men served as acting president of the school. These included: Harvey Everest, J. H. Rhodes, C. W. Heywood, A. J. Thomson, John Atwater and Silas Shepherd.
15. Garfield to Pinkerton, August 10, 1868. Garfield Papers.
16. Garfield was always a generous supporter of the school. In 1865 he promised one thousand dollars in a financial drive for the school, and fulfilled this pledge by giving seven hundred fifty in cash and 400 shares of oil stock which he had acquired from the Phillips brothers. After Hinsdale became president of the college, Garfield worked even harder for the school. The mass of letters written between Garfield and Hinsdale in the 1870's reveal the significant part that Garfield played in the overall direction of the college. In 1870 he helped to launch the "Perpetual Endowment Fund." He not only gave three hundred dollars to the fund, but he wrote numerous letters to former Eclectic students and prosperous Disciples asking for contributions to the fund. In 1872 he arranged for a Hiram professor to study the geology of the Yellowstone region with an exploring expedition from the Smithsonian Institution. Garfield urged his close

- to the Presidency in 1880. Henderson wrote to Garfield requesting an appointment as consul to Liverpool, but he was denied. The government job that Garfield and Black arranged for H. T. Anderson was in the Land Office.
20. Garfield to Hinsdale, May 3, 1868. Garfield Papers.
 21. Garfield to S. A. Galbraith, August 5, 1868. Garfield Papers.
 22. Dixon, op. cit.
Garfield to Fuller, December 24, 1869. Published in Corydon E. Fuller, Reminiscences of James A. Garfield (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1887), pp. 407-408. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers.
 23. Dixon, op. cit.
Journal, November 2, 1873.
Following one of Bartholomew's sermons, Garfield wrote: "The sermon was an attempt to draw a mathematical line across the world, with Hell bound on one side and Heaven bound on the other. The issues of life and death and the exact scope of moral worth cannot be mapped out like counties on a blackboard." See Journal, January 7, 1872.
 24. Dixon, op. cit.
Charles Louis Loos (1823-1912) was the professor who occupied the "Chair of Ancient Languages and Literature" at Bethany College between 1858 and 1880. Francis M. Green (1836-1911) was a former student at the Eclectic. He later authored a history of Hiram College and wrote a biography of Garfield. He became widely known as a Disciple preacher, and as corresponding secretary of the American Christian Missionary Society. W. K. Pendleton (1817-1899) was the president of Bethany College from 1866 to 1886. Burke Hinsdale, of course, was president of Hiram College from 1870 to 1882. Whenever these men preached in Washington, Garfield voiced his approval.
 25. Journal, August 3, 1873.
Journal, April 2, 1876.
John F. Rowe, "General Garfield's Nomination," American Christian Review, (June 22, 1880), p. 186.
Lamar, II, op. cit., p. 198.
I haven't found any solid evidence to support the view that Garfield occasionally preached full-length sermons during the post-war years. However, one article claims: "Church records show that he preached on many Sundays during his years in the House and Senate." See Olga Jones, "Garfield Preached Here Often," The Evening Star,

Washington, D. C., (June 23, 1962). Ben Dixon says: "He preached many times for this congregation during the years 1863-80." See Dixon, op. cit. Another account insists: "Although he was not an ordained minister, he frequently occupied the pulpit in the years before he became President, and as an elder often presided at the Communion Table." See Hilda Koontz, 125th Anniversary Program (Washington: The National City Christian Church, 1968). However, it is clear that Garfield was never appointed to the eldership of the congregation, nor was it necessary that he be an elder in order to preside at the communion table. Most likely, Garfield's talks before the church were in the form of brief exhortations. One record explains that in the years before they had a regular preacher, the church was "often encouraged and edified by visiting brethren, and by the instructions of such men as General Garfield, Judge Black, and others." See J. B. Bowman, "The Washington Church," Christian Standard, (July 1, 1882), p. 202. One of the elders of the church, Benjamin Summy, later confirmed that Garfield would "frequently speak to us," and that the church always enjoyed "his words of exhortation and encouragement in the divine life." See F. M. Green, A Royal Life: The Eventful History of James A. Garfield (Chicago: Central Book Concern, 1882), p. 172. Selina Campbell, the widow of Alexander Campbell, wrote of Garfield: "I have heard his voice in preaching in the house of worship at Bethany," See Selina Huntington Campbell, Home Life and Reminiscences of Alexander Campbell (John Burns, Publisher, 1882), p. 246. But David Lipscomb reported: "We learn through Elder F. D. Power, the preacher in Washington city, that Garfield did after the war preside at the Lord's table and exhort his brethren, though he never entered the pulpit." See David Lipscomb, Civil Government (Nashville: McQuiddy Printing Company, 1913), p. 139. The fact remains that Garfield's voluminous letters and his daily Journal make no reference to his preparing and preaching sermons. He was, however, often called upon to share brief exhortations before various Disciple gatherings. One final note is of interest. Henry Shaw, after a thorough study of Garfield's personal library, wrote: "His was the library of a professional minister." Shaw found over 100 books by Disciple authors in Garfield's personal library. See Henry Shaw, "Garfield's library," Discipliana (July, 1942), p. 14. See also, Journal, October 19, 1874.

26. Journal, October 14, 1866.
Journal, August 26, 1871.

Journal, July 27, 1873.

Journal, July 23, 1874.

Journal, September 19, 1875.

Journal, September 24, 1876.

Green, History of Hiram, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

Shaw, Buckeye Disciples, op. cit., pp. 224, 231-232.

W. T. Moore, The Life of Timothy Coop (London: The Christian Commonwealth Pub. Co., 1889), pp. 258-259.

In 1871, North Western Christian University conferred an honorary LL.D. degree on Garfield. He proudly displayed this diploma next to his honorary M.A. degree from Bethany. Both awards were an indication of his continuing popularity among Disciples. Nothing ever came of the Baptist-Disciple attempt at rapprochement, apart from friendlier relations between the two groups.

27. Journal, August 4, 1867.

28. Journal, November 4, 1866.

Garfield to Hinsdale, January 1, 1872. Garfield Papers.

29. Journal, July 24-25, 1874.

Journal, April 4-5, 1875.

30. Journal, August 12, 1872.

Journal, June 5-6, 1875.

31. Journal, December 19, 1875.

32. Journal, February 20, 1875.

33. Journal, August 17, 1873.

Journal, August 2, 1874.

Journal, January 2, 1876.

Among the other churches that Garfield attended were the New York Avenue Presbyterian in Washington, the Grace Episcopal in New York, the Saint Aloysius Episcopal in Washington ("to hear the singing and watch the Easter Festivities"), and the Methodist in Canton, Ohio (with William McKinley). After attending the Presbyterian church in Aurora, Ohio, one Sunday (with some political friends, and in the midst of a campaign), Garfield went "across the street to the Disciples Church where the meeting had not yet ended and where I met a number of old friends and acquaintances. They were about to begin their Sunday School and at their request I spoke a little while." In the Journal, see March 31, 1872; May 19, 1872; October 12, 1873; December 28, 1873, March 8, 1874; April 5, 1874; August 17, 1876; August 20, 1876; and September 2, 1877.

34. Journal, December 21, 1873.
Journal, November 10, 1872.
Journal, July 6, 1873.
Journal, May 17, 1874.
Journal, May 13, 1877.
35. Tucker and McAllister, op. cit., pp. 227-228.
36. Frank N. Gardner, "That Heretic--L. L. Pinkerton," The Scroll, (April, 1943), p. 236.
37. Harrell, op. cit., pp. 12-14.
 David Edwin Harrell, Jr., Quest For A Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866 (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), p. 30.
 An indication of the rapport between Garfield, Hinsdale and Pinkerton can be seen in how often they quoted each other. For example, when Hinsdale was experiencing some frustration in his work with the Franklin Circle church in Cleveland, he wrote to Garfield: "You know that the relationships have never been of the best. . . . There is what Dr. Pinkerton would call a 'drove of asses,' and a large drove at that. These have been braying at me from the first and of late they have broken out into a terrible bellowing." See Hinsdale to Garfield, December 7, 1867. Garfield Papers.
38. L. L. Pinkerton, "The Genesis of the Independent Monthly," Independent Monthly, (October, 1869), p. 331.
39. Garfield to Pinkerton, November 11, 1869. Garfield Papers. See also, Garfield to Pinkerton, January 18, 1871. Garfield Papers.
40. It was Pinkerton's contention that the Disciples were in the process of developing a rigid creed that consisted of two propositions: (1) Immersion only in baptism; and (2) No one ought to be received into a church of Christ without immersion. He argued for an "open" membership policy that would receive anyone into fellowship who was a believer in Jesus, regardless of whether or not they had ever been immersed into Jesus.
41. Isaac Errett, "The Freedmen," Christian Standard. (April 7, 1866), pp. 4-5.
 L. L. Pinkerton, "Miscellaneous," Independent Monthly, (October, 1869), p. 343.
 Shackelford, op. cit., pp. 140-142.
 Harrell, Social Sources, op. cit., p. 169.

42. Pinkerton to Garfield, March, 1871. This letter is not in the Garfield Papers. It is published in Shackelford, op. cit., p. 142. (day of month not given)
43. Proceedings of the Church of Christ, Main Street, Lexington, Kentucky, in the case of Certain Members Excluded from her Fellowship. Addressed to All Who Love the Truth, and Who Desire to know the Facts in the Case (Lexington: Apostolic Times, Printers and Binders, 1871). Moses E. Lard, "The Main Street Church," Apostolic Times, (November 23, 1871), p. 260.
44. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 3, 1871. Garfield Papers.
45. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 19, 1871. Garfield Papers. Harrell comments: "Garfield's assessment was exaggerated, but it did place the theological schism in the proper geographic perspective." Social Sources, op. cit., p. 13,
46. Pinkerton to Garfield, June 23, 1873. In Shackelford, op. cit., pp. 145-146. Not in the Garfield Papers.
47. Shackelford, op. cit., pp. 108-111. Pinkerton entitled his series, "No Immersion--No Membership in a Church of the Reformation."
48. Garfield to C. D. Pinkerton, February 3, 1875. Garfield Papers.
49. Shackelford, op. cit., p. 156.
50. Davis, op. cit., p. 126. When the Hinsdales returned to Hiram in 1869, they made arrangements to rent the Garfield house. They purchased the house in 1873. J. Harrison Rhodes was no longer in Hiram. He was pursuing a varied career in Cleveland as a journalist, politician and lawyer. Almeda Booth was no longer associated with Hiram College either. She was also employed in Cleveland. Corydon Fuller was now living in Des Moines, Iowa, where he was an officer in the Iowa Loan and Trust Company. He later became president of the company.
51. On April 20, 1871, Garfield wrote to Hinsdale: "I wrote you a few days ago that I had written Dr. Hopkins in regard to the A.M. I stated your case briefly and the reasons that could be given in favor of conferring the A.M. upon you. I have this morning received the Doctor's answer which you see is kind and satisfactory."

52. Garfield to Hinsdale, February 2, 1872. Garfield Papers. Journal, April 29, 1873.
When Errett took the Standard to Cincinnati in the summer of 1869, the paper appeared to be finished. But in Cincinnati the periodical acquired a new lease on life, and soon the broad, irenic spirit of the editor began to reach a wider audience. In the over-crowded field of Disciple papers in the years 1869-1871, the Christian Standard clearly won the day. By January, 1872, Errett had over 15,500 subscribers, "and the list was steadily increasing." When the Independent Monthly suspended publication at the close of 1870, Garfield was without a journalistic voice. But in the decade of the 1870's, he remained a careful reader of the Christian Standard.
53. B. A. Hinsdale, The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels (Cincinnati: Bosworth, Chase & Hall, 1872).
B. A. Hinsdale, The Jewish Christian Church (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1878).
B. A. Hinsdale, Ecclesiastical Tradition (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1879).
Hinsdale to Garfield, January 8, 1872. Garfield Papers.
Garfield to Hinsdale, January 12, 1872. Garfield Papers.
Davis, op. cit., pp. 96-97, 109-111.
Following a lecture by Justice Waite in April, 1879, at the Washington Literary Society, Garfield wrote: "Crete and I read the first half of Hinsdale's book on the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels. The reading was suggested by some queries that Judge Waite has raised in reference to the genuineness of the New Testament readings." See Journal, April 13, 1879.
54. Garfield to Hinsdale, December 1, 1869. Garfield Papers.
55. Garfield to Hartwell Ryder, December 24, 1871. Garfield Papers. (Ryder was one of the elders of the church)
Garfield to Hinsdale, December 11, 1871. Garfield Papers.
Three years later the situation still had not improved, and Garfield noted in his Journal: "Went to church and heard the usual story of poverty in reference to employing a pastor. Spoke ten minutes on the importance of this church keeping itself in active working order." See Journal, July 5, 1874. For additional background, see Journal entries for December 22, 1857; July 20, 1873.
56. Journal, October 10, 1875.
57. Journal, October 17, 1875.
58. See B. A. Hinsdale, A History of the Disciples in Hiram,

Portage County, Ohio (Cleveland: Robinson, Savage and Company, 1876).

59. Journal, July 20, 1873.
Journal, October 29, 1872.
Journal, November 3, 1872.
Journal, June 22, 1873.
Journal, July 27, 1873.
Journal, September 14, 1873.
Journal, August 14, 1876.

60. Journal, June 21, 1872.
Journal, May 30, 1873.
Journal, September 16, 1873.
Journal, August 7, 1875.

61. See note 37 in chapter three. Garfield's base in the Disciples movement was further strengthened by the many political speeches he gave in Disciple meetinghouses. For example, see Journal entries for August 27, 1866; August 31, 1868; September 8, 1868; September 26, 1868; and October 1, 1868. By the fall of 1873, Garfield estimated that he had made the "monotonous and weary" train trip from Washington to Hiram and back "at least fifty times" (Journal, October 30, 1873). Nevertheless, he was dependent on Austin and the team for much of his political fencemending. In return, Garfield performed numerous duties and favors for his friends. As a lawyer, Garfield assisted G. W. N. Yost, Worthy Streator, John P. Robison, the Phillips brothers, Charles Lockwood and Wallace John Ford. As a Congressman, his services rendered to Disciples is beyond the scope of this note.

62. Journal, June 18, 1873.

63. Worthy S. Streator was president of the Lake Shore and Tuscarawas Valley Railroad Company. Charles B. Lockwood was president of the Cleveland Chemical Paint Company. Andrew Marvin was a Cleveland lawyer. George Baker was head of the Cleveland Lightning Rod Works. William Bowler was a Cleveland businessman whose "great interest" in life "was the advancement of the interests of Hiram College." Oliver Granger Kent was a wholesale grocer in Cleveland. Abram Teachout was president of the Teachout Lumber Company in Cleveland. Andrew Squire was a Hiram physician who lectured on chemistry and physiology at Hiram College. Richard M. Hank was a Hiram businessman. Aaron Davis was a farmer and local officeholder in the town of Baconsburg. Henry Hamilton was a justice of the peace and furniture dealer in Brookfield. Amos Coates,

of Alliance, was inventor and manufacturer of the lock-lever hay rake. In addition to these "new and vigorous materials," Harmon Austin, of Warren, was still president of the Trumbull National Bank and president of the Austin Flagstone Company. John P. Robison was head of a meat packing business in Cleveland called the National Packing House. W. J. Ford was now editor of the Geauga Leader in Burton. Frederick Williams, of Ravenna, was a "farmer, county officer, elder of the local church, public minister of religion, promoter of good works, lover of good men, and hospitable householder." Zeb Rudolph, Garfield's father-in-law, was a carpenter in Hiram. Each of these Hiram trustees brought valuable strength to Garfield's political organization.

64. Some of these men were more vocal in their support of Garfield than others, but they were all friendly cogs in the Garfield machine. Hinsdale preached in Hiram; Wakefield in North Bloomfield; Darsie in Ravenna; Rowe in Akron; Thayer in Warren; W. L. Hayden in Alliance and Canton; Henry in Solon; Moore in Mentor; Foote at the Franklin Circle church in Cleveland; and Hall at Euclid Avenue in Cleveland. All of the others were traveling evangelists who preached frequently around the Western Reserve. Lathrop Cooley, a traveling financial-agent for Hiram College, also aided the Garfield cause.
65. Charles E. Henry (1835-1906) had the distinction of being the first young man to enlist in Garfield's 42nd Ohio Regiment. Although he was a graduate of the Eclectic, and intimately associated with many Disciples, he did not become a member of the Disciples movement until February 6, 1876. On that occasion he was baptized by W. T. Moore in Cincinnati. In the army he attained the rank of first lieutenant, although in later life he was always known as "Captian" Henry. For additional information, see Frederick A. Henry, Captain Henry of Geauga (Cleveland: The Gates Press, 1942).
66. Henry to Garfield, September 12, 1869. Garfield Papers.
67. Cleveland Plain Dealer, December 4, 1869. See also, the Cincinnati Inquirer, December 15, 1869, where an editorial charged Garfield with having built a house worth \$40,000. When Garfield first went to Washington, his family remained in Hiram in the little house they had bought close to the college. This was not an ideal arrangement, and they eventually built a house in Washington in 1869. The house and lot cost \$11,850, of which Garfield borrowed over \$9,000.

68. Garfield to Henry, December 28, 1869. This letter is in the Henry Papers which were donated to Hiram College in 1963. There is not a copy in the Garfield Papers. There are 113 letters from Garfield in the Henry Papers.
69. See James D. Norris and Arthur H. Shaffer, (eds.), Politics and Patronage in the Gilded Age: The Correspondence of James A. Garfield and Charles E. Henry (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1970), for many examples of Henry's work for Garfield.
70. Henry to Garfield, September 1, 1873. Garfield Papers.
71. Garfield to Henry, September 26, 1873. Garfield Papers.
72. Henry to Garfield, September 3, 1873. Garfield Papers. See Frank H. Mason, The Forty-Second Ohio Infantry: A History of the Organization and Services of that Regiment in the War of the Rebellion; with Biographical Sketches of its Field Officers and a full roster of the Regiment (Cleveland: Cobb, Andrews and Company, 1876). Garfield aided this project by procuring some official materials from the War Department. See Journal, March 18, 1876.
73. The Credit Mobilier of America was a construction company formed to build the Union Pacific Railroad. Shares of the company were given to certain members of Congress in return for political favors. By charging the Union Pacific exorbitantly for its services, the company intended to make excessive profits from the construction.
74. Garfield to Hinsdale, August 6, 1874. Garfield Papers.
75. Garfield to Austin, August 10, 1874. Garfield Papers.
76. Richard Moore Bishop (1812-1893) was the head of a successful wholesale grocery house in Cincinnati from 1848 to 1878. He was mayor of Cincinnati between 1859 and 1861, and governor of Ohio from 1878 to 1880.
77. It is interesting to speculate on why Austin discouraged a gubernatorial draft for Garfield. It might have had something to do with Bishop's immense popularity among the Disciples in Ohio. Garfield's political base in the Disciples movement might have been seriously weakened in a bitter contest with Bishop.
78. Hinsdale to Garfield, August 29, 1877. Garfield Papers. Otis A. Burgess (1829-1882), graduate of Bethany College,

was president of North Western Christian University in Indianapolis in 1868-1870 and again in 1874-1881.

79. The estimate of 40,000 Ohio Disciples in 1877 is most likely low. However, since women could not vote, the total number of voting Disciples probably did not exceed 15,000. However, as Burgess suggested, it is possible that a great many Republican Disciples voted for Bishop.
80. Garfield to Hinsdale, February 22, 1872. Garfield Papers.
81. Journal, October 17, 1875.
82. Journal, July 2, 1876.
83. Journal, May 6, 1877.
84. See Journal, October 16, 1874. Garfield wrote: "Took tea with Burke and then listened to the reading of a long chapter in his forthcoming work, "The Doctrine of Evolution Applied to Theology." The chapter he read was on Jewish Christianity, and is a very able presentation of the growth of the Christian idea in the Jewish mind, and the effect upon it of Jewish thought. It is the ablest summary of the leading points in the Book of Acts I have ever seen. I made a number of suggestions and criticisms most of which he adopted. Burke has grown steadily and solidly during the last ten years. He has a high degree of intellectual honesty and faith in the investigation of any subject.
85. Journal, December 27, 1877.
The lecturer was Otis A. Burgess, and the place was the Disciple meetinghouse in New Castle, Pennsylvania. Garfield was visiting in the home of Thomas W. Phillips.
86. Journal, October 20, 1878.
Journal, January 4, 1879.
Garfield saw no need to provide his children with a Disciple-oriented education. In the fall of 1879, the two oldest boys, Harry and James, were sent to St. Paul's Episcopal School in Concord, New Hampshire. When they got around to selecting a college, they chose Williams over Hiram. The Garfield children rarely attended the Vermont Avenue church.
87. Journal, September 3, 1876.
Journal, March 2, 1879.
Journal, June 3, 1879.
See also, Garfield to Lucretia, June 3, 1879. Garfield

- Papers. See Also, Paul A. Carter, The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972), for a good discussion of Ingersoll and other key figures in the 1870's.
88. Journal, November 23, 1873.
Journal, February 6, 1876.
 Garfield to Shackelford, November 11, 1876. Garfield Papers.
 Garfield's views also embraced the treatment of Indians. Following a visit with the Flathead Indians, he wrote: "It appears to me that the religious side of the Indian question needs thorough reconsideration. To build up a Christian civilization on the ruins of barbarism we ought to begin at the bottom, and not at the top." For Garfield, this meant beginning "with the temporalities, rather than doctrinal theology." "We are accustomed to say," he declared, "that the Gospel is fitted to all classes and conditions of men. And this is probably true when we use the word in its broadest sense; but it is not true in the narrow doctrinal sense of the term. There is a gospel of clothing, of food, of shelter, of work, that should precede the theology of the pulpit." See James A. Garfield, "The Indian Question," Christian Standard, (November 23, 1872), p. 371.
89. Frederick D. Power (1851-1911) was pastor of the Vermont Avenue church from 1875 to 1911. Reflecting on the condition of the church as he found it in 1875, Power wrote later: "The character of the building in which we met and the acquaintance of the public with it at that time may be understood when I tell you that soon after my coming, some base fellow broke in and stole the pulpit Bible and a number of our Sunday School books, and the papers announced that the little colored church on Vermont Avenue had lost their books." Koontz, op. cit.
90. Journal, October 24, 1875.
Journal, October 31, 1875.
Journal, November 28, 1875.
91. Journal, January 15-25, 1878.
 See James A. Garfield, "Ancient Ephesus," Christian Standard, (February 9, 1878), p. 43.
92. Shaw, Buckeye Disciples, op. cit., pp. 246-247.
93. Journal, September 1, 1878.
94. Hinsdale to Garfield, January 1, 1875. Garfield Papers.

- Garfield to Hinsdale, January 7, 1875. Garfield Papers.
95. Hinsdale to Garfield, January 1, 1877. Garfield Papers.
 Garfield to Hinsdale, January 4, 1877. Garfield Papers.
 When Isaac Errett wrote to Hinsdale in the summer of 1878, it was to suggest that he could have the pastorate of the Central Christian Church in Cincinnati. When the Eighth and Walnut congregation moved into their plush new building in 1872, they became the Central Christian Church. It was one of the largest and most prestigious congregations in the Disciples brotherhood. However, when Hinsdale turned the offer down, Garfield commented: "I am glad you declined." See Garfield to Hinsdale, July 26, 1878. Garfield Papers. As late as 1879, Garfield was saying: "I do not see that you can do better than to remain at Hiram and continue literary work as you have been doing. I think you ought to continue the work of which The Jewish Christian Church is the beginning, and write it with a view to finding an eastern publisher." See Garfield to Hinsdale, January 8, 1879. Garfield Papers.
96. Henry Shaw was of the opinion that Garfield and Errett "upheld the 'middle of the road' position, and were instrumental in keeping the Disciples brotherhood from falling apart by dissension and internal strife." See Shaw, Buckeye Disciples, op. cit., p. 208. In the case of Errett he was right. But Garfield, far from being bothered by the internal debate, actually encouraged it. He supported the attack on Benjamin Franklin and other pacifists after the war, and he was disappointed when Errett made the Standard a voice of moderation in the church. When Pinkerton launched the controversial Independent Monthly, Garfield urged him to fire away at Lard and McGarvey. When Hinsdale criticized some traditional patterns of thought among Disciples, he received Garfield's enthusiastic endorsement. Pinkerton, Garfield and Hinsdale served as forerunners to the liberal movement of the 1890's that centered around the Disciples Divinity House at the University of Chicago. It was this new liberal spirit radiating from Chicago that ultimately led a large segment of the church into the mainstream of liberal American Protestantism at the beginning of the twentieth century. Garfield's "new and better movement" came to fruition a quarter century after his death.

1. Henry to Garfield, January 31, 1880. Garfield Papers. On January 6, 1880, Garfield had been selected by the unanimous vote of his Republican associates in the Ohio Legislature to succeed Allen G. Thurman in the United States Senate. But Garfield never sat in the Senate. On the day that his term would otherwise have begun he was inaugurated as President of the United States.
2. Journal, May 30, 1880.
Journal, June 6, 1880.
F. M. Green, A Royal Life: The Eventful History of James A. Garfield (Chicago: Central Book Concern, 1882) p. 174.
Otis A. Burgess, President Garfield (Chicago: Central Book Concern, 1881) p. 18.
3. B. A. Hinsdale, President Garfield and Education (Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1882), pp. 145-146. The Hiram graduate was J. W. Robbins. He described the incident later at a Hiram College memorial service for Garfield.
4. On the second day of the convention, Garfield wrote to his wife that "the signs have multiplied that the convention is strongly turning its attention to me." The next day, writing again to Lucretia, he said: "As to myself, I have only time to say that without any act or word of mine to induce it, there has been growing hourly a current of opinion which, were Ohio and I honorably free, might nominate me." See Garfield to Lucretia, June 3 and 4, 1880, in the Garfield Papers. The party convention was about evenly split between the "Stalwart" followers of Grant, led by New York's Roscoe Conkling, and the opponents of Grant led by Blaine and Sherman. In an effort to appease the "Stalwart" faction, Garfield selected Chester A. Arthur of New York to be his running mate. In the canvass of 1880, Garfield received strong support from the followers of Blaine and Sherman. But for a full three months after the convention, Grant and Conkling continued to sulk about their defeat. Finally, in late September, they gave their belated support to the party ticket.
5. John F. Rowe, "General Garfield's Nomination," American Christian Review, (July 10, 1880), p. 186.
6. The Standard and Review were published in Cincinnati. The Christian was based in St. Louis, and the Evangelist in Chicago. Garfield also received an endorsement from Marcia M. Goodwin, editor of the Christian Monitor, a

woman's magazine. In one of his editorials concerning the Garfield nomination, Errett wrote: "On account, we presume, of our known long acquaintance with the candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency, and the personal friendship existing between us, we are already besieged with questions touching every rumor put in circulation by his political opponents to his injury. Ours is not a political paper, and we have nothing to say in these columns touching the party issues between Republicans and Democrats. But as touching the character of James A. Garfield as an honest man, a Christian gentleman, an upright, loyal, and faithful citizen, and a statesman of great ability, of high integrity, and of pure morals, we are free to say, as the result of a long and intimate personal acquaintance, that we have in him, and have always had, unbounded confidence--a confidence that has never trembled for a moment." See Isaac Errett, "James A. Garfield," Christian Standard, (June 19, 1880), p. 196.

7. On January 28, 1864, less than two months after he had entered Congress, Garfield delivered his first important speech in the House on the confiscation of rebel property. The speech seriously wounded his relations with Disciples in the South, and there were many who never forgave him for it.
8. The basic argument in Lipscomb's position was that the "kingdoms of the world" were under the dominion of Satan, while the Christian's "citizenship is in heaven."
9. David Lipscomb, "Words of Caution," Gospel Advocate, (June 24, 1880), p. 399.
10. David Lipscomb, "Christians and Politics," Gospel Advocate, (July 15, 1880), p. 446. In this same editorial, Lipscomb wrote: "Gen. Garfield is a member of the church of Christ. He is a man in good standing in that church. He is intimate with a great number of well-known and leading disciples of Christ. They all regard him as a man of honor and integrity . . . Under these circumstances, no Christian can believe or report or take up the public evil reports against Garfield, without violating all the obligations of Christian brotherhood. . . . We hold that wherein General Garfield has not failed in religious integrity in the political arena, ninety-nine out of every hundred Christians would fail. Moreover, I do not believe in a hundred years past, so much of earnest, intelligent religious character, in one person, has come so near the Presidency as does now in the

person of General Garfield. The chances are, that so much will not again for a hundred years to come."

11. David Lipscomb, "Religion and Politics," Gospel Advocate, (September 9, 1880), p. 581.
12. David Lipscomb, "Politics and Religion," Gospel Advocate, (August 5, 1880), p. 504.
13. David Lipscomb, "Religion and Politics," Gospel Advocate, (September 23, 1880), p. 609. See also, Earl Irvin West, The Life and Times of David Lipscomb (Henderson, Tennessee: Religious Book Service, 1954), p. 169. Lipscomb published a list of Disciple preachers who were seeking political office in 1880, and then remarked: "Surely the evil one has learned the weak point of these Campbellite preachers." See David Lipscomb, "Teachers in Politics," Gospel Advocate, (August 26, 1880), p. 553. Following the election, Lipscomb complained that "the candidacy of Garfield has drawn many preachers of the truth into politics." See David Lipscomb, "The Election," Gospel Advocate, (December 2, 1880), p. 776.
14. Black to Garfield, June 10, 1880. Garfield Papers. Garfield replied: "I know how grounded you are in the ways of political thinking which seem to you just and for the highest good of your country--and so all the more for that reason I prize your words of personal kindness. . . . Succeeding or failing I shall none the less honor your noble character, great intellect and equally great heart." See William Norwood Brigance, Jeremiah Sullivan Black (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), p. 281.
15. The Democratic National Convention met in Cincinnati at the end of June and nominated a ticket of William H. Hancock and William H. English. Richard M. Bishop, the well-known Disciple who was Governor of Ohio, came in second to English in the balloting for Vice President. Black plunged into the campaign on behalf of the Democratic ticket. When the Credit Mobilier scandal became an issue in the campaign, Black testified that Garfield had actually held stock in the company and had received dividends as well. This accusation seriously damaged the Garfield-Black friendship. They never saw or wrote to one another again.
16. Thomas W. Phillips, "A Personal Tribute to James A. Garfield," Bulletin of Hiram College, Garfield Number, 1912. See, B. A. Hinsdale, The Republican Text-Book For The

- Campaign of 1880 (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1880), See, also, James DeForest Murch, B. D. Phillips: Life and Letters (Louisville: The Standard Printing Company, 1969), p. 10.
17. Alanson Wilcox, "Lucretia Rudolph Garfield," Christian Standard, (April 6, 1918), p. 858.
 18. Thomas W. Grafton, Men of Yesterday: A Series of Character Sketches of Prominent Men among the Disciples of Christ (St. Louis: The Christian Publishing Company, 1899), p. 282. Commenting on the reason that Burgess became so involved in the campaign, Grafton wrote: "In this service he had not been actuated by selfish or political motives. Garfield was his brother in Christ. Together they had labored for the same great cause--the restoration of Primitive Christianity. Mr. Burgess now saw in the elevation of his friend an opportunity for the advancement of the movement with which he was identified."
 19. Hinsdale to Garfield, October 9, 1880. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Hinsdale, August 24, 1880. Garfield Papers. Hinsdale to Garfield, September 3, 1880. Garfield Papers. Hinsdale to Garfield, September 15, 1880. Garfield Papers. Hinsdale to Garfield, October 5, 1880. Garfield Papers.
 20. Henry K. Shaw, Hoosier Disciples: A Comprehensive History of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) in Indiana (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1966), p. 208,
 21. Isaac Errett, "General Garfield's Religious Faith," Christian Standard, (July 10, 1880), p. 218. Errett was not referring to the little statement that Garfield had penned in 1860 (see p. 142 in this dissertation), but to his own tract that was written in 1872. See, Charles A. Young, Historical Documents Advocating Christian Union (Chicago: The Christian Century Company, 1904), where Errett's tract is reprinted in full. Garfield's brief statement also received a wide distribution during the campaign. It was reprinted in a number of periodicals.
 22. Journal, September 30, 1880. J. S. Lamar, Memoirs of Isaac Errett, II, (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1893), p. 272. Late in the fall of 1876, Garfield purchased the Dickey farm in Mentor, Ohio. This farm was located about half a mile east of Dr. John P. Robison's farm. During the campaign of 1880, newspapermen began calling the house

"Lawnfield." The farmhouse is now the property of the Western Reserve Historical Society and is open to the public. One of the visitors at "Lawnfield" during the busy summer of 1880 was Corydon Fuller from Iowa. For a description of this reunion, see Corydon E. Fuller, Reminiscences of James A. Garfield (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1887), pp. 428-432. Another guest at "Lawnfield" was Major Jonas M. Bundy, editor of the New York Evening Mail. He was preparing a biography of Garfield. Since his visit occurred over a week-end, he was able to offer the following account of Garfield at church: "The next day, Sunday, afforded a totally different experience. I was asked to go to the 'Disciples' meeting-house, about a mile toward Painesville, and attend the worship there, and went, as did pretty nearly all of the Garfield family. The meetinghouse is a small, old-fashioned rural New England sort of temple, built of boards and painted white, with commodious horse-sheds around. The attendance was not large, but of people who looked earnestly religious, in their plain and primitive way. There was no 'preacher' in the usual sense of that word. But in the preacher's seat was General Garfield's practical, original and independent old friend and adviser, one of the most noted characters in the 'Reserve,' Dr. J. P. Robison . . . His discourse was a plain and pungent and sometimes sarcastic and humorous attack on all human substitutes for, and additions to, the revealed word of God. . . . After the preaching was over he asked the congregation to 'sing a song,' and proceeded, with the aid of two deacons, to administer the 'Lord's Supper,' as is done every Sunday by the 'Disciples.' The ceremony was impressive by its very simplicity and evident sincerity. After the broken bread had been blessed and partaken of, the doctor asked 'Brother Garfield' to ask a blessing on the wine, and the latter did so, with the manner of one who was performing a simple and customary duty. Altogether the services were exceedingly suggestive of the apostolic times and of the notion that much might be learned from the misunderstood and humble 'Campbellites.' They gave me a much clearer conception of the natural and normal character of Garfield's 'preaching,' in his early manhood, and for this reason had special value and significance." See, J. M. Bundy, The Life of General James A. Garfield (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1880), pp. 225-226.

23. Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), pp. 1031-1032. See, also, Richard O. Bates, The Gentleman From Ohio (Durham: Moore Pub. Co., 1973), p. 283.

24. See Herbert J. Clancy, The Presidential Election of 1880 (Chicago: The Loyola Press, 1958).
25. Henry to Garfield, November 9, 1880. Garfield Papers. Garfield to Hinsdale, November 17, 1880. Garfield Papers. Phillips, op. cit.
26. Hinsdale to Garfield, November 9, 1880. Garfield Papers.
27. Smith, op. cit., p. 1063.
28. Garfield to Hinsdale, November 17, 1880. Garfield Papers.
29. Hinsdale to Garfield, November 20, 1880. Garfield Papers.
30. Chaplain G. G. Mullins, "Garfield's Religion," Gospel Advocate, (March 8, 1883), p. 156.
31. Lamar, op. cit., p. 185.
32. See note 19 in chapter seven of this dissertation. The Henderson letter is now in the Munday-Henderson Papers. These papers are part of the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection at the University of Missouri library in Columbia, Missouri. See also, Henderson to Garfield. September 10 and December 27, 1880, in Garfield Papers.
33. John Bryan Bowman (1824-1891) founded and chartered Kentucky University (now the University of Kentucky), of which he was regent from 1865 to 1878. In the spring of 1877 he was among the office-seekers who were besieging President Hayes for a government position. He was able to persuade Garfield to intervene on his behalf, but he still failed to get an appointment. Garfield wrote of this incident: "Called on the President with Regent Bowman and also on the Secretary of State. Bowman desires to be Minister to Mexico or to Austria. Who does not desire some office? It would be a comfort to find a community which was content to stand on its own foundations. A kind of madness seems to pervade the public mind in regard to political office." See Journal, March 26, 1877. After Garfield's election, Bowman renewed his efforts for a political appointment. See Bowman to Garfield, July 19, October 16, November 8, 1880, and April 11, May 18, and May 19, 1881, in the Garfield Papers. See, also, Chaplain G. G. Mullins, "Garfield's Religion," Gospel Advocate, (March 8, 1883), p. 156. According to Mullins, Bowman wanted to be Secretary of the Interior.
34. Garfield to Lucretia, January 21, 1881. Garfield Papers.

35. Frederick Douglass (1817?-1895), who was born into slavery, became a celebrated abolitionist. He was Marshal of the District of Columbia from 1877 to 1881. Garfield transferred him to the office of Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia in order to create a vacancy for Captain Henry. Douglass later wrote: "Prior to his inauguration he solemnly promised Senator Rosecoe Conkling that he would appoint me United States Marshal for the District of Columbia. He not only promised, but did so with emphasis. He slapped the table with his hand when he made the promise." See Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York: Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1962), p. 525. The telegrams exchanged by Garfield and Jones are in Garfield Papers.
36. Hinsdale to Garfield, March 25, 1881. Garfield Papers.
37. Garfield to Hinsdale, June 16, 1881. Garfield Papers.
Hinsdale to Garfield, June 20, 1881. Garfield Papers.
38. Hinsdale, op. cit., pp. 106-108.
39. Garfield to Austin, February 7, 1881. Garfield Papers.
40. Garfield to Power, January 20, 1881. Garfield Papers.
41. David King, "The American President (Elect)," Ecclesiastical Observer, (February 15, 1881), p. 47.
42. Smith, op. cit., p. 1097.
John M. Taylor, Garfield of Ohio: The Available Man (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), p. 236.
43. Chaplain G. G. Mullins, My Life is an Open Book (St. Louis: John Burns, Publisher, 1883), p. 229.
There were less than 100 members in this church when Garfield began serving in Congress. By January, 1871, there were 144 members. The membership had only grown to 150 when Frederick Power arrived in 1875. However, the congregation numbered nearly 400 by March, 1881.
44. Ibid., pp. 230-244.
45. Frederick A. Henry, Captain Henry of Geauga (Cleveland: the Gates Press, 1942), pp. 306-307.
Journal, March 6, 1881.
46. Journal, March 6, 1881.
Journal, March 13, 1881.
Journal, March 20, 1881.

47. Hinsdale to Garfield, November 9, 1880. Garfield Papers.
48. T. Harry Williams, (ed.), Hayes: The Diary of a President, 1875-1881 (New York: David McKay Company, 1964), pp. 305-306.
49. Journal, April 2, 1881.
50. For a good discussion of how the Disciples responded to the temperance movement, see David Edwin Harrell, Jr., The Social Sources of Division in the Disciples of Christ, 1865-1900 (Atlanta: Publishing Systems, Inc. 1973), pp. 208-242.
51. Garfield to Hinsdale, March 26, 1881. Garfield Papers.
52. Rhodes to Henry, May 18, 1881. Reprinted in Henry, op. cit., pp. 309-310.
53. Journal, April 13, 1881.
Journal, April 15, 1881.
Journal, April 17, 1881.
Garfield to Wallace, April 19, 1881. Garfield Papers.
See, also, Irving McKee, "Ben-Hur" Wallace: The Life of General Lew Wallace (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), pp. 189-190.
54. McKee says: "Across the commission as Minister Resident to Turkey, Garfield slyly wrote 'Ben-Hur,' the Senate approved, and Secretary of State Blaine signed the credentials." When Wallace stopped by the White House on his way out of the country, Garfield said: "I expect another book out of you. Your official duties will not be too onerous to allow you to write it. Locate it in Constantinople." See McKee, op. cit., p. 191.
55. During the course of his imprisonment and trial, Guiteau freely described all of his pre-assassination movements.
56. Charles Julius Guiteau (1841-1882) wanted to be named minister to Austria-Hungary or consul general in Paris. Incensed by his failure to secure an appointment and by Garfield's clash with the "Stalwarts," Guiteau came to the conclusion that Garfield should be "removed."
57. Cited in Smith, op. cit., pp. 1197-1198.
58. W. T. Moore, The Life of Timothy Coop (London: The Christian Commonwealth Publishing Company, 1889), pp. 404-405.

59. Brigance, op. cit., p. 282.
Brigance found this information in a letter that Captain Henry wrote to Black on December 21, 1881. Henry had obtained the account from Dr. Edson, one of the physicians who was attending Garfield in the White House.
60. Moore, op. cit., pp. 397-399.
This letter was written on July 12, 1881, and contained a contribution of 100 pounds. Coop listed the following four churches as having taken part in the contribution: "Church of Christ, Southampton; Church of Christ, Chester; Church of Christ, Southport; and Church of Christ, Liverpool."
61. Smith, op. cit., p. 1196.
Max Cohen, (ed.), Garfield Souvenirs: The President's Courageous Sayings During His Critical Illness & "Gems" of Press & Pulpit (Washington: Max Cohen, Printer, 1881), p. 18.
David King, "The Late President Garfield," Ecclesiastical Observer, (November 1, 1881), p. 282.
Shaw, op. cit., p. 209.
62. Henry, op. cit., pp. 312-313.
Cohen, op. cit., p. 47.
Washington Gladden, Recollections (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), p. 280.
63. Power's address was reprinted in a number of accounts. See David King, "The Late President Garfield," Ecclesiastical Observer, (November 1, 1881), pp. 281-282.
The pallbearers at this service were all members of the Vermont Avenue church. See Isaac Errett, "Editorial Items," Christian Standard, (October 1, 1881), p. 316.
64. Hinsdale, op. cit., pp. 114-123.
Among the other participants in this Hiram College memorial were: Isaac Errett, Harry Rhodes, Charles Wilbur, Charles B. Lockwood and W. K. Pendleton.
65. The Garfield Memorial Committee, The Man and the Mausoleum (Cleveland: The Cleveland Printing and Publishing Company, 1890), p. 87. See note 24 in chapter five of this dissertation (p. 157) for a reminder of the terms of the covenant for the original members of the "Quintinkle Club." Lamar explains: "It provided for the last sad rites, as one by one they should be gathered home: the survivors were to attend the funeral and have entire charge of the services. Mrs. Garfield, remembering this, called upon them to keep their promise." See Lamar, op.

cit., p. 197. This accounts for the fact that Errett, Robison and Jones had the most prominent roles in the public funeral.

66. For Errett's full address, see Isaac Errett, Linsey-Woolsey and Other Addresses (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1893). For good descriptions of the Garfield funerals, see Henry J. Cookinham, (ed.), In Memoriam: James A. Garfield, Twentieth President of The United States (Utica, New York: Curtiss and Childs, Publishers, 1881), and J. S. Ogilvie, The Life and Death of James A. Garfield (New York: J. S. Ogilvie, 1881).
67. Charles E. Rosenberg, The Trial of the Assassin Guiteau (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1868), p. 11.
68. Burgess, op. cit., pp. 4-5. In addition to memorial services, there was a steady stream of resolutions in honor of the slain President. Numerous Disciple churches and schools passed such resolutions. An example is included in an appendix to this dissertation.
69. Isaac Errett, "Our Late President," Christian Standard, (October 1, 1881), p. 316.
70. David Lipscomb, "Was God's Hand In It?" Gospel Advocate, (September 29, 1881), p. 612. An Alabama preacher, J. M. Barnes, chided southerners for "crying and carrying on" over Garfield's assassination when they had refused to vote for him in the election. See J. M. Barnes, "Off to Atlanta," Gospel Advocate, (September 21, 1882), p. 591.
71. David King, "Garfield--A Meditation," Ecclesiastical Observer, (January 15, 1882), p. 17. In the course of this article, King reprinted Wilmeth's editorial.
72. Alton Locke, "Garfield--A Meditation," Ecclesiastical Observer, (January 1, 1882), p. 5.
73. Green, op. cit., pp. 189-190.
74. Burgess, op. cit., p. 22.
75. William Thomas Moore, A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1909), pp. 731-732.

1. B. A. Hinsdale, President Garfield and Education (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), p. 121.
2. Thomas W. Grafton, Men of Yesterday: A Series of Character Sketches of Prominent Men Among the Disciples of Christ (St. Louis: The Christian Publishing Company, 1899), p. 285.
3. Richard O. Bates, The Gentleman From Ohio: An Introduction to Garfield (Durham, Moore Pub. Co., 1973), p. 20.
4. Harold Eugene Davis, Hinsdale of Hiram: The Life of Burke Aaron Hinsdale (Washington: The University Press of Washington, D. C., 1971), p. 135.
See, also, B. A. Hinsdale, (ed.), The Works of James A. Garfield (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882).
5. Hinsdale's literary activity helped to take his mind off politics. "My interest in politics and in government affairs (other than historical interest) has wonderfully declined," he confided to Captain Henry on March 1, 1882. See Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 135. At the annual convention of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society in May, 1882, a memorial service was held for Garfield. As president of the convention, Hinsdale had a prominent part in the service. See Henry K. Shaw, Buckeye Disciples: A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (St. Louis: The Christian Board of Publication, 1952), p. 257. In the summer of 1882, Hinsdale decided to make a move from Hiram. He resigned as president of Hiram College in order to accept an offer to become the superintendent of the Cleveland school system.
6. Fuller's work on the Garfield manuscript was not only a labor of love, but a race with death. He was only in his fifty-sixth year when he died.
7. James D. Norris and Arthur H. Shaffer, (eds.), Politics and Patronage in the Gilded Age: The Correspondence of James A. Garfield and Charles E. Henry (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1970), pp. 294-295.
Frederick A. Henry, Captain Henry of Geauga (Cleveland: The Gates Press, 1942), pp. 320-322.
8. Alvin I. Hobbs, "Our Late President," Christian Standard, (October 1, 1881), p. 316. Hobbs was a veteran preacher from Louisville, Kentucky.
9. B. S. Driggs, "For a Memorial," Christian Standard, (October 1, 1881), p. 316.

10. Isaac Errett, "For a Memorial," Christian Standard, (October 1, 1881), p. 316.
11. Frederick D. Power, Thoughts of Thirty Years, 1875-1905 (Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1905), p. 199. Following the death of Garfield, the American Christian Missionary Society assumed the responsibility for raising the necessary funds for a new church building in Washington. The Garfield Memorial Church was constructed on the site of the old frame meetinghouse. The old frame building was moved to another location, and the church continued to meet in it during the time the new building was under construction.
12. David Lipscomb, "Hero Worship," Gospel Advocate, (July 27, 1882), p. 467. Five years later, Lipscomb charged: "Our northern brethren went into politics on a moral question--slavery. . . . But when the moral question was settled they did not come out of politics. They had tasted of its intoxicating influences and continued in politics. Bringing this work into the church dwarfs and destroys the spirituality and activity of the church." See David Lipscomb, "Politics and Religion," Gospel Advocate, (October 26, 1887), p. 678.
13. Frederick D. Power, Life of William Kimbrough Pendleton (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1902), p. 412. The opposition to the term "Garfield Memorial Church" was not limited to David Lipscomb and readers of the Gospel Advocate. The widow of Alexander Campbell was strongly opposed to the idea. She pointed out that her husband had always repudiated such ideas. See, Selina Campbell, "Letter From Mrs. Alex. Campbell," Ecclesiastical Observer, (January 15, 1882), p. 19. One letter-writer to the Christian Standard said: "Permit an humble to say that I think it inconsistent with our principles as a religious people and restorers of primitive Christianity, to name any of our churches 'Garfield Memorial Church,' etc. It is to be feared, I think, that in our great anxiety to honor the greatly beloved President, we push him ahead of Christ, who died for us. We should avoid every appearance of this. No one with the same ability honors the memory of President Garfield more than the humble writer of this; for he is worthy of all praise. But then we should not mix our honors and love of his memory with our religious matters--so I think." See Christian Standard, "Garfield Memorial Church." (November 26, 1881), p. 378. Nevertheless, the term "Garfield Memorial Church" was commonly used, and the old "Garfield pew" was retained in the new building.

14. See Juliet Reeve, Friends University: The Growth of an Idea (Wichita: The Wichita Eagle Press, 1948). See also, W. T. Moore, The Life of Timothy Coop (London: The Christian Commonwealth Publishing Company, 1889).
15. Mary Bosworth Treudley, Prelude to the Future: The First Hundred Years of Hiram College (New York: The Association Press, 1950), p. 109 and p. 250. Shaw, op. cit., p. 260.
16. See The Garfield Memorial Committee, The Man and the Mausoleum (Cleveland: Cleveland Printing & Publishing Company, 1890). See also, Cleveland and the Garfield Memorial (New York: A. Wittemann Publishing Co., 1891). One year after the dedication of the Garfield Monument, Garfield was in the news again. Harper's came out with a special "Garfield Edition" of Ben-Hur. It was illustrated with twenty full-page photogravures and more than a thousand marginal drawings, and it was advertised as "the most elaborately illustrated book in the country." The two-volume set was bound in silk and gold, and sold for \$30 a set. A facsimile of Garfield's letter to the author, thanking him for the "beautiful and reverent" book, was included in the "Garfield Edition."
17. Concerning the life span of some of the other prominent persons in this study: Garfield's mother passed away in 1888; Frederick Power died in 1911, after serving as the minister of the Vermont Avenue church for over 35 years; and Wallace John Ford lived until 1916.
18. According to the 1906 religious census, the Churches of Christ had only 159,658 members. About 75,000 of their members lived in Tennessee and Texas. Their key papers were the Gospel Advocate and the Firm Foundation. In the same census, the Disciples of Christ were credited with nearly a million members. They were strongest in the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. Their leading papers were the Christian Standard and the Christian-Evangelist. The Churches of Christ demonstrated very little interest in the Garfield heritage. But the Disciples proudly pointed to Garfield as one of their finest representatives.
19. When the city of Indianapolis hosted a national convention of Disciples in October, 1897, they gave special prominence to Garfield. His portrait was one of nine large portraits displayed on the walls. In November, 1911, Hiram College honored the eightieth anniversary of Garfield's birth with a special memorial service.

Thomas W. Phillips was the featured speaker for that occasion. His speech, entitled "A Personal Tribute to James A. Garfield," was given in the Hiram meetinghouse. Later, a stained glass window bearing Garfield's likeness was placed in the Hiram church building. In 1931, Hiram hosted another memorial service in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of Garfield's birth.

20. See Centennial Convention Report: One Hundredth Anniversary of the Disciples of Christ (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1909). See also, Program of the International Centennial Celebration and Conventions of the Disciples of Christ (Cincinnati: American Christian Missionary Society, 1909). In Moore's book, Garfield was discussed in a chapter entitled "Some of the Men Instrumental in Making the Movement." Explaining why Garfield's name was placed first in the chapter, Moore said: "At the head of this list we place the name of James A. Garfield, not because he is entitled to more honour than many others, but because of his prominent position as a statesman and Christian, and of his tragic and heroic death." A part of Moore's memoir of Garfield is included in an appendix to this dissertation.
21. See Hilda E. Koontz, 125th Anniversary Program (Washington: National City Christian Church, 1968). The old "Garfield Pew" and the communion set which he used are still on display at the National City Christian Church.
22. The Thomas W. Phillips Memorial building, which houses the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, was built for one million dollars. This Tudor-Gothic structure contains a library, archives and museum.
23. See Discipliana, September, 1961.
24. See Discipliana, September, 1961; September, 1965; November, 1966; and Winter, 1976.
25. A wide variety of volumes have referred to Garfield as "The Preacher President." The most recent use of this term is found in a bicentennial volume. See Barbara Barclay, Our Presidents (New York: Bowmar Publishing Corporation, 1976). The chapter on Garfield is called "The Preacher President."

The most important single source for this study has been the Garfield Papers in the Library of Congress. This is one of the most extensive manuscript collections of any American President. For over thirty-three years, Garfield maintained the practice of making daily entries in his personal Journal. Although there are some serious gaps in the Journal, it is nevertheless a voluminous document of nearly half a million words. Garfield was also an indefatigable correspondent, and he faithfully preserved all letters and letter-books. The Garfield Papers were not widely available until the fall of 1973, when the Library of Congress finally completed the microfilming of the massive collection. The UCSB library purchased 120 reels of the microfilmed papers for my use in the researching of this dissertation.

The greater part of the Garfield Papers must be consulted in manuscript form, but a significant portion have been edited and published. In 1955, Harry James Brown and Frederick D. Williams, history professors at Michigan State University, began the task of editing Garfield's personal Journal. Three annotated volumes have now been published in this series, and the fourth and final volume will soon be released. Corydon E. Fuller's Reminiscences of James A. Garfield is the most valuable printed source for Garfield's student years. It includes several Garfield letters that are not in the Garfield Papers. Frederick Williams filled

an important gap when he edited The Wild Life of the Army: Civil War Letters of James A. Garfield. Mary L. Hinsdale, the daughter of Burke Hinsdale, edited 300 letters in her Garfield-Hinsdale Letters. James D. Norris and Arthur H. Shaffer edited over 200 letters in their volume on Politics and Patronage in the Gilded Age: The Correspondence of James A. Garfield and Charles E. Henry.

As a result of the demand for biographies of Garfield following his nomination and assassination, a large number of books were hastily placed on the market. Unfortunately, most of these biographies were neither carefully prepared nor scholarly. However, there were three noteworthy exceptions. These were: J. M. Bundy's The Life of General James A. Garfield, F. M. Green's A Royal Life and B. A. Hinsdale's President Garfield and Education. Bundy's volume was the official campaign biography, and he had access to sources that are no longer available. Green was one of Garfield's former students, and he had been working on a biography of his teacher since 1868. The volume by Hinsdale, while not meant to be a full biography, was nevertheless an accurate account of Garfield's relationship to Hiram College. Each of these books proved to be valuable to this project.

In the course of the twentieth century, three other significant Garfield biographies have appeared. Theodore Clarke Smith was the first historian to have access to the

Garfield Papers, and his Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield (2 vols., 1925) has generally been considered the definitive work on Garfield. However, Smith was not always accurate in his transcriptions. Robert G. Caldwell's James A. Garfield: Party Chieftain was published in 1931, and it filled the need for a standard political biography. It was more critically interpretive than Smith's work. The most recent biography is John M. Taylor's Garfield of Ohio: The Available Man (1970). Allan Peskin's full-length biography entitled Garfield will be published by Kent State University Press in the spring of 1978. This is an expansion of his doctoral dissertation at Western Reserve University, and it will most likely replace Smith as the definitive biography of America's twentieth President.

The forerunner to my own research on Garfield is the dissertation Woodrow W. Wasson wrote thirty years ago under the direction of Sidney Mead at the University of Chicago. Wasson called his study: "James A. Garfield and Religion: A Study in the Religious Thought and Activity of an American Statesman." Five years later, Wasson published a revision of his dissertation under the title James A. Garfield: His Religion and Education. Wasson's research was a pioneering effort, and his book has been recognized as the best on the subject. However, as useful as the book is, it is thin in some areas and has been in need of revision and expansion.

In addition to the books already cited, there were several other volumes that were especially helpful in the researching of this project. Among the most valuable were the histories of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio by Wilcox and Shaw, and the histories of Hiram College by Green and Treudley. I also relied on the biographies of Isaac Errett, Lewis Pinkerton, Burke Hinsdale, Charles E. Henry, Jeremiah Sullivan Black and David Lipscomb. Finally, a wealth of material was gleaned from Disciple periodicals. The ones that benefited this study most were the Christian Standard, the Gospel Advocate, the Millennial Harbinger, the American Christian Review and the Ecclesiastical Observer.

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- 1831 - Birth of James Abram Garfield on November 19 in Orange Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio.
- 1832 - Union of Campbell and Stone movements on January 1.
- 1833 - Garfield's parents were baptized in January. His father died in May, leaving a widow and 4 children.
- 1848 - Garfield was a canal boat driver on the Ohio and Pennsylvania canal for six weeks during the summer.
- 1849 - Entered Geauga Seminary at Chester, Ohio, on March 6.
- 1850 - Baptized into Christ by W. A. Lillie on March 4. Began subscription to Millennial Harbinger in June.
- 1851 - Entered Western Reserve Eclectic Institute in Hiram on August 23. Became friends with Corydon Fuller.
- 1853 - Preached his first full-length sermon on March 27. Attended commencement at Bethany College in July.
- 1854 - Graduated from the Eclectic Institute on June 22. Enrolled in Williams College for the fall terms.
- 1856 - Campaigned for the Republicans and Fremont in June. Graduated with honors from Williams on August 6. Returned to teach at the Eclectic in August, and began rooming with James Harrison Rhodes.
- 1857 - His January meeting in Hiram resulted in 38 baptisms. Appointed "Chairman" of Eclectic faculty on May 26.
- 1858 - His preaching stirred a Hiram revival in February. Appointed President of Eclectic Institute in May. Made a tour of Disciple colleges in the summer. Married Lucretia Rudolph in Hiram on November 11. Debated William Denton during last week in December.
- 1859 - Professor Norman Dunshee fired by board on May 11. Garfield wins election to State Senate on October 11.
- 1860 - With Alexander Campbell at yearly meeting in August. Writes "What We Stand For" in November.
- 1861 - Civil War erupted on April 12. Appointed Colonel of Forty-second Ohio in August. Launched recruiting campaign at Hiram meetinghouse. Delivered speech at A.C.M.S. Convention in October. Persuaded Harry Jones to be chaplain of his regiment.

- 1862 - Battle of Middle Creek, Kentucky, fought January 10.
Promoted to rank of Brigadier General on March 19.
Battle of Shiloh fought in Tennessee on April 6-7.
With help of Austin, elected to Congress in October.
- 1863 - Appointed Chief of Staff for Rosecrans in February.
Organized the successful Tullahoma campaign in June.
Battle of Chicamauga, Georgia, fought September 19.
Promoted to rank of Major General after Chicamauga.
Took his seat in the 38th Congress on December 7.
- 1865 - Accepted position on Hiram Board of Trustees in June.
- 1866 - Death of Alexander Campbell in Bethany on March 4.
The first issue of the Christian Standard on April 7.
Theological Department launched at Hiram in summer.
- 1867 - Eclectic Institute becomes Hiram College on June 14.
- 1869 - Dr. Pinkerton begins Independent Monthly in January.
Garfield speaks at O.C.M.S. Convention in May.
- 1870 - Hinsdale becomes President of Hiram College in July.
- 1872 - Hiram College expands board to twenty-four members.
- 1873 - Garfield named in Credit Mobilier scandal in January.
Arranges promotion for Captain Henry in September.
- 1875 - Frederick Power begins Washington ministry in fall.
- 1877 - Garfield speaks at O.C.M.S. Convention in May.
- 1880 - Wins Republican nomination for President on June 8.
Several Disciples play major roles in the campaign.
Elected President of the United States on November 2.
- 1881 - Inaugurated as President on March 4.
Brings publicity to Vermont Avenue church on March 6.
Shot by Charles Guiteau in Washington on July 2.
Suffers through the summer and dies on September 19.
Funerals preached by Frederick Power and Isaac Errett.
- 1882 - Cornerstone of Garfield Memorial Church laid July 2.
- 1884 - Garfield Memorial Church dedicated on January 20.
- 1887 - Garfield University opens its doors in September.
- 1890 - Garfield Monument dedicated on Memorial Day.

APPENDICES

- APPENDIX A - The Course of Study at Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, 1851-1854
- APPENDIX B - The Course of Study at Williams College, 1854-1856
- APPENDIX C - An Account of James A. Garfield's New York Speech in the Aftermath of Abraham Lincoln's Assassination
- APPENDIX D - Historical Table Showing the Place and President of the Anniversaries of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society
- APPENDIX E - Resolution Passed by the Board of Trustees, Bethany College, and Occasioned by the Death of James A. Garfield
- APPENDIX F - William T. Moore's Memoir of James A. Garfield
- APPENDIX G - Photographs

APPENDIX A

The Course of Study at Western
Reserve Eclectic Institute, 1851-1854

First Year

Arithmetic	Ray
Geography	Mitchell
Grammar	Wells
Philosophy	Parker
Modern History	Goodrich
Ancient Geography	Mitchell
Sacred History	The Bible
Elocution	McGuffey
Latin	Andrew's Latin Lessons, and Caesar
Algebra	Ray
Watts on the Mind	Emerson

Second Year

English Analysis	Green
Ancient and Modern History	Willard
Physiology	Cutter
Rhetoric	Jamieson
Greek (begun).	Kuhner
Virgil and Sallust	Anthon
Astronomy	Mattison's Burrit's
Algebra	Bourdon
Geometry	Davies
Sacred History (Con.)	
French	Collot's Series
Drawing and Painting	
Music	
Bookkeeping	Crittenden

Third Year

Trigonometry	Davies
Mensuration	Davies
Surveying	Davies
Conic Sections	Coffin
Mental Philosophy	Upham
Moral Philosophy	Wayland
Political Economy	Wayland
Logic	Whately
Cicero and Horace	Anthon
Xenophon	
Herodotus	
Greek Testament and Septuagint	
Chemistry	Gray
Botany	Wood
Geology	St. John
Agricultural Chemistry	Johnston
Butler's Analogy	
Evidences of Christianity	Paley

This listing is taken from F. M. Green's Hiram College and Western Reserve Eclectic Institute: Fifty Years of History, 1850-1900. (Cleveland: The O. S. Hubbell Printing Company, 1901), pp. 28-29.

APPENDIX B

The Course of Study at
Williams College, 1854-1856Junior Year

- First Term Demosthenes on the Crown. (Champlin's)
Olmstead's Natural Philosophy.
Quintilian.
Botany. (Wood's)
- Second Term Tacitus--Germania and Agricola.
Wayland's Political Economy.
Hopkin's Evidences of Revealed Religion.
Robinson's Astronomy.
- Third Term Chemistry.
Natural Philosophy, completed.
Jackson's Optics.
French or German--Optional studies.
Compositions on Philosophical Subjects.

Senior Year

- First Term Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric.
Anatomy and Zoology.
Stewart's Elements of Intellectual Philosophy.
Whately's Logic.
- Second Term Wayland's Elements of Moral Science.
Story on the Constitution.
Paley's Political Philosophy.
Kames' Elements of Criticism.
- Third Term Kames, continued.
Butler's Analogy.
Paley's Natural Theology.

Vincent on the Catechism every Saturday forenoon. Disputations and Compositions weekly, by divisions. Declamations or exercises in reading weekly, by divisions. A critical exercise in Composition every Friday forenoon.

This listing is taken from the Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Williams College, 1854-1855. (New York: Baker, Godwin & Co., 1854), pp. 20-21.

An Account of James A. Garfield's
New York Speech in the Aftermath of
Abraham Lincoln's Assassination

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 everyone's tongue. Fear took possession of men's minds as to the fate of the Government, for in a few hours 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 their 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, cramming 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 nine A. M., and, even then, with the utmost difficulty, found my way to the reception room for the speakers in the front of the Exchange Building, and looking out on 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 a 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 once! It was the cry of a great people, asking to know how their President died. The blood bounced 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 could not; 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 fullness 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 almost 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 eight thousand or ten thousand 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 stillness 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 pavillion 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 with awe, gazing at the motionless orator, and thinking of God and the security of the Government in that hour. As the boiling waves 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. 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!'

This account was contributed by "a distinguished public man, who was an eyewitness of the exciting scene" for use in a biography of Garfield. See William Ralston Balch, The Life of James A. Garfield. (Philadelphia: J. C. McCurdy & Company, 1881), pp. 270-273.

APPENDIX D

Historical Table Showing the Place
and President of the Anniversaries of
the Ohio Christian Missionary Society

<u>Place</u>	<u>President</u>
1852--Wooster	D. S. Burnet
1853--Mt. Vernon	D. S. Burnet
1854--Bedford	D. S. Burnet
1855--Akron	D. S. Burnet
1856--Mt. Vernon	J. P. Robison
1857--Wooster	J. P. Robison
1858--Massillon	J. P. Robison
1859--Wooster	J. P. Robison
1860--Bellefontaine	R. M. Bishop
1861--Mt. Vernon	R. M. Bishop
1862--Wooster	R. M. Bishop
1863--Shelby	R. M. Bishop
1864--Bellefontaine	R. M. Bishop
1865--Ashland	R. M. Bishop
1866--Akron	R. M. Bishop
1867--Dayton	R. M. Bishop
1868--Mt. Vernon	R. M. Bishop
1869--Alliance	R. M. Bishop
1870--Mansfield	Isaac Errett
1871--Dayton	Isaac Errett
1872--Painesville	Isaac Errett
1873--Wooster	Isaac Errett
1874--Toledo	Isaac Errett
1875--Steubenville	Isaac Errett
1876--Akron	R. R. Sloan
1877--East Cleveland	R. R. Sloan
1878--Mt. Vernon	R. R. Sloan
1879--Lima	B. A. Hinsdale
1880--Warren	B. A. Hinsdale
1881--Dayton	B. A. Hinsdale
1882--Columbus	B. A. Hinsdale

This listing is taken from Alanson Wilcox, A History of the Disciples of Christ in Ohio (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1918), pp. 280-281

APPENDIX E

Resolution Passed by the Board
of Trustees, Bethany College, and
Occasioned by the Death of James A. Garfield

Your committee, to whom was referred the death of James A. Garfield, late President of the United States, and an honored member of this Board, beg leave to report the adoption of the following expression of our high appreciation of his eminent worth.

In the death of James A. Garfield we deplore the great loss sustained by the cause of education and religion. Never before in the history of the world has there been more general mourning over the death of one man. He had risen from humble birth, and largely by his own efforts, to high honor and distinction as a scholar, teacher, soldier, and statesman.

Confidence in his great abilities, and in his unswerving Christian integrity, was well nigh universal. In the midst of increasing labor for the public good, surrounded by the greatest temptations, or on the highest eminences of public honor and fame, he did not forget the interests of education and religion nor turn away from that Savior to whom in youth he had devoted his life. His habits as a student are worthy the study of every young man pursuing studies in our colleges; his ability and methods as a teacher present an excellent model for all professors; his steady growth and eminence as a statesman is a grand illustration of what is possible to a man of high aims and earnest effort; his faithfulness to Christ and His Gospel, while rising higher and higher on the rounds of human ambition, is a living sermon to all the millions who have heard his fame and to the millions who may read the history of his life. We mourn his loss but rejoice that his life was not lived in vain. To Mrs. Garfield and to her bereaved children we tender our heartfelt sympathy.

Committee: J. H. Jones
R. Moffett
James Darcie

From the June 13, 1882, Minutes of the Board of Trustees,
Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia.

William T. Moore's
Memoir of James A. Garfield

It is difficult in so brief a notice as this sketch must be to do even meagre justice to a character such as that of General Garfield. But the following points may be noticed:

1. He was an honest man. This feature of his character manifested itself throughout his entire career; and it was this perhaps more than anything else that swelled the tide of sympathy for him when the news of his assassination reached the people. His brave and manly fight against political intrigue, corruption, and what was known in America at that time as the machine politicians, and his evidently sincere efforts on behalf of political reform, at once challenged the respect of the better class of people in all countries. He was not able to accomplish all he wished, for, to use his own language, he could not break with his party without losing much of his power to do anything. He was compelled to hasten leisurely because of the evil influences which were strongly set against him. But he did accomplish something, even in the short time he was permitted to occupy the presidency. Nor is it probable that his example in this regard will be lost. Though dead, he yet speaketh. Unquestionably American politics still needs purification at the very point where General Garfield was labouring, but it must be admitted that since his time there has been a profoundly growing conviction among the people that the greater abuses, at least, must and shall be corrected.

2. He was also a brave man. Indeed his courage was of the highest quality--it was simply sublime. He was never rash, for true courage is always calm, prudent, and dignified. Boisterous self-assertion and inconsiderate haste sometimes pass for courage, but these are never associated with the genuine article. While General Garfield was not deficient in physical courage, as was frequently demonstrated on the battle-field, it was his magnificent moral courage which added so much strength to his splendid character. He could say Yes or No, and say it with a downward beat. He did not follow public opinion; he helped to make public opinion. He did not antagonize his opponents simply to illustrate that he was always in the objective case, but if necessary he could stand at the gate of any Thermopylae and die, Spartan-like, while beating back more than the millions of Xerxes. He himself drew a picture of

his own moral courage when he said that he believed in the man who could "meet the Devil, look him in the face, and tell him that he was the Devil." This is precisely what General Garfield himself did; it is precisely what he did many times in his life. When he met Secession, under the plausible theory of State Rights, he drew the cover from off this dangerous doctrine and looked at it straight in the face, fought it as a deadly enemy to the integrity of the Union and the best interests of the people. When Lincoln was assassinated he stood before the swaying crowd in Washington City and calmed their turbulent spirits by declaring that the "Lord still reigned, and that therefore the country was safe."

3. His private life was also singularly pure. Only those who knew him intimately can deal properly with this subject, but those know that nothing was more characteristic of him than his beautiful private life. His tender sympathy for his own family was strikingly illustrated when he was stricken down. His first thought was of his family, and especially of her whom he called "the dear little woman," who had shared all the sorrows and joys which had gathered about his splendid manhood. This bit of home life touched the sympathy of the whole world. From that moment he was at home with the world, for the world saw that his heart was at home with his family. The kiss which he gave to his aged mother at the inauguration ceremonies was not a piece of stage acting, but a genuine, heart-felt expression of his undying devotion to her. Garfield was intensely human. It was this touch of nature that made all the world akin to him, and it was in the electric battery, so to speak, of his own household that the power was generated with which he electrified the hearts of millions.

4. The crowning feature in President Garfield's life remains to be stated. He was a Christian. That simple sentence tells the story of his great character. He was a Christian, too, without the pretence of the tinselled display of ritualism; without the stiffness of formalism; without the bigotry of sectarianism; and without the coldness of indifference. He was simply a Christian, unaffected, hearty, liberal, earnest. His was an intelligent faith. Repudiating the superstitions which too frequently supplant Divine teaching, he looked reverently to the Word of God as the lamp to his feet and the light to his pathway. It was his rule of faith and practice. Where it spoke he spoke, where it was silent he was silent also. This Word had been his constant companion from his youth. It dwelt in him richly and was as sweet to him as honey in the honeycomb.

He fully sympathized with the religious people with whom he stood identified. He was broader in his conceptions of both faith and duty undoubtedly than some of these were, but he never carried his breadth beyond the limits of a legitimate faith. Both his faith and practice were bounded by the Word of God when properly interpreted. He was a born leader and consequently his influence upon the Disciples themselves was very great, especially in Ohio, his native state. He was an eloquent preacher, and did not hesitate to occupy the pulpit whenever and wherever an opportunity offered itself.

His religious character never left him. It grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength. Many persons who are religious when they are in comparative obscurity abandon their religion when they become famous. But Garfield was not one of these. If possible, he was a more devoted Christian as he rose higher and higher in the scale of honour and fame. One of his last acts before leaving his home in Mentor for Washington was to commemorate the Lord's death in the church of which he was a member; and the next Lord's Day, after entering upon his duties as President, he met with his brethren in Washington, and continued to do so to the end.

He was never a man of extremes, and this was especially true of him in his religious life. He was too honest to be a latitudinarian and too generous to be a sectarian. His reverence for the Bible held him strictly within the lines of evangelical truth, while his broad sympathies made it impossible for him to become a narrow-minded bigot. He was evangelical but not sectarian; Scriptural but not uncharitable; progressive but always true to Christian principles. Hence, while he earnestly contended for the faith once for all delivered to the saints, he was never unkind toward those with whom he might religiously differ. This fact was so abundantly evident that no one was ever driven away from him by any religious views which he held, and it was perhaps this very fact that gained much for him of the confidence and respect which were so universally accorded to him.

5. General Garfield's character may be summed up in one word, namely: Manliness. But manliness in the highest degree is not attainable without Christianity. To be like Christ is to be manly. One may have every other accomplishment, but without the grace which the religion of Christ confers, it is impossible to reach the best development of manliness. But President Garfield's manliness was of the highest type. While it was polished by a generous culture,

it was lit up and warmed by the spirit of the Divine Master. Notwithstanding it had the symmetry and comeliness which a wide experience and a constant contact with books and men of letters always bring with them, its strength and breadth, its real heart and life, its highest reaches of perfection, and its deepest sympathy with human need, all came from a supreme devotion to the Christian religion. It was his implicit faith in the Christ which gave General Garfield's character that completeness which put him practically beyond the successful criticism of even his bitterest opponents.

In closing this brief notice of this distinguished Christian statesman it is only necessary to remark that, after all, his death was doubtless providentially overruled for good. This may sound strange to people who do not think below the surface. General Garfield occupied a peculiar position. From a religious point of view he represented a rising, vigorous, and influential body which had for both church and state a distinct and far-reaching message; and this was not only for the American people, but for the whole world. Garfield's death drew very emphatic attention to the religious principles which entered into his remarkable character. This was strongly suggested in the sermon, already referred to, which was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury. From that sermon, and through the reference to Garfield's life and character in the journals of Europe, the principles and aims of the Disciples of Christ became widely known where they had never before been even heard of in any way which gave a true conception of what these were. It may seem almost sacrilegious to some to suggest that his death was much more powerful for good than his life could have been, even if it had continued for many years. Nevertheless, it is believed that this was true in his case. To use his own language, when another martyred President fell, the Lord still reigned, and the country was saved, even if Garfield died, and not only was this so, but the Church was saved also, and a new force entered into it from Garfield's death chamber when it was told everywhere that he died the death of a Christian, and that his Christianity consisted in a simple faith in, and obedience to, the Lord Jesus Christ, without any additions such as belong to the creeds of Christendom. At any rate, it is certain that through his death the plea of the Disciples was practically made known to the civilized world.

W. T. Moore, A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1909), pp. 723-732.

APPENDIX G

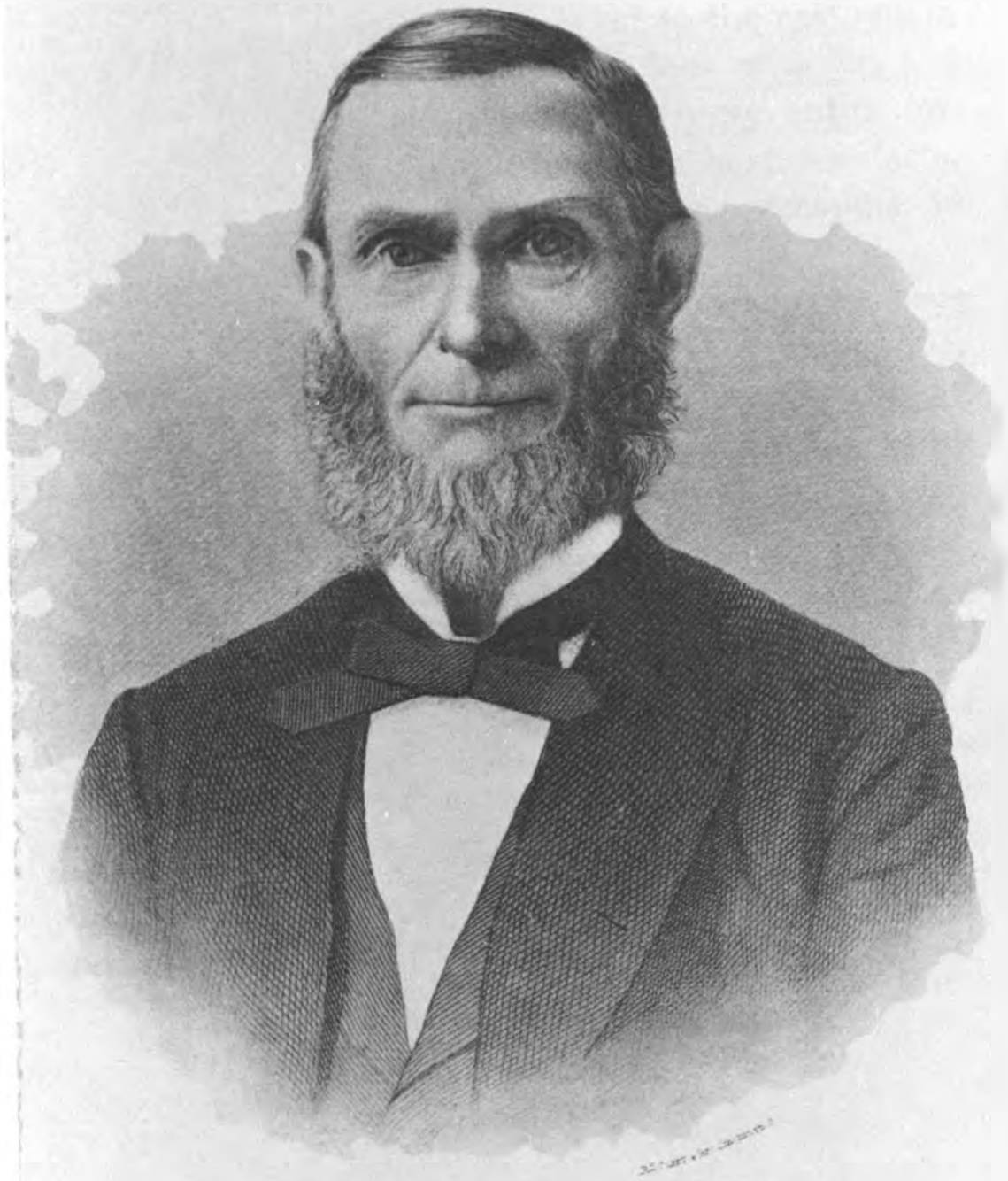
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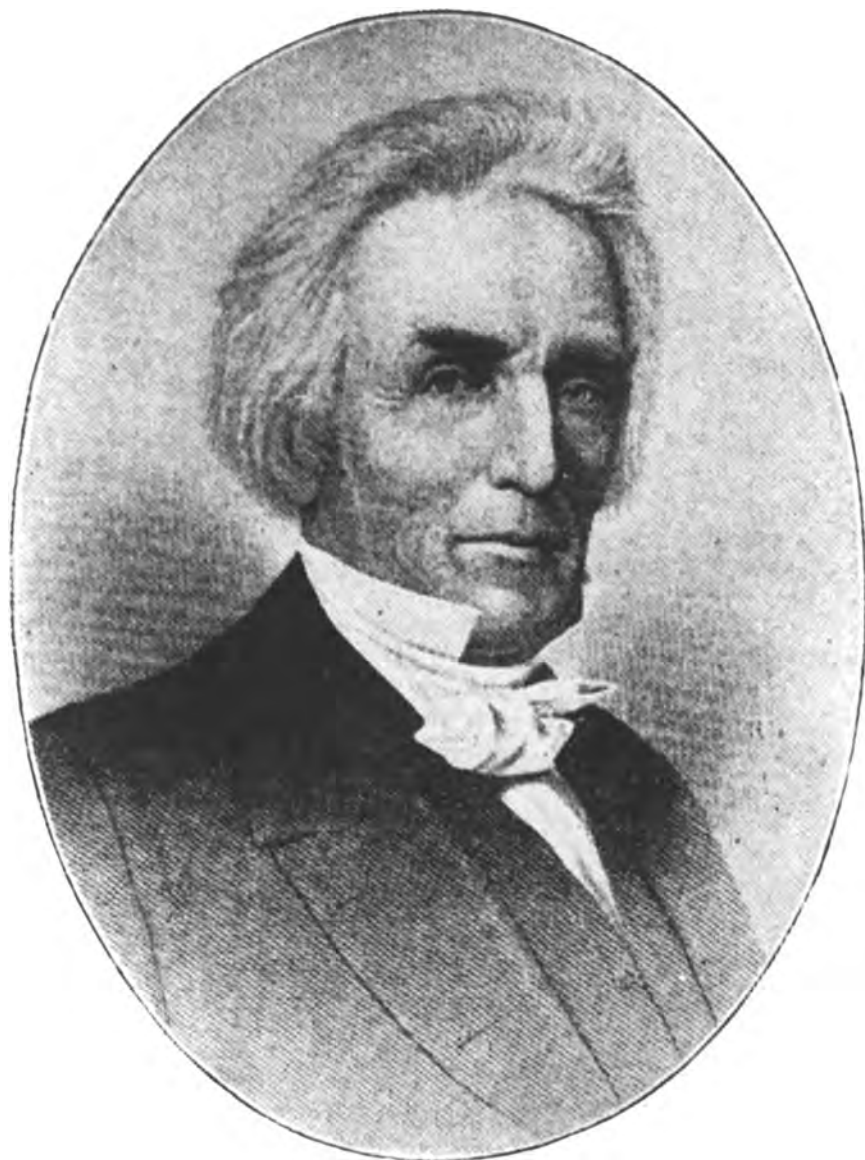
438	-	Replica--Garfield birthplace
439	-	Garfield at age 16
440	-	Corydon E. Fuller
441	-	Alexander Campbell
442	-	Hiram College--1857
443	-	Hiram Faculty--1859
444	-	James Harrison Rhodes
445	-	Lucretia Garfield
446	-	Lucretia Garfield
447	-	Norman Dunshee
448	-	Harmon Austin
449	-	Burke Aaron Hinsdale
450	-	Wallace John Ford
451	-	Dr. John P. Robison
452	-	Jefferson Harrison Jones
453	-	The 42nd Ohio--Company A
454	-	Garfield's Military Staff
455	-	Garfield as Brigadier General
456	-	Garfield as Major General
457	-	Nineteenth Century Editors
458	-	The Phillips Brothers
459	-	Dr. Lewis L. Pinkerton
460	-	Jeremiah Sullivan Black
461	-	Vermont Avenue Meetinghouse
462	-	Captain Charles E. Henry
463	-	Garfield's Home in Mentor
464	-	Garfield as Congressman
465	-	Otis A. Burgess
466	-	Garfield as President
467	-	The Presidential Family
468	-	Frederick D. Power
469	-	Garfield Memorial Church
470	-	Garfield University
471	-	The Garfield Monument





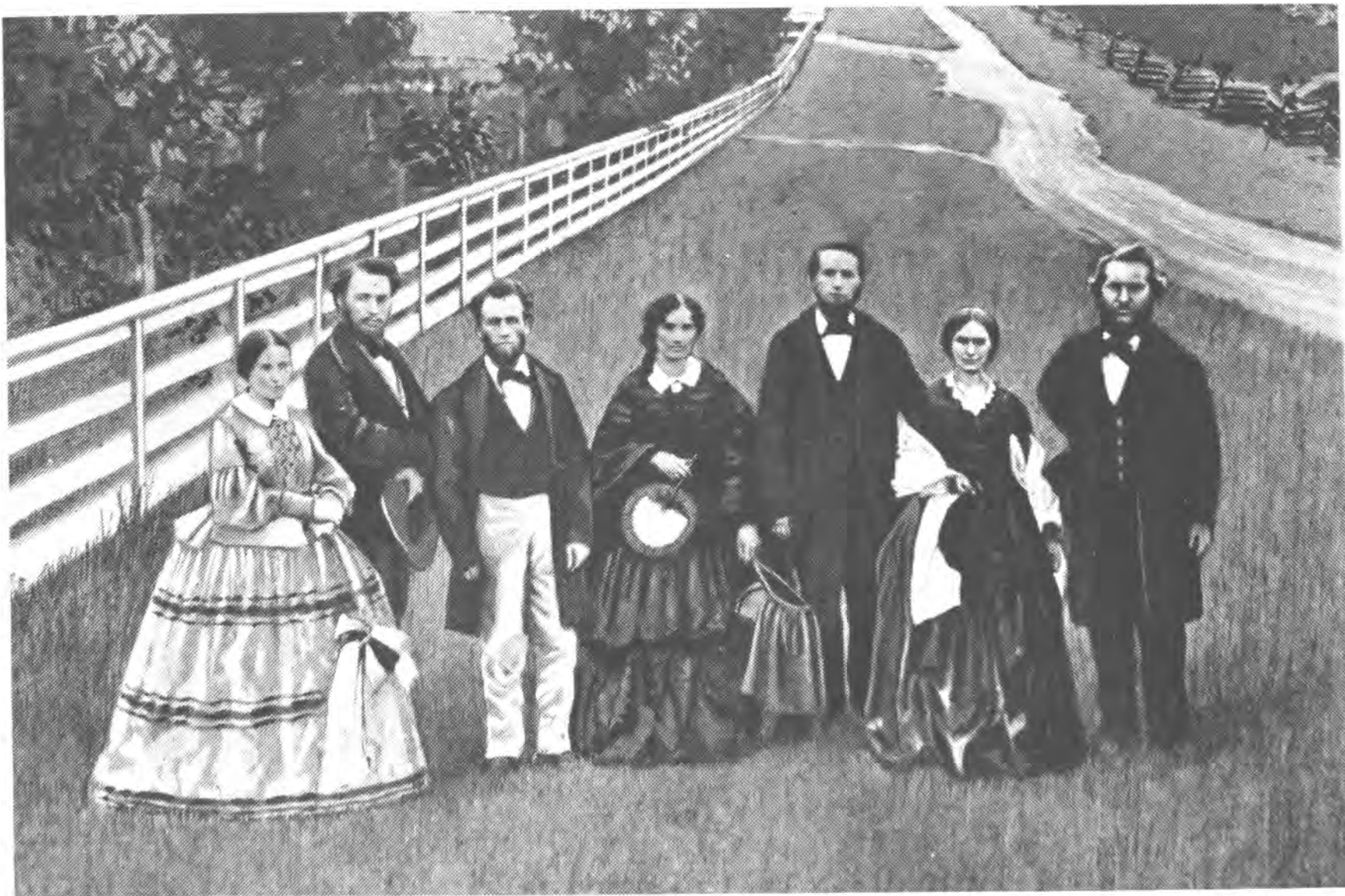


Henry
C. E. Fuller



ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

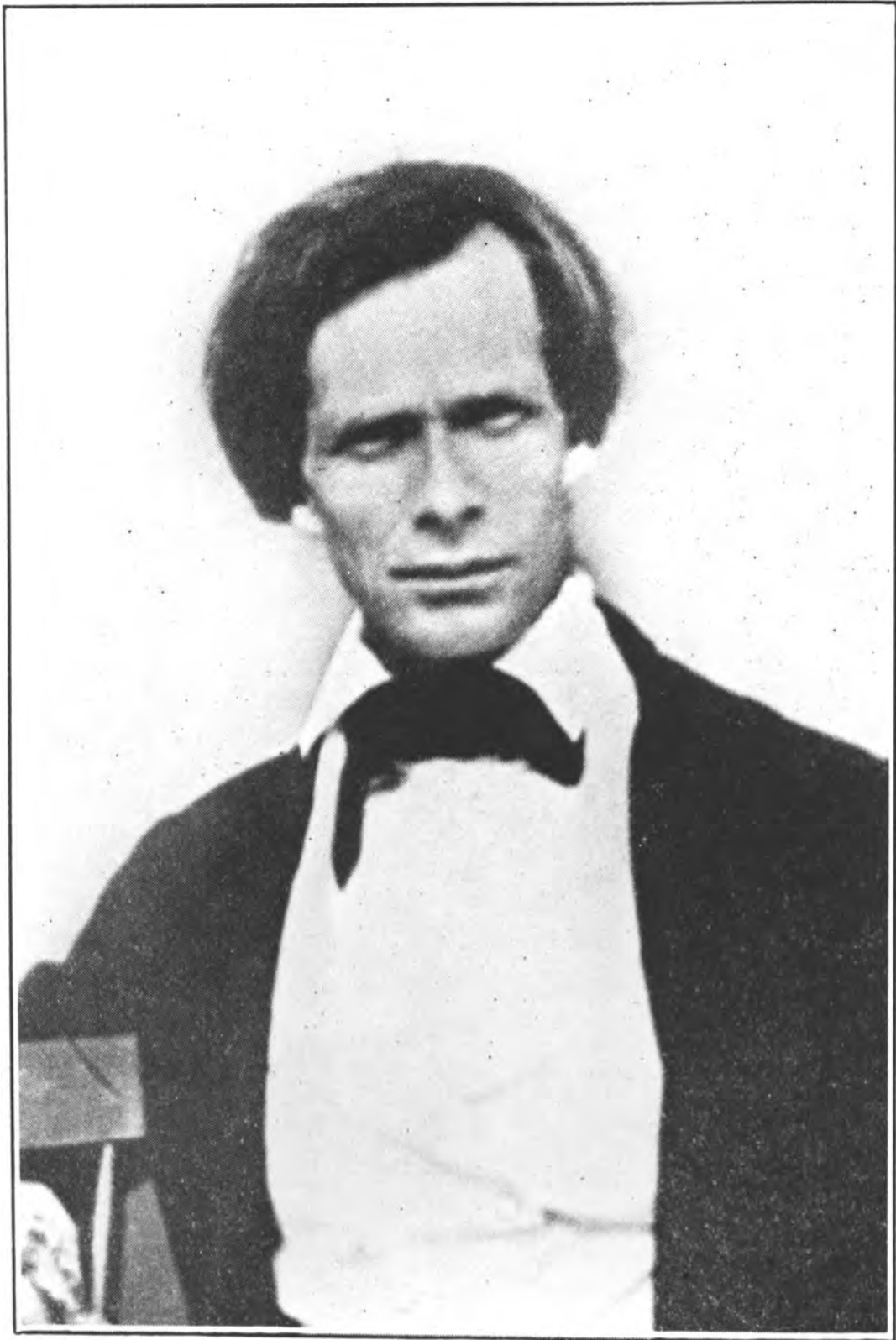


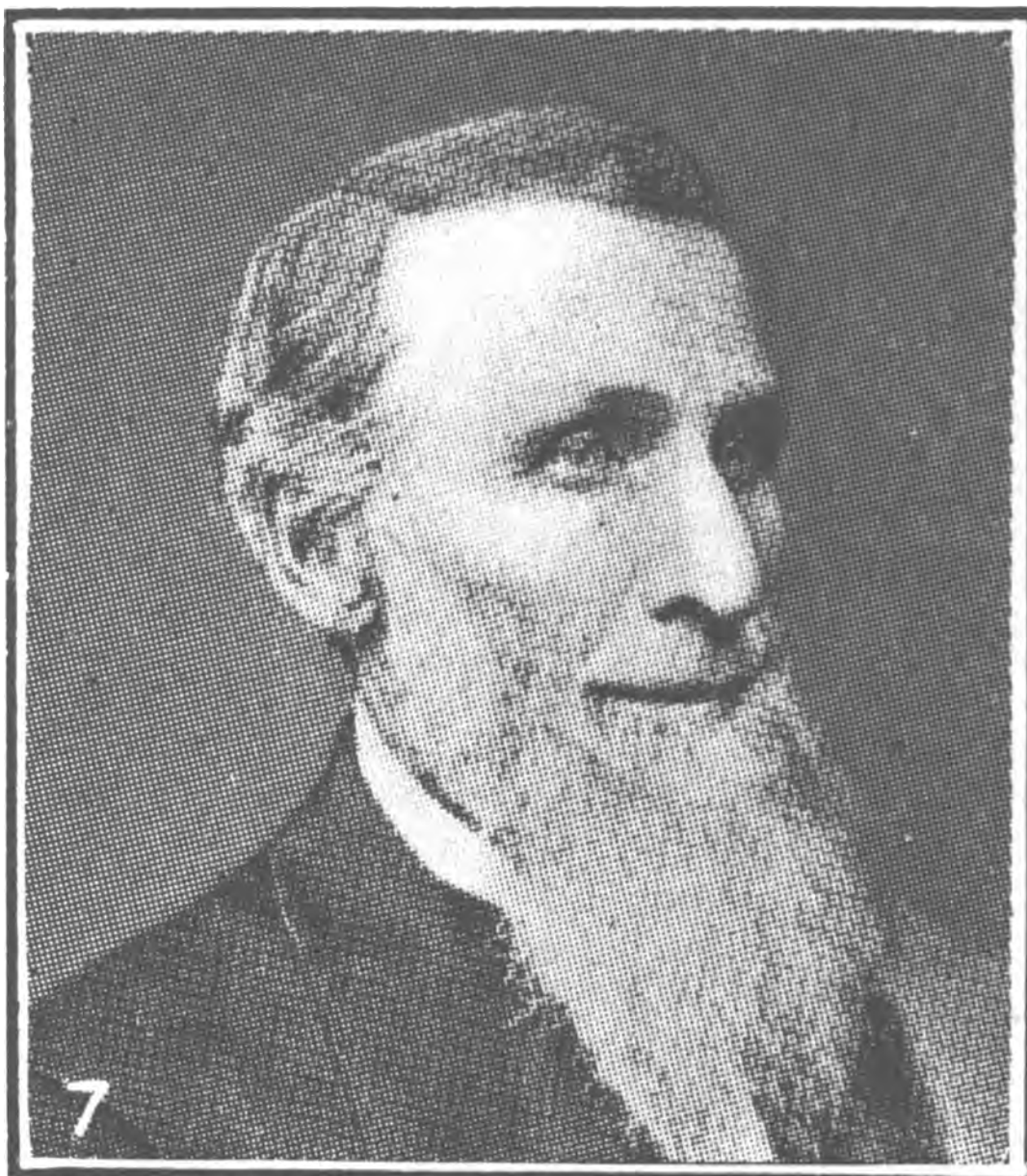




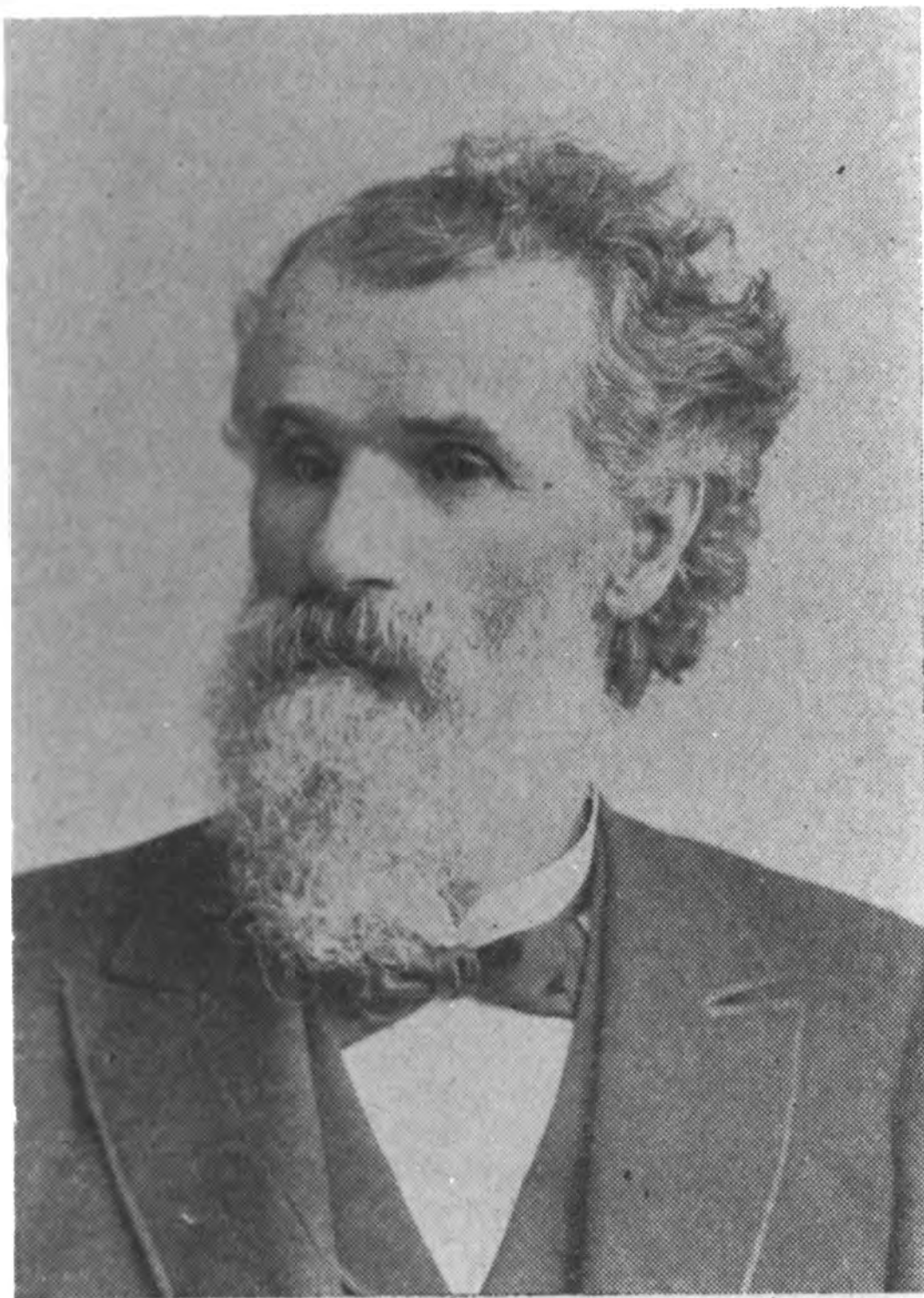




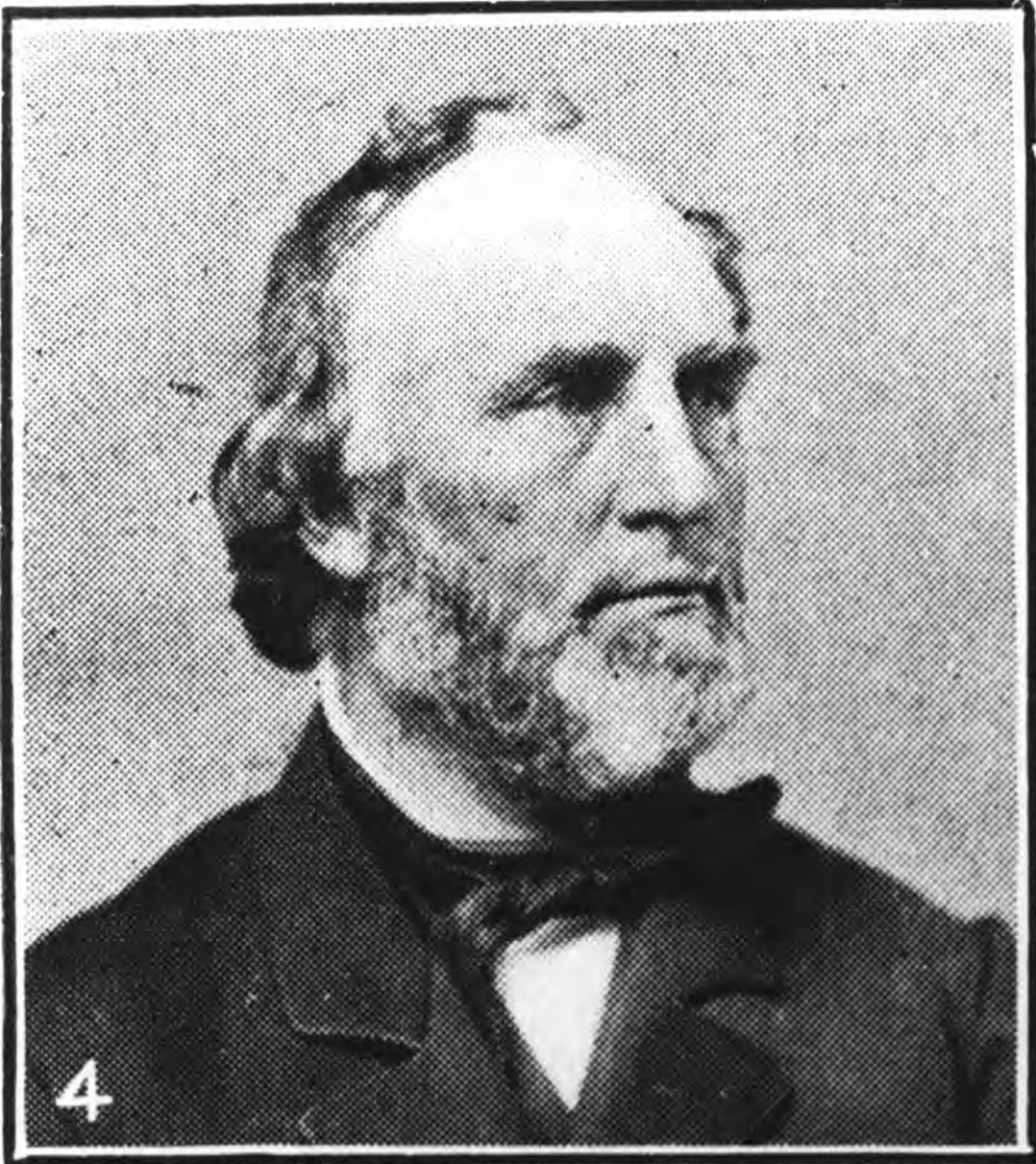


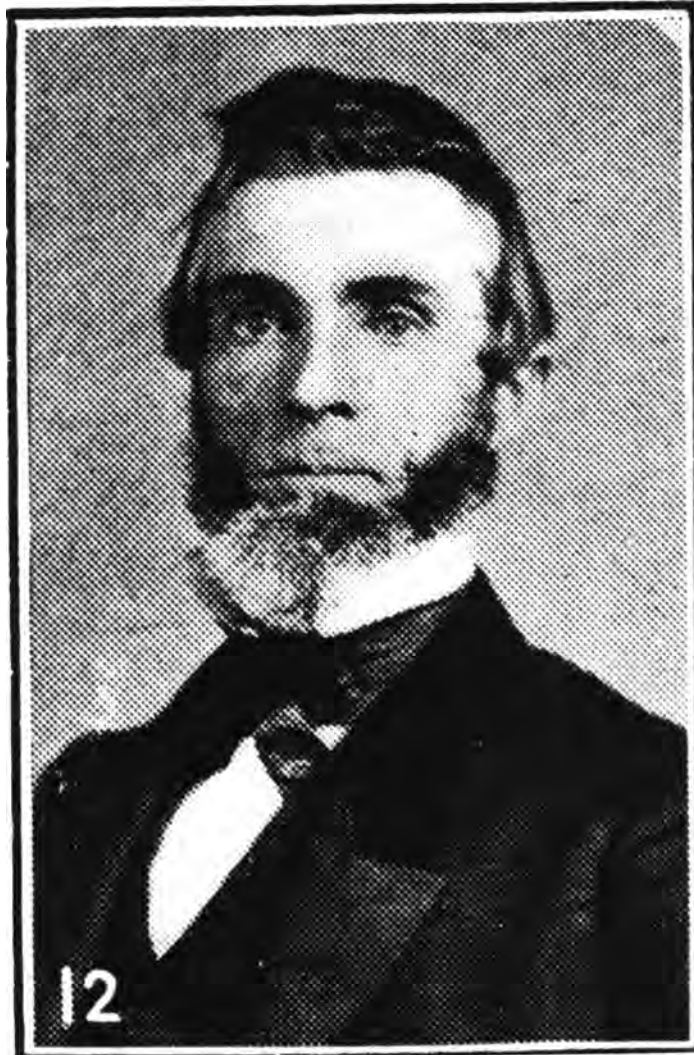




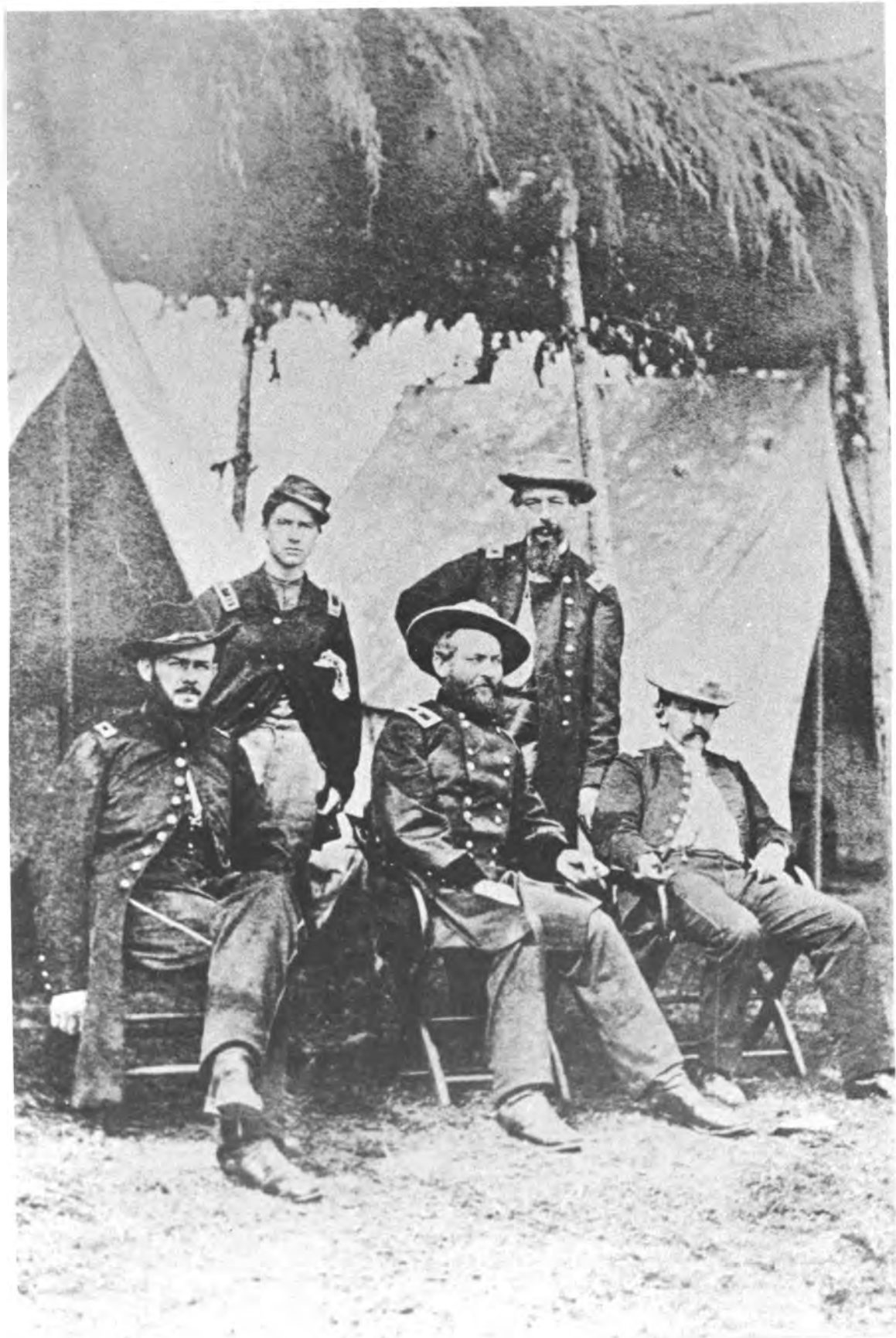


W. J. FORD.













wartime engraving of Garfield as a major general



Isaac Errett



D. S. Burnet



Tolbert Fanning



J. H. Garrison



Benjamin Franklin



M. M. Goodwin



Moses E. Lard



David Lipscomb



J. W. McGarvey



CHARLES M. PHILLIPS.



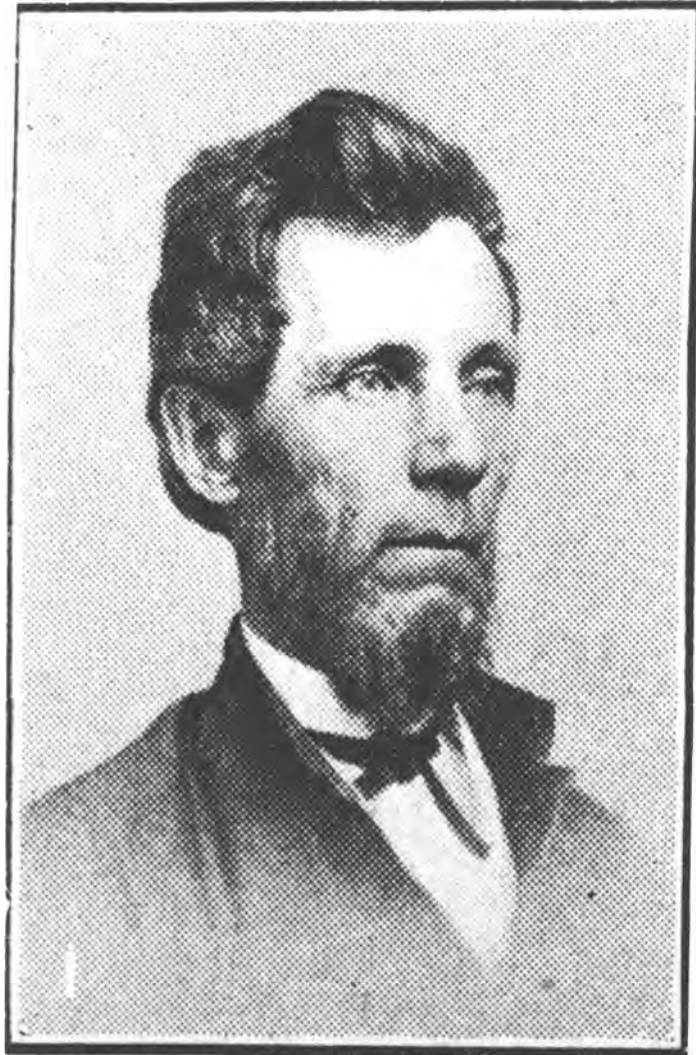
THOMAS W. PHILLIPS.



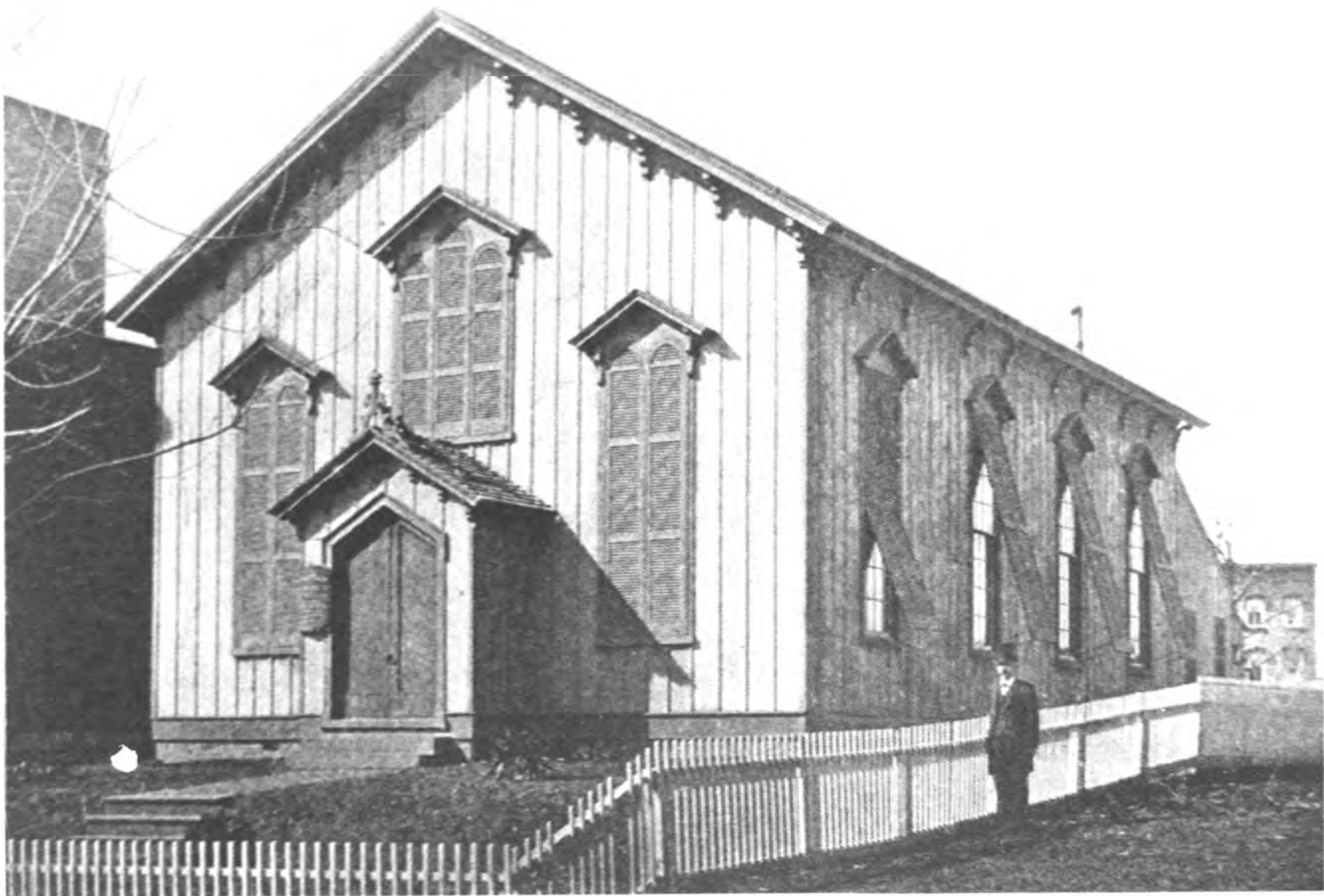
I. N. PHILLIPS.



JOHN T. PHILLIPS.











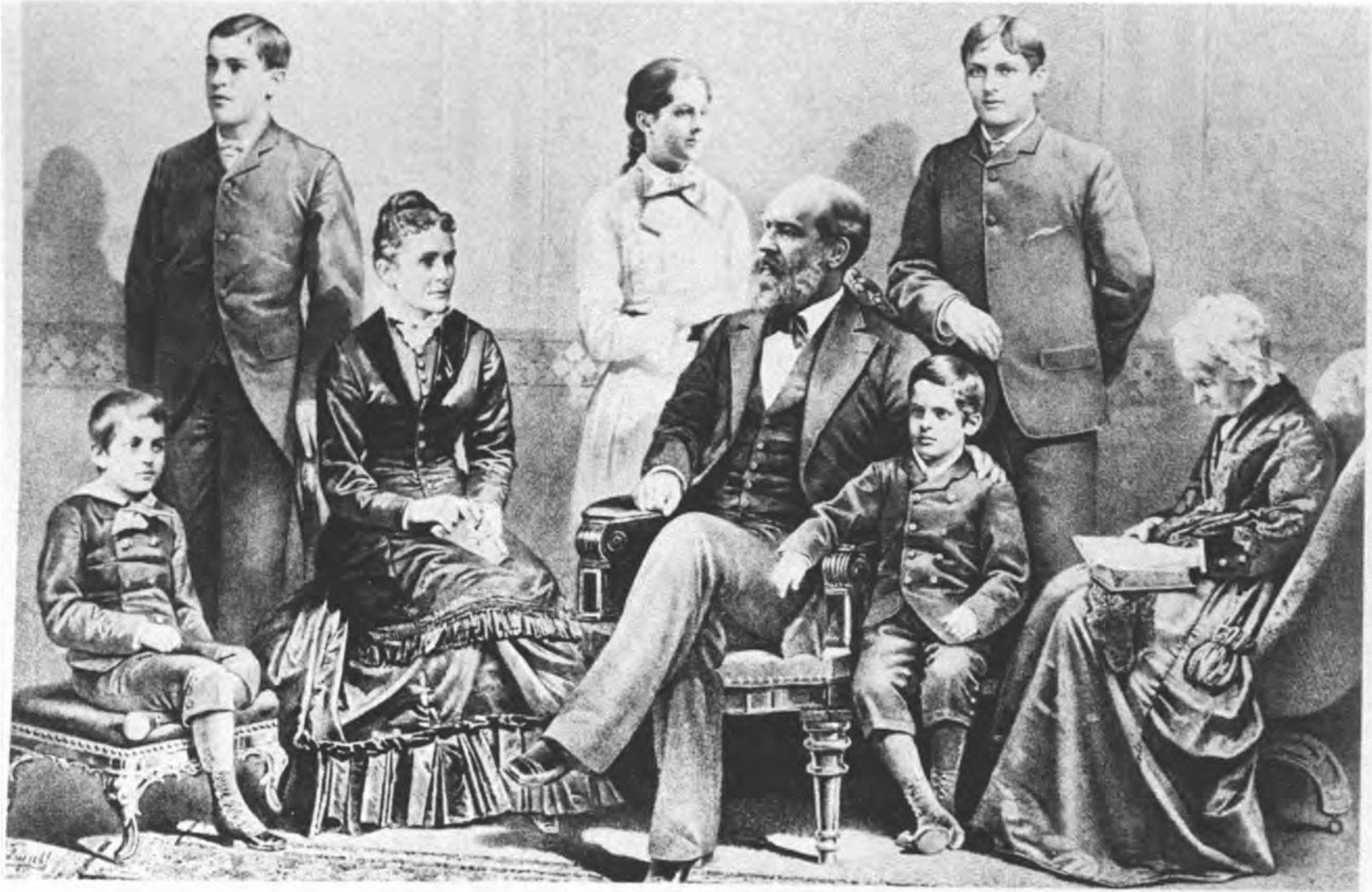




O. A. Burgess

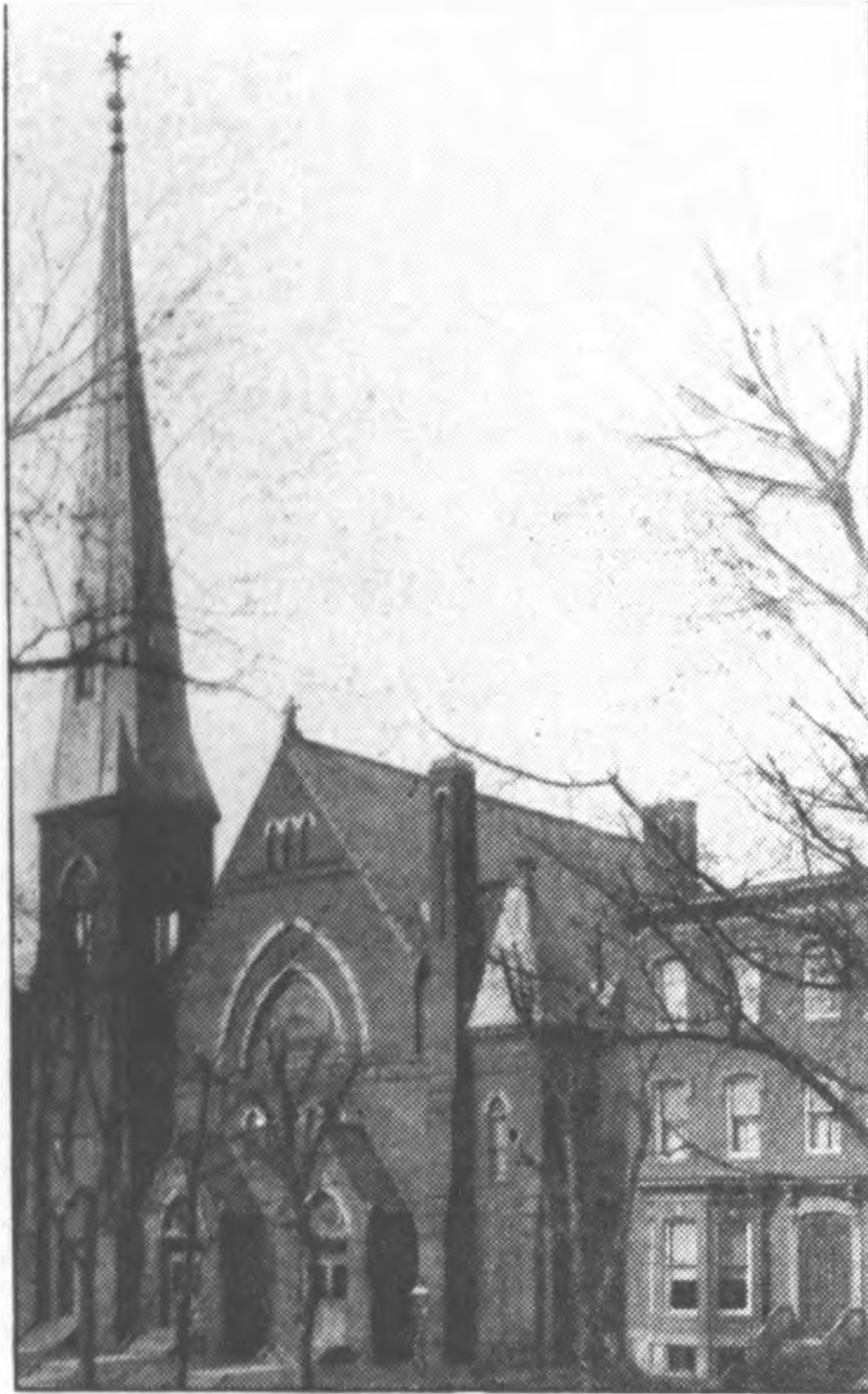


J. A. Garfield



President Garfield and his family





PRESENT VERMONT AVENUE CHURCH
Erected 1882-83





